00085307

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

History of Brazil.

Part the Second.

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM POPLE,
67, CHANCERY LANE.

Library Society of Bombay

History of Brazil;

by

Robert Southey.

Part the Second.

85307 ac

LONDON:

Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown,
Paternoster-row.

1817.

981
504/His
85307

PREFACE.

I MUST not send the second volume of this History into the world without acknowledging some of the many favours which I have received during its progress. I am beholden to Sir Charles Stuart, among other acts of kindness, for the use of the Valeroso Lucideno: to Captain Patrick for that of the Latin version and continuation of Charlevoix: to Mr. Thomas Kinder for a volume of Noticias del Paraguay, and the prose Argentina, both in manuscript, and for his own valuable Journal: to Mr. Gooden for the Life of F. Joam d'Almeida, among other books, and a manuscript Apology for the Jesuits in Paraguay and Maranham, of great importance; to Mr. Heber for many works concerning Spanish America, and among them a volume of papers relating to the affair of Cardenas: and to his Excellency the Conde dos Arcos, Governor of the Captaincy of Bahia, and to the Public Library of that

city, for their singular liberality in entrusting me, across the Atlantic, with one of the works which I solicited, and for enriching my collection with their duplicate of Anchieta's Grammar, .. one of the most gratifying circumstances which has occurred to me in the course of my literary life.

I have now to perform another duty of a very different nature. In the year 1815, M. Alphonse de Beauchamp published an 'Histoire du Bresil,' in three volumes octavo. He asserts in his Preface that he had been employed seven years in arranging the materials; and that he could have published the two first volumes much sooner if he had not thought it better to lay the whole work at once before the public. In composing the concluding volume, he says, he thought it necessary to see if any recent information could be obtained; .. but M. Beauchamp shall speak in his own words. "En coordonnant les materiaux "de mon dernier volume, je sentis la necessité de le "mettre au niveau des recherches qui avaient com- "pleté la premiere partie de mon ouvrage, et de for- "tifier, par des informations recentes et authenti- "ques, les chapitres destinés a faire connaitre d'une "maniere positive l'etat actuel du Bresil: rien ne fut "negligé pour arriver a ce resultat. Dans l'inter- "valle, parut a Londres une compilation sur l'his-

"toire de Buenos Ayres et du Bresil jusqu'en 1640. "Sans offrir de nouvelles lumieres, l'auteur Anglais "(M. Southey) faisait esperer qu'un second volume, "annoncé pour 1810, completerait les annales du "Bresil, et donnerait des renseignemens tout-à-fait "nouveaux sur la geographie et sur la statistique de "cette vaste contree. Vain espoir: l'attente de "l'Europe litteraire a été encore une fois trompée. "Ce second volume, si emphatiquement promis, n'a "point paru!"

It is now my turn to notice the work of M. Alphonse de Beauchamp. With the exception of an introductory chapter upon the History of Portugal, and another containing a general description of Brazil, the two first volumes and about a fourth part of the third, are wholly and solely made up from mine. The list of authorities which he has given is copied from my marginal references; the manuscripts which he pretends to quote are those in my possession, and only those which I had used in my first volume. The whole matter of his history is taken from that volume, as far as it would carry him, and from no other source; and in many places it is close translation. Care has been taken to disguise this plagiarism by transposing the matter as much as possible, and omitting all that relates to

Paraguay, . . for M. Beauchamp is no novice in the art of plagiarism, as M. de Puissaye, and others of his countrymen, may bear witness. But he has not been able, with all his art, to conceal his ignorance of the Portugueze language; . . for venturing to translate *Escrivam da Fazenda*, he metamorphoses a Secretary of the Treasury into an Historiographer; and he speaks of a disease in Brazil called *Bexigas*, not knowing that the *Bexigas* are the Small Pox.

The concluding volume of this work is so far advanced that I trust nothing will prevent it from appearing in the course of next winter.

CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER XIX.

The Revolution in Portugal announced to Nassau - - - - - 1
Truce for ten years concluded with Holland 2
Treachery of the Dutch - - 4
Embassy of Vilhena to Recife - - *ib.*
Paulo da Cunha and Henrique Diaz recalled from Pernambuco - - - 5
The Dutch surprize Seregipe - - 6
Spanish and Neapolitan troops sent from Bahia - - - - - - 7
Expedition of the Dutch against Angola - *ib.*
Effects of the loss of Loanda upon Brazil - 10
Expedition against the Island of S. Thomas 11
The Governor capitulates - - 12
Mortality among the Dutch, and death of Jol 13
Maciel appointed Governor of Maranham - 14
Captaincy of Cabo do Norte erected for him *ib.*
Maciel's misconduct - - - 15
Expedition of the Dutch against Maranham 17
Maciel permits them to land and occupy part of the town - - - - *ib.*
The Dutch seize the citadel - - 18
They conquer the Island, and send Maciel away prisoner - - - - 19
He dies at the Potengi - - - 20
Antonio Telles Governor of Brazil - *ib.*
Floods and pestilence in Pernambuco - 21

Page

Nassau's advice to the Company - - 22
Expedition of the Dutch against Chili - 23
First doubling of Cape Horn - - 25
Death of the commander, and failure of the expedition - - - - *ib.*
Tyranny of the Dutch in Maranham - 26
The inhabitants determine to revolt - *ib.*
First successes of the insurgents - - 27
Fort Calvary taken by the Portugueze - 28
They advance against the town - - 29
Affairs of Para - - - - 31
Joam Velho called to the assistance of Belem - - - - - - *ib.*
He demands the Government - - *ib.*
And returns to Cabo do Norte, when it is refused - - - - 32
Pedro Maciel arrives - - - 33
Demands the government, and summons his brother Velho to aid him - - *ib.*
Disputes between the Chamber and these brethren - - - - - 34
The brothers go to join the patriots in Maranham - - - - - 35
Truce with Holland acknowledged in Para 36
Proceedings of the patriots in Maranham - *ib.*
Death of their leader, Antonio Moniz - 37
Antonio Teixeira succeeds to the command *ib.*
His success, and cruelty of the Dutch in consequence - - - - *ib.*

	Page
Teixeira retreats to the main land	38
P. Maciel and Velho forsake him	*ib.*
The Dutch are reinforced	39
Negligence of the patriots	40
They reenter Maranham	41
And defeat the Dutch	42
Pedro de Albuquerque comes out as Governor of Maranham	43
Shipwrecked on the bar of Belem	*ib.*
The Dutch evacuate Maranham	45
The Tapuyas cut off the Dutch at Seara	46
Nassau obtains his recall	47
His last advice to the Great Council	*ib.*
He sails for Europe	49

CHAPTER XX.

Union proposed between the East and West India Companies	51
State of the Company in Brazil	52
General distress in Pernambuco	53
Debts fraudulently contracted by the Portugueze	54
The Portugueze vexed and oppressed by the conquerors	56
Insolence and misconduct of the Dutch	58
Popularity of Nassau injurious to his successors	60
Dutch deputation to Bahia	61
Hoogstraten offers his services to the Portugueze	63
Measures against the Priests and Religioners in Pernambuco	64
Rise of Joam Fernandes Vieira	65
His liberality	66
He is accused before the Council	67
He prepares his countrymen for insurrection	68
Opens his project to Vidal	69
His representation to the Governor General	71
Cardoso sent into Pernambuco	73
Joam Fernandes declares his intentions	74
Meeting with Cardoso	75
Some of the Portugueze seek to deter him	*ib.*
And to make Cardoso return to Bahia	76
Embarrassment of the Council	78
The Governor promises to assist Fernandes	79
Preparations of Fernandes	80
He plans a massacre of the leading Dutchmen	81
Intimation given to the Council	82
They seek to entrap Fernandes	83
Movements of Camaram and Diaz	84
Fernandes takes to the woods	85
Miracles at the Chapel of S. Antonio	87
The Dutch disappointed in their search for him	87
Measures of the Council	88
Fernandes summons the people to take arms	89
Precautionary measures of the Council converted into means of extortion	90
They offer money to Fernandes	*ib.*
Character of Domingos Fagundes	91
Commencement of hostilities	93
The Commander in Chief marches against the insurgents	94
Movements of Fernandes	95
He crosses the Tapicuru in sight of the enemy	96
Discontents in his army	97
Want of medical aid	99
The Dutch expel the women and children	100
Fr. Manoel do Salvador intercedes for them	101
Situation of the expelled families	102
Counter-edict of Fernandes	103
Massacre of the Portugueze at Cunhau	104
Re-conversion of a converted Priest	105
Murmurs in the camp	106
The Dutch advance	107
Battle of Monte das Tabocas	108

CHAPTER XXI.

Retreat of the Dutch	116
Embassy to Bahia	117
Measures of the Governor General	118
The Bahian troops take Serinhaen	120
Death of Antonio Cavalcante	121
Arrival of Camaram and Diaz	*ib.*
Interview between Fernandes and Vidal	122
Troops sent against Nazareth	123
The women of the Varzea seized as hostages	124
Fernandes marches to their rescue	*ib.*
He defeats the Dutch at the Casas de D. Ana	125
Haus and Blaar made prisoners	127
Loss of the Dutch	128
Miracles	129
Blaar murdered on the way to Bahia	*ib.*
Olinda taken by the insurgents	130
Hoogstraten delivers up Nazareth	131
Lichthart destroys the Portugueze squadron	133
Insurrection in Goyana	134
And in Paraiba	136
Porto Calvo surrenders to the Dutch	137
The Dutch abandon the River S. Francisco	138
The deserters formed into a regiment	140
Fernandes encamps before Recife	141
Preparations there for defence	142
Attempt upon Itamaraca	143

Page

Contagion in the camp - 144
Massacre at the Potengi - 145
Desultory warfare - ib.
Treachery of the deserters - 147
The Dutch suspect the deserters - 150
Transactions at the Potengi - 152
Camaram defeats the Dutch there - 155
Orders from Bahia to burn the sugar canes 157
Distress in Recife - 158
Vidal goes to join Camaram - 159
Jubilee - 160
Vidal returns from Paraiba - 161
Scarcity in the Camp - 163
The Portugueze secure the ports of Nazareth and Tamandare - 165
The Dutch attempt to intercept the convoy from the Potengi - 166
They are defeated at S. Lorenço - 167
The Camp Masters ordered to retire from Pernambuco - 169
State of the negociations with Holland - 171

CHAPTER XXII.

Attempt to assassinate Fernandes - 174
The Portugueze again foiled at Itamaraca - 176
The Dutch remove their Indians - 177
Jacob Rabbi murdered - 178
Famine in Recife - 179
The city relieved by a fleet from Holland - 180
Negociations between Portugal and Holland 182
Artifice of the Portugueze Ambassador - 183
Schoppe returns to Brazil as Commander - 184
He is wounded in the first skirmish - 185
The Portugueze evacuate Paraiba - 186
The Dutch propose to give no quarter - ib.
Hinderson sent to the River S. Francisco - 188
Death of Lichthart - 189
Schoppe sails for the Reconcave - ib.
The Portugueze attack his entrenchments, and are defeated with severe loss - 190
Proceedings at the Camp - 191
The besiegers cannonade Recife - 192
Schoppe recalled from Bahia - 194
Misconduct of the Portugueze fleet - 195
Money raised for Brazil by Vieyra the Jesuit ib.
Vieyra is sent to Holland - 197
Barreto sent to take the command in Pernambuco - 198
His capture and escape - 199
Succours in vain requested from Bahia - ib.
The Dutch receive reinforcements - 201
The Camp Masters contract their operations ib.

Page

Diminution of the Portugueze force - 202
Schoppe takes the field - 203
Battle of Guararapes - ib.
The Dutch, after their defeat, win the Asseca - 205
Death of Camaram - ib.
Schoppe lays waste the Reconcave - 206
Injury sustained by the Portugueze commerce 207
Expedition for the recovery of Angola under Salvador Correa - ib.
Negociation in Holland, and demands of the Dutch - 213
Deliberations in the Portugueze Cabinet - ib.
Opinion of the Conde de Odemira - ib.
Opinion of the Chief Treasurer - 214
The Council prefer war to restitution - 221
The Board of Conscience agree in the determination - ib.
Vieyra opposes it - 222
Papel Forte - ib.
Weakness and danger of Portugal - 223
Brazil Company established by Vieyra's advice - 227
Second battle of Guararapes - 229
The Company sends out its first fleet - 231
Feeble state of both parties in Brazil - 232
State of the negociations - ib.
Holland is engaged in war with England - 234
The Camp Masters solicit the aid of the Company's fleet - 235
Recife blockaded by sea - 238
Its capture - 239
Vidal goes to Lisbon with the tidings of the recovery of Pernambuco - 242
Death of Joam IV. - 243
The Dutch send a fleet to the Tagus - 244
Conferences at Lisbon - 246
Operations of Ruyter on the coast of Portugal 247
Interference of England, and final settlement of peace - 249

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Bishop of Tucuman invites Jesuits from Brazil and Para - 251
The Portugueze Jesuits invited to Asumpcion 252
A Jesuit College founded there - 254
Adventure of Ortega - 255
Deliberations concerning Itinerancy - 256
Ortega thrown into the Inquisition at Lima 258
Attempt to dispossess the Jesuits of their College at Asumpcion - ib.
The Encomienda System - 259

	Page
The Jesuits unpopular for opposing the slavery of the Indians	261
They obtain powers from Madrid to act among the natives upon their own system	263
Settlement in Guayra	264
The Jesuits enter Guayra and found the first Reduction	26
Artifices of a slave dealer	267
Miracles	*ib.*
Lorenzana goes among the Guaranies	269
First of the Parana Reductions founded	270
A Visitor arrives from Spain	271
He nullifies his instructions	272
And introduces a new form of oppression	273
Effect of the Jesuits preaching in Asumpcion	274
State of the Reductions	275
A Jesuit miracle	276
The Provincial accused of admitting men indiscriminately to the Order	278
The Governor interferes with the mission	279
Opposition to the Jesuits	280
The Governments of Paraguay and of the Plata separated	283
A Guarani Chief from the Reductions taken to Buenos Ayres	285
The Jesuits enter the Tapé	286
Enmity of Tayaoba to the Spaniards	288
Pindobe puts himself under the protection of the Jesuits	289
Tayaoba is converted	290
Villainy of the Spaniards of Villa-rica	291
The Dutch send heretical papers ashore in the Plata	293
The Jesuits enter the Caro	*ib.*
Confederacy against them	*ib.*
Two of them murdered there	294
Niezu unbaptizes the converts	296
The confederacy is defeated	297
Honours paid to the martyrs	298
Growing power of the Jesuits	299
The Paulistas	300
Foundation of the city of S. Paulo	301
Falsehoods respecting its inhabitants	304
Consumption of the natives in Brazil	305
Expeditions of the Paulistas in search of slaves and mines	306
Enmity between the Paulistas and Jesuits	308
The Paulistas attack the Reductions	309
Mansilla and Maceta follow them to S. Paulo	311
Effect of these ravages upon the converts	312
The Jesuits compelled to evacuate Guayra	313
Falls of the Parana	315
Reductions formed among the Itatines in the Tapé	316
The Jesuits driven from thence	318
River Parana	*ib.*
River Uruguay	320
The Jesuits settle their converts between these rivers, and send to the court of Spain	321
F. Alfaro killed by the Paulistas	323
The Paulistas defeated by the Governor of Paraguay	*ib.*
Tribes in Lake Ybero subdued	*ib.*
Diaz Tano returns from Spain	325
Tumults in Brazil against the Jesuits	*ib.*
The Paulistas, upon the Braganzan Revolution, wish to elect a King from themselves	327
Amador Bueno refuses to accept the office	328
Evil effects of the Revolution upon Paraguay	329
The Paulistas defeated by the Indians of the Reductions	330
Secular year of the Company celebrated in Paraguay	331

CHAPTER XXIV.

System of the Jesuits in Paraguay	333
They seek to form a perfect Christian Commonwealth	335
State of property in the Reductions	*ib.*
Public tribute	336
Municipal Government	337
Hierocracy	*ib.*
Religious fraternities	338
Officers of health	*ib.*
Plan of the towns	339
Houses	*ib.*
Churches	340
Burial Grounds	341
Funerals	342
Early marriages	*ib.*
Discipline	343
Education and employment of the children	344
Choristers	*ib.*
Guarani the language of the Reductions	345
Music	346
Dancing	347
Sacred dramas	*ib.*
Festivals	348
Sports	349
Employments of the women	*ib.*
Dress	351
Ornaments	352
Punishments	*ib.*
System of inspection	353

Page
Intercourse with the Spaniards - - 355
The Caa, or Herb of Paraguay - - 356
Manner of preparing it - - - 357
Its use learnt from the natives - - 358
The natives consumed in gathering it - *ib.*
The Spaniards destroy the trees - - 359
Cultivated by the Jesuits - - *ib.*
System in Paraguay suggested by what Nobrega and Anchieta had done in Brazil - 360
Lorenzana, Montoya, and Diaz Tano, the founders - - - - *ib.*
Its effect upon the Indians - - 362
Discomforts and dangers of the missionaries 364
Tribes from which the Reductions were formed - - - - 366
Guaranies - - - - *ib.*
Chiriguanas - - - - 378
Cayaguas - - - - *ib.*
Guanas - - - - 374
Language - - - - 377
Difficulty respecting marriage - - 379

CHAPTER XXV.

Cardenas Bishop of Paraguay - - 381
Difficulty respecting his consecration - 383
He goes to Asumpcion - - - 387
Doubts concerning his authority - *ib.*
Conduct of the new Bishop - - 389
He claims temporal as well as ecclesiastical powers - - - - 391
His first dispute with the Governor - 392
He excommunicates the Governor - 393
Conduct of the Bishop's nephew - - 394
The Governor is absolved - - *ib.*
Fresh contests with the Governor - 395
His outrage against Friar Pedro - - 396
The Governor and his agents again excommunicated - - - - 397
Public penance of the Bishop - - *ib.*
He seeks to excite insurrection against the Governor - - - - 399
The Governor again reconciled and absolved 401
Insincerity of the Governor, who is again excommunicated - - - *ib.*
The Bishop leaves Asumpcion - - *ib.*
He goes to Yguaron, and arrests two of the Chapter - - - - 403
The Governor submits and pays the fine - 404
Rapacity of the Bishop - - - *ib.*
He again excommunicates the Governor - 405
Cause of the Bishop's enmity toward the Jesuits - - - - 407
He endeavours to expel them from Asumpcion - - - - - 409
Duplicity of the Governor - - 411
Guaranies collected for the defence of the Jesuits - - - - 412
Hinostrosa goes with the Guarani force to seize the Bishop - - - - 413
The Bishop promises to submit, and secretly marches to Asumpcion - - 416
He enters the capital, and fortifies himself in the Franciscan Church - - 417
The Jesuits' party depose the Bishop, and deport him - - - - 419
The Bishop exhibits charges against the Jesuits - - - - 421
The Jesuits accused of working gold mines for their own benefit - - - 422
The Governor of the Plata goes to examine the truth of the accusation - 423
Cardenas appeals to the Bishop of Cordoba 426
State of the city, according to his partizans 427
Hinostrosa's government expires - - 429
The Bishop returns in triumph - - 430
The new Governor resists, but soon submits 431
Measures against the Jesuits - - 432
The Governor dies, and the Bishop is appointed to succeed him - - 433
The Jesuits tumultuously expelled from Asumpcion - - - - 434
Their property confiscated - - 436
They chuse two Judge Conservators - 437
The Audience appoint a Vice Governor - *ib.*
He marches against the Bishop - - 438
And deports him from Asumpcion - 441
Sentence passed by the Judge Conservators *ib.*
After fate of Cardenas - - - 442
Charge of heresy against the Jesuits - 443
Letter of Cardenas to the Viceroy of Peru *ib.*
Examination of the charge - - 445
Fresh report of mines upon the Uruguay - 447

CHAPTER XXVI.

Maranham in a worse state than the older Captaincies - - - - 449
Attempt of the Dutch in the Orellana - 450
Expedition in search of gold mines and slaves 452
Laws respecting the slavery of the Indians 453
Joam IV. renews the abolition - - 456
Early history of F. Antonio Vieyra - 456
Vieyra envied for his favour at Court - 460
He prepares to embark secretly for Maranham as a missionary - - 461

Page

The King prevents him from sailing with the fleet - - - - - - 461
He obtains permission to follow it - 463
Powers granted to him - - - *ib.*
The King repents the permission which he has given - - - - - 464
He consents to remain in Portugal - 465
And sails for Maranham without intending it 466
Vieyra arrives at S. Luiz - - 467
Dispute for the office of Vicar General - *ib.*
First letter of Vieyra to the King - 468
State of the inhabitants, and system of oppression - - - - - - 469
Dispute between Vieyra and the Capitam Mor 472
Vieyra's first sermon at S. Luiz - 474
The people, in consequence of this discourse, consent to an arrangement concerning the slaves - - - - - 482
Religious ceremonies at S. Luiz - 483
The Capitam Mor deceives Vieyra and evades the laws - - - - - 484
Vieyra writes to the King - - 486
Success of the Deputies at Lisbon - 488
Vieyra sails for Lisbon - - 489
His danger upon the voyage, and providential deliverance - - - 490
His interview with the King - - 491
Arrangement respecting slavery referred to a Junta - - - - - 494
A Missionary Board established - *ib.*
Decree in favour of the Indians - 496
Question respecting the Government of Maranham - - - - - 497
Vidal appointed Governor - - 498
The King wishes to keep Vieyra in Portugal *ib.*
Vieyra pleads his own cause before the triennial meeting - - - 499
He returns to Maranham - - 500

CHAPTER XXVII.

Vidal takes possession of the Government 501
Examination of the captives at Belem - 502
Villainy of the captors and of the Judges 503
Success of the Jesuits - - - 507
Expedition up the Tocantins - - 508
Outrage against the Jesuits at Curupa - 510
The Juruunas - - - - *ib.*
Fruitless expedition in search of mines - *ib.*
Death of Sotto Mayor - - 511
Vieyra seeks to open a communication with Seara - - - - - 511
The Missionaries reach Ibiapaba - 514

Page

D. Pedro de Mello succeeds Vidal - 517
Expedition to the Rio Negro - - *ib.*
The Ilha dos Joanes - - - 518
Unsuccessful war of the Portugueze against the Islanders - - - 519
Failure of a second expedition - - *ib.*
Sotto Mayor leaves a crucifix among the Savages - - - - - 520
Vieyra proposes to treat with them - 521
He is successful - - - 522
Ceremonies at the submission of the tribes 524
Vieyra goes to the Serra de Ibiapaba - 527
The heretical Indians are removed - 528
The Chamber of Belem remonstrate against the system of the Jesuits - - *ib.*
Reply of Vieyra to their memorial - *ib.*
The Chamber dispute his powers - 531
Pedro de Mello encourages the discontented party - - - - - *ib.*
Death of the Bishop of Japan - - 532
Vieyra's letters to him are made public - *ib.*
Insurrection at S. Luiz - - 533
Vieyra calls upon the Chamber of Belem to maintain the laws - - - 534
Insurrection at Belem - - - 536
Vieyra is seized and expelled - - *ib.*
Jesuits deported from Maranham - 537
Transactions at Curupa - - 538
Ruy Vaz de Sequeira, Governor - - 540
His temporizing policy - - 541
Proceedings at Belem - - - 542
Mello seeks to counteract the measures of his successor - - - 543
Sequeira effects the restoration of the Jesuits 546

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Barreto Governor General - - 549
Rio de Janeiro separated from the general government - - - - 551
Insurrection there against Salvador Correa *ib.*
He conciliates the Paulistas and restores order 553
Carmelites established at Bahia - *ib.*
Small pox in Brazil - - - 554
Vidal Governor of Pernambuco - 555
Succeeded by Jeronymo Furtado - *ib.*
Discontents at Olinda - - - 556
Peace with Spain - - - 558
Settlement of Cayru - - - *ib.*
The Guerens infest Bahia and the adjoining provinces - - - - 562
Death of Manoel Barbosa - - 563
The Paulistas called in against the Guerens 564

	Page
Destruction of the Savages	566
Discovery and conquest of Piauhi	567
River Parnaiba	568
Search for mines	*ib.*
Death of the Governor	569
Three persons appointed to succeed him	*ib.*
Three Bishopricks erected	570
A Nunnery established in Bahia	*ib.*
Roque da Costa, Governor	571
Question respecting the boundary of Brazil	572
Foundation of Nova Colonia	*ib.*
Alarm of the Spaniards	*ib.*
Reconnoitering parties sent from the Reductions	573
The Guaranies capture the crew of a shipwrecked vessel	574
The Portugueze required to evacuate their new settlement	575
A Guarani force raised against them	576
The Fort taken	578
Temporary adjustment of the dispute between the two Governments	579
Antonio de Sousa de Menezes, Governor	581
Tyranny and disorder of his administration	582
The city send complaints to the King	584
The Governor superseded by the Marquez das Minas	585
Pestilence in Brazil	586

CHAPTER XXIX.

Affairs of Maranham	588
Triumph of the Friars and the Slave party	589
New edicts respecting the Indians	*ib.*
A slaving party cut off by the natives	591
Vengeance taken by the Portugueze	592
Sequeira suspends the new edicts	*ib.*
The Chamber of Belem oppose him	593
Antonio de Albuquerque, Governor	594
Disputes with the Chamber	595
Pedro Cesar, Governor	596
The tribes on the Tocantins apply for protection against the Paulistas	597
Expedition up the Tocantins in search of mines	598
Course of that river	*ib.*
Seat of Government removed to Belem	599
The King reprimands the Chamber	*ib.*
Expedition against the Taramambazes	601
The Jesuits restored to all their former power	602
Restriction concerning trade	603
Slavery again abolished	*ib.*
Regulations concerning the Aldeas	*ib.*
Francisco de Sa, Governor	904
Establishment of an Exclusive Company	*ib.*
Discontents at Maranham	605
Indecision of the Capitam Mor and the Governor	606
Conspiracy formed by Beckman	*ib.*
Midnight assemblage of the people	608
Insurrection	609
Imprisonment of the Capitam Mor	*ib.*
Proceedings of the victorious party	*ib.*
The insurgents send a deputy to Belem	611
Fruitless measures of the Governor	612
Expulsion of the Jesuits	613
The Governor attempts to purchase Beckman's submission	*ib.*
Beckman's danger	615
He applies to a pirate for assistance	*ib.*
Gomes Freyre de Andrada appointed Governor	616
He takes out persons connected with Maranham	617
Insufficient force allotted him	618
Court intrigues against Gomes Freyre	619
He requires discretionary powers	621
Gomes Freyre arrives at Maranham	622
He obtains information from the city	623
Attempts to dissuade him from landing	*ib.*
He surprizes the fort, and enters the city without resistance	626
Flight and apprehension of the ringleaders	627
Beckman is betrayed and taken	628
Lazaro de Mello loses his reward	*ib.*
Beckman and Sampayo condemned	629
Interview of the wife and daughters of Beckman with the Governor	630
Beckman executed	*ib.*

CHAPTER XXX.

Boundaries of Maranham	632
Population	632
Nobles	633
Privileges of the settlers	*ib.*
Revenues	634
Intercourse between S. Luiz and Belem	*ib.*
Population of Belem	*ib.*
Revenues	635
Expenditure	*ib.*
Military establishment	536
Iron in Maranham	*ib.*
Opinion respecting the Indians	638
Mortality among them	*ib.*
Their horror of slavery	639
Expeditions into the interior	641

	Page
Colonists dependent upon the labour of the Indians	642
Fallacious defence of slavery	644
Wild produce	645
Provision upon the Expeditions	646
Cultivated produce	647
Distress of the settlers	*ib.*
Jealousy of the French and Dutch	648
Seara	650
Rio Grande do Norte	651
Pernambuco called New Holland by the Dutch	*ib.*
Antiquities in Pernambuco	652
Zeal of the Dutch for religion	653
Improvements introduced by them	655
The climate injurious to their women and children	656
State of the population	*ib.*
Flourishing state of Olinda before the war	657
Growth of Recife	658
Few intermarriages between the Dutch and the Portugueze	*ib.*
Population of Bahia	659
Commercial prosperity	660
New Christians	661
Influx of silver from Buenos Ayres	*ib.*
Whale fishery	*ib.*
Sugar	662
Boypeba, Cayru, and Camamu	663
Ilheos	*ib.*
Its inland navigation	*ib.*
And ungenial climate	664
Porto Seguro	664
Ravaged by the Savages	*ib.*
Espirito Santo	665
Campos dos Goaitacazes	*ib.*
Cabo Frio	667
Population of Rio de Janeiro	*ib.*
Ilha Grande	668
Ilha de S. Sebastian	*ib.*
Santos	*ib.*
S. Paulo	*ib.*
A party of Paulistas reach Quito	*ib.*
Manner of searching for gold	669
S. Vicente	670
Cananea	*ib.*
S. Catalina	*ib.*
Trade of strangers with Brazil	*ib.*
Attempt to introduce the culture of spices	671
State of the Engenhos	674
Number of Negroes	675
Their cruel treatment	*ib.*
Dress and fashions of the Portugueze	677
Jealousy	678
Frequent assassinations	679
Corruption of manners	680
Superstition	681
Frauds of the Priests	*ib.*
Miracles attributed to Anchieta	682
Life of F. Joam d'Almeida	684
Corruption of Christianity	689
No printing in Brazil	691
No distinction of Casts	*ib.*

HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAPTER XIX.

A Truce for ten years between Portugal and the United Provinces. The Dutch take advantage of it to get possession of Serigipe, Loanda in Angola, the Isle of St. Thomas, and Maranham. Antonio Telles da Sylva Governor of Brazil. Expedition of the Dutch against Chili. The Portugueze of Maranham recover the Island, and compel the enemy to abandon S. Luiz. Nassau is recalled. His last advice to the Great Council.

One of the first acts of the Viceroy after the news of the Acclamation reached him, had been to dispatch a vessel to Recife with the intelligence. Instead of bearing a flag of truce, and waiting off the harbour, as usual, to obtain permission for entering, the ship appeared drest out with gala colours, sailed in at once, firing repeated salutes of musquetry, and anchored in front of Nassau's residence, who rewarded the messenger with a jewel of great value. The tidings of this Revolution were received with equal joy by the Pernambucans and the Dutch; the former hoping to receive from a Portugueze King that efficient succour which they knew it was in vain to look for from

The revolution in Portugal announced to Nassau.

Valeroso Lucideno. l. 2. c. 2. p. 108.

April.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

Madrid, the latter expecting easily to extend their conquests during the confusion which would ensue. Three days were set apart for public rejoicings; on the first the sports were after the Portugueze manner, horse-races, running at the ring, throwing the cane, and pelting with *alcanzias*, or hollow earthern balls, filled with flowers, ashes, or powder, a sort of carnival hand-grenade, which the name seems to refer to a Moorish origin: on the second the entertainment was Flemish; a magnificent dinner was given by Count Mauritz to the gentry of both nations and sexes, and the order of the day was, that whoever erred in a toast should drink it a second time; on the third the horse-exercises were renewed, and the whole was concluded by a public supper. Before this was over a ship arrived from Holland with dispatches, announcing that a truce for ten years had been agreed upon between the States and the Court of Portugal, ... and the last bumper was drank in honour of the joyful tidings.

East. Lus. 5. § 18.

Truce for ten years concluded with Holland.

But the Brazilians had little cause for rejoicing at the arrangements made between Portugal and Holland. Immediately after the Acclamation of Joam IV., ambassadors from Lisbon were dispatched to Paris, London, and the Hague, to solicit the alliance of the three courts. Tristam de Mendoza was charged with the last and most important of these missions. A colleague had been nominated with equal powers, but as something occurred which prevented this person from accepting the charge, it was thought that the deficiency might be supplied by appointing Antonio de Sousa Tavares secretary to the embassy, and annexing to it two merchants as counsellors, one of whom was a Dutchman, naturalized and married in Lisbon. Circumstanced as the new King was, it was so essential that his cause at foreign courts should be entrusted to men of rank and fidelity, that where these qualifications were found, he was

fain to dispense with the talents which would at other times have been required. But the plan of appointing counsellors to the ambassador had inconveniences which might have been foreseen: it might wound his pride, and it lessened his responsibility. He was instructed to negociate for the restitution of all the Portugueze conquests and colonies which had been captured; for it was argued, that as Portugal had only been involved in the war with Holland as dependant upon Spain, in consequence of an usurpation which she had shaken off, it was not just that Holland, with whom she was now engaged in a common cause against Spain, should retain possessions taken from Portugal under such circumstances. However cogent in equity this reasoning might appear to the Portugueze, they could hardly expect that it should be admitted. Willingly or unwillingly, the forces and treasures of Portugal had been employed against the United States during their arduous struggle with the mighty power of Spain, and the conquests which the Dutch had effected in their foreign possessions had been made fairly in open war. Discussions upon this point were set aside for the present by the expedient of concluding a truce for ten years, and it was stipulated that in the course of eight months Portugal should send plenipotentiaries to treat for a definitive peace; but whatever might be the issue of this fuller negociation, the truce was to hold good for the whole term specified. A year was allowed for notifying it to the Dutch commanders in India, with a proviso that if the intelligence should arrive sooner, the truce was immediately to commence. Of this article the Portugueze complained, and censured the conduct of their diplomatist who submitted to it; but the letter of the treaty would not have been objectionable, if the Power by whom it was dictated had had no sinister object in view. On these terms their High Mightinesses agreed to supply the Por-

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

Ericeyra. I. 153—5.

June 12.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

tugueze with arms and ammunition, of which their country had been stript by Spain, and to send troops and ships to Lisbon, to be employed against the common enemy. Meantime in their advices to Nassau, (who, finding that the Company were jealous of his power, and listened willingly to complaints which envious factions or discontented individuals sent home against him, had requested to be recalled,) they required him to continue in the command, and ordered him to seize the present opportunity of extending their conquests as widely as possible. Especially, they observed, it was of importance to get possession of Bahia, and if he should not think it practicable to win the city either by fraud or force, they recommended him to besiege and blockade it, as in that case means might be found of obtaining it when peace was made. It is a Dutch historian who relates this, and he states it openly, without appearing to perceive the iniquity of the transaction, or offering the apology with which the members of the Dutch Government perhaps glosed over the villainy to their own consciences. They no doubt believed it impossible that Portugal could maintain its independence against Spain, and looked upon the revolution as a mere temporary event, from which it was their business to derive all the advantages they could while it lasted.

Treachery of the Dutch.

Barlæus. p. 202.

The Brazilians were not prepared for this treachery. The three Governors, who after the deposition of the Viceroy had been invested with the command at Bahia, sent Pedro Correa da Gama, and Vilhena the Jesuit, to Recife, to make arrangements for a friendly intercourse between the two Powers, till things should be ultimately adjusted by their respective Governments in Europe. Vilhena had private business to transact in Pernambuco. His brethren of the Company had charged him to secure the plate which they had buried before their flight, and Mathias and Duarte de Albuquerque had in

Embassy of Vilhena to Recife.

like manner commissioned him to recover their hidden treasures, and the property which they had disposed of in trusty hands. For himself, the Jesuit is accused of having carried on a gainful and dishonourable trade. He had brought out with him from Portugal many letters from the King with blank directions, to be distributed according to his discretion among the persons of most influence and character in Brazil; the letters announced the restoration of the legitimate family to these persons as men whose worth was well known, and whose loyalty was relied on by the Government; the possession of such letters therefore became a mark of honour, and would be a pledge of future favour from the Court; they would at least serve as valid testimonials for those who should solicit preferment. Vilhena made them matters of private contract, boasting of his own power at Lisbon, and enriched himself by the sale. The end however was singularly unfortunate for himself; he sailed from Brazil in a caravel and reached Madeira, but trembling for the wealth which he carried with him in a vessel so little capable of defence, he took his passage from thence in a large Levant ship bound for Lisbon. The caravel arrived safely; the Levanter was taken by an Algerine pirate, and Vilhena ended his days in the most wretched of all slaveries.

Faleroso Lucideno. p. 113.

These Deputies ordered Paulo da Cunha and Henrique Diaz, who were still ravaging the country in defiance of all the Dutch force, to withdraw their troops into the Portugueze Captaincies; and the order being now given in good faith, was obeyed. Nassau had set a price of five hundred florins upon Paulo da Cunha's head, a measure which produced no other effect than that of making Paulo offer two thousand cruzados for Nassau's. Such however was the apparent alteration of affairs in consequence of the Braganzan revolution, that Paulo was now invited with the Commissioners to Nassau's table; the conversation turned upon

Paulo da Cunha and Henrique Diaz recalled from Pernambuco. Barlæus. p. 201.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

what had passed while they were enemies, and the Dutch Governor, in the freedom of convivial intercourse, complained to his guest of the great price which he had offered for his life. Paulo replied that the cause of complaint lay rather on his part than on the Count's; it could not be thought that the head of a Prince ought to be valued at less than two thousand cruzados to a poor soldier, but when a Prince wished to purchase that of a brave man, five hundred florins was too little to offer for it.

Ericeyra. 1. p. 495.

The Dutch surprize Seregipe.

During their stay at Recife the Commissioners saw sufficient reason to distrust the sincerity of Nassau's professions, and on their return they warned the Governors, that the Dutch were deceiving them. The Governors, as they would fain have believed the suspicion groundless, acted as if it were so; but it was soon verified. Mauritz, in obedience to his instructions, prepared to extend his conquests on all sides; and in consequence of the recall of the marauding parties, he ventured to increase his disposable force by withdrawing the greater part of his garrisons, relying upon the supineness of the three Governors, and the credulity with which they confided in his good faith. His first attempt was toward the North, upon St. Christovam, the capital of Seregipe. The inhabitants, who had returned there since the siege of St. Salvador, were surprized by a squadron of four sail, which entered the port carrying a flag of truce: . . an act of superfluous treachery, for the place could not have been maintained if it had been fairly attacked. The assailants landed without opposition; they fortified themselves, and then began to search for mines, expecting to find silver. But they had little success in this, and indeed little opportunity for it, for this act of aggression roused the Governors, and they sent Camaram with his native troops to encamp within sight of the town, and prevent the Dutch from venturing beyond their works. The first and second time that any of them went out to seek provi-

Barlæus. 201. Cast Lus. 5. § 20.

Ericeyra. 1. 197.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 20

Barlæus. 203.

sions, he was instructed to take every thing from them, and warn them that on a third attempt their lives would be the forfeiture. These orders he obeyed so well that the conquerors were imprisoned within the town which they had so dishonourably won, and reduced to depend for subsistence upon what they received by sea. CHAP. XIX. 1641.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 24. Ericeyra. 1. 495.

Bahia had lost a great part of its force in consequence of the Revolution. There were in its garrison seven hundred Spanish and Neapolitan troops; the Portugueze were too honourable to make men prisoners who had so long been their fellow soldiers; they gave them a good ship capable of holding them all, and victualled for a voyage to Spanish America, but would not allow them to lay in provisions for a longer course, well knowing that if they sailed to Spain they would immediately be employed against Portugal. After these troops had past Cape St. Augustine, they carried away their main mast in a gale, and put into Paraiba to repair, where they endeavoured to procure stores enough to serve them till they should reach Europe. Here however they found themselves in worse hands than in those of the Portugueze. The Dutch seized them, which was easily done as they were without arms, and compelled them to work at the fortifications, while it was deliberated in what manner to dispose of them, some being of opinion that the surest and shortest method was to hang them out of the way. At length it was determined to send the men to some of the Spanish settlements, where for want of officers to keep them together, they would be likely to disperse. The officers were detained in Pernambuco, till after some months of solicitation they were allowed to return home by way of Holland.

Spanish and Neapolitan troops sent from Bahia.

Valeroso Lucideno. p. 115.

In ridding themselves of these internal enemies, the Portugueze suffered a grievous diminution of a force which had never been equal to the danger for which it was required; and in this

Expedition of the Dutch against Angola.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

state of weakness the Government was roused from its dreams of security by tidings of invasion on all sides, and perceived when it was too late the important service which Paulo da Cunha and Henrique Diaz had rendered by occupying the invaders' attention. Jol and Hinderson had been dispatched with two thousand regular troops and two hundred Indians against S. Paulo de Loanda, the capital of Angola, and the most important of the Portugueze possessions in Africa. Information had been given to the Governor Pedro Cesar de Menezes, by his native spies, that the King of Congo had sent agents to Pernambuco to invite the Dutch to this attempt: whatever credit he might attach to the intelligence, he had no means either of providing against the danger, or of resisting it: some of his troops were in the interior, engaged in war with the negro chiefs; and others had lately deserted in a galleon, disgusted with their station in a pestilential country, where death was daily sweeping away their companions. When the approach of the invaders was known, he could muster only two hundred troops and one hundred and fifty armed inhabitants. The Bishop, an old man of exemplary virtue and great resolution, brought out the clergy and all his household, and carried a harquebuss himself, notwithstanding his advanced age. When the fleet came in sight, Pedro Cesar thought they would sail up towards the city, and he ordered the officers of the crown to sink two vessels for the purpose of blocking the channel. They objected that the public finances could not afford to pay the owners of these vessels for the loss; upon which one of the inhabitants, by name Antonio Ribeiro Pinto, exclaimed, that if the proposed measure was expedient for the defence of the city, it must be done, and if the Treasury could not indemnify the owners, he would. This Portugueze opened all his stores, and offered all that he possessed to the public service. The Dutch however did not at-

tempt the channel: they blockaded it to prevent any of their booty from escaping by sea; then put out their boats, and landed under cover of two ships, which were skilfully anchored between the two forts of Cassondama, and Penedo, or the Rock, the guns of these forts not being of sufficient calibre to command the pass. Pedro Cesar could not reach this part of the shore in time to oppose their landing, and with his inferior force it would have been hopeless to attack them afterwards. He retreated to the fort of Santa Cruz, declaring, that since it was his ill fortune to lose the city for want of troops to defend it, he would at least die at his post, and show that there had been no want of courage on his part. But then the Bishop and the People interfered, and required him to maintain the country for the service of God and the King, and their remonstrances prevailed upon him to abandon the intention of sacrificing his life to a false point of honour. They hastened into the city, loaded themselves and their slaves with ammunition, as the thing most needful for men in their circumstances, buried the church plate, and secured as many of their most valuable effects as the urgency of the occasion would allow; and so busily were they employed in these arrangements, that when they were about to leave the town, there remained but one avenue which the enemy had not occupied. By this it was two hours after midnight; the settlement was in too rude a state to have good roads, even immediately near the principal city; they were bewildered, and in endeavouring to regain the path must have fallen into the hands of the invader, if they had not found a negress who was employed in making charcoal in the woods; she directed them on their way to the river Bengo, where the Jesuits had a farm, and where there were large plantations of maize. The Angolan war now assumed the same character as that of Brazil; a superior enemy possessed the capital, and the Portugueze kept up their

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

desultory hostilities in the country; but their inferiority was greater here, and they were driven successively from one post to another, till finally they retreated to their fort of Massangano, abandoning about thirty leagues of territory to the invaders; while the natives willingly exchanged their old yoke for one of which they had never yet felt the weight.

Historia de Angola. MS.

Effects of the loss of Loanda upon Brasil.

The capture of Loanda happened on St. Bartholomew's day, a Saint who is famous in Catholic mythology for his exploits against the Devil: as the Saint had not interfered in their defence, the Angolan Portugueze believed that their sins had brought down this chastisement, and that Satan had been let loose against them. The Brazilians were equally astonished and dismayed at this unexpected stroke: their whole supply of negroes came from Angola; and they not only lost the direct profits of this execrable trade, but they looked for the loss of every thing in consequence, the whole business of their sugar works being performed by slaves; so compleatly were they dependent upon the labour of this injured and unhappy race, that their ruin appeared inevitable, now that the supply was in the hands of the Dutch. Nassau was of opinion that the Government of Angola ought to be appended to that of Brazil: it was just, he urged, that he who had planned and directed this important conquest, should govern the territory which he had won; and it was expedient, because of the importance of the Slave Trade to these American possessions, and because from Brazil Angola could most easily be supplied. The Company thought otherwise, and on better grounds. Portugal, they said, had always made Angola a distinct government. Brazil still required provisions from Holland; how then could it provide for these new possessions? its own affairs were sufficient fully to occupy its rulers. The simplest method of proceeding was, that ships should sail direct from Holland to Loanda, carry out stores

Historia de Angola. MS.

Sim. de Vas. Vida de Almeida. 6. 1, § 1.

Barlæus. 207.

and articles of traffic for that country, discharge their cargoes there, take in slaves for Brazil, and finally return to Europe laden with sugar.

Expedition against the Island of St. Thomas.

Meantime Jol proceeded with thirteen ships against the Island of St. Thomas. In the year 1600 the Dutch had attacked this place, taken the town and the fortresses, and endeavoured to establish themselves there; but the climate made such havoc among them, that in the course of a fortnight, the Admiral, the Vice Admiral, every Captain in the expedition, (one alone excepted,) and above a thousand of the men were swept off, and the few who survived fled from their baneful conquest, lest they also should perish there. Such experience of this deadly climate would have sufficed for any people but the Dutch, in whom the thirst of commercial gain produces as much indifference to pestilence, as predestination occasions in the Turks. St. Thomas's had nearly been secured by the Spaniards when Portugal recovered her independence. The Islanders received the first news of this event from an English ship; but it came in so confused a rumour, that they doubted its truth, and waited anxiously for clearer information. A Spanish vessel shortly arrived, bringing out two hundred soldiers, under an officer who was to assume the Government as soon as he could succeed in introducing his men into the fort: a French ship happened to arrive at the same time at the adjacent Ilha das Cabras, or Goat Island; the Spaniard ordered the inhabitants to treat her as an enemy, upon which the French Captain attacked the Spaniard, and captured her, but set her men on shore. Miguel Pereyra de Mello, the Alcayde Mor, was at that time acting as Governor, his predecessor having lately died. He suspected the intent of the Spaniards, and by examining a Portugueze pilot, whom they had incautiously brought with them, he found that the English news appeared to be well founded.

Barlæus. 213. Dapper. Eilanden van Afrika p. 76. Des Marchais. t. 3. p. 20.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

Upon this he seized the officer who meant to have superseded him, and put him to the torture, to make him declare what had happened. The resolute Spaniard bore his sufferings in silence, and Pereyra obtained no farther certainty by this abominable act; but having sufficient evidence, he proclaimed Braganza, and supplied the French with provisions, as being now his allies. Two days afterwards an English vessel brought dispatches from the Court of Lisbon; and before the rejoicings on this occasion were well over, came a bark from Angola, with tidings that Loanda was lost, and that the victorious Dutch were about to attack the island.

Ericeyra. l. p. 299.

The governor capitulates.

Pereyra victualled the fort, and ordered the moveable wealth to be carried into the interior. The Dutch landed fourteen companies without opposition, and entrenched themselves in a chapel of St. Anna, about two miles from the city. They ventured then to bring their ships against the fort, and attempted under cover of their guns to storm it; the walls were nearly thirty feet high; they had no scaling ladders, and suffered considerable loss; one of their ships also was set on fire, and blew up, few of the crew escaping. But the Portugueze did not know how to improve their success; the Dutch discovered that the town and the smaller forts were abandoned, and bringing the artillery which thus fell into their hands against the Citadel, they attacked it for fourteen days. During that time only three of the garrison were slain; the bombs, however, frightened Pereyra, and he surrendered a place so strong and so well provided with means of defence and subsistence, that it might have held out till the climate, a sure ally, should have destroyed the assailants. The only conditions which he required were, that he and the King's troops might be sent to Portugal; he had no sooner arrived there than he was thrown into the Castle of Lisbon, and remained in prison during the rest of his life.

Barlæus. p. 207. Ericeyra. p. 300.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

The wealthiest of the Islanders now made terms, and paid 5500 cruzados to preserve their sugar-works from destruction, and for permission to live unmolested, and under their own laws, as subjects of the Dutch. Some of a braver spirit still held out in the interior of the Island; but enough submitted to save the conquerors from that total destruction which must have overtaken them had the whole population been in arms. For disease, as usual, broke out among the strangers, and made such ravages, that scarcely a tenth part of the men were able to perform the ordinary routine of service. Jol himself perished; a seaman of the old Dutch school, rough as the element upon which he lived, disregarding all the arts, ornaments, and almost the decencies of life, and living like his sailors, but beloved by them, for they had full confidence that whatever he undertook would be well planned and resolutely carried into effect. Before he died, in his hatred of the island which had caused the loss of so many brave men, he desired that he might not be buried in so cursed a country, but that they would throw him overboard ten or twelve leagues from land. The Dutch, however, deposited his remains in the Cathedral Church, a remarkable edifice, inasmuch as it is said to stand immediately under the line. Nassau, who believed that it was of importance for the Company to possess this island, and was aware how dreadful an expense of life would be required to support it, advised them to follow the system of the Portugueze, and garrison it wholly with convicts; thus none would die there except fellows who had deserved death, and all who lived would be so much clear gain to the republic: in pursuance of this policy he himself transported thither all the criminals from Pernambuco. He intreated them also to send out medicines, for they chose to believe, that wherever diseases existed, there also would the appointed remedies be found; and acting upon this convenient

Mortality among the Dutch.

Valeroso Lucideno. p. 118.

Barlæus. 209. 212.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

theory, they left their men to perish without any of the assistance which art might have afforded.

Maciel appointed governor of Maranham.

The Company had sent Nassau particular directions to obtain possession of the Isle and Province of Maranham; the northern division of Portugueze America would then be theirs, and from thence they could conveniently annoy the Spanish Main and the Islands. Maciel was at this time Governor of this state. During Raimundo's usurpation he had been in Spain, soliciting the reward of his services, for such he made his atrocities appear, where there was no one to plead the cause of the Indians against him. The rewards which he obtained were so much beyond those services, however he might have exaggerated them, that corruption as well as falsehood must have been employed in his behalf. The Order of Christ was given him; he was made a Fidalgo, Governor of the State of Maranham, and Donatory of a new Captaincy, named from the Cabo do Norte, and extending from that Cape to the Wiapoc or Pinzon, that river being considered as the boundary between the dominions of Portugal and Castille. The demarcation included the islands lying within ten leagues of the coast, and extended inland from eighty to a hundred leagues, as far as the Rio dos Tapuyaussús. This Captaincy was created for him, and an honorary clause inserted in the patent, that all his successors should retain the name and armorial bearings of Maciel Parente, which if any one neglected to do, his right of inheritance should lapse to the next heir.

June 14, 1637.

Captaincy of Cabo do Norte erected for him.

Berredo. § 672—4.

Raimundo sent to Lisbon and there absolved

This man had exerted himself at Madrid in favour of the system of Slavery, as well as for his own interests, which indeed were founded upon that system. Notwithstanding the numerous decrees which had been past from time to time in behalf of the natives, he obtained an edict for establishing what was called the Administration of the Free Indians; an arrangement by which these unhappy people were nominally declared free,

while they were actually made slaves; they were attached to the land, and equally with the land the property of its owner; but they could not be sold separately, like other cattle. This edict Maciel brought out with him, to the great joy of the planters and slave-hunters, who regarded it as a triumph over the Jesuits. He was instructed to enquire into the conduct of Raimundo in forcibly assuming the government. The result of the enquiry was, that this officer was pronounced an intruder, all the acts which he had past were declared null, and he was sent prisoner to Portugal. There the sentence was reversed; Raimundo pleaded, that he was appointed to succeed in the succession-papers, and though these had not been opened when he assumed the government, and consequently could not justify the act of usurpation, the plea was admitted. Such a reversal was more probably obtained by favour, or corruption, than by his acknowledged good conduct and meritorious measures. He deserved pardon, but ought not to have been acquitted.

1638.

Berredo. 676—7.

Misconduct of Maciel.

Maciel entrusted the new Captaincy to his nephew Joam Velho do Valle, whom he appointed at the same time Capitam Mor of Curupa. When it was attempted to extend dominion without increasing the force which was to maintain it, and one person was thus invested with two offices, each of which would have given full employment to the activity of the ablest man, the consequences in a time of war and danger might easily be foreseen. Things however seemed to prosper on the side of Maranham, whilst Brazil was struggling against its invaders. Teixeira returned from his adventurous voyage. The Captain of Para, on account of the numerous complaints which were sent from Belem against him, was suspended by Maciel, and his post given to Teixeira during the suspension, to the general joy of the inhabitants. But they knew little of Maciel's charac-

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

ter, who could expect justice at his hands. No sooner ha Manoel Madeira, the accused captain, appeared before hin than he acquitted him of all the charges so precipitately, as t make it apparent that he had either been suspended withou cause, or was now reinstated without investigation. Madeir embarked for Belem in a caravel which had on board sixt soldiers, and twelve families of colonists for the new Captaincy Either he resented his first treatment, and wished to reveng himself on Maciel; or more probably was afraid of the receptio which he might meet at Belem: so he gained the pilot, an fled with the ship to the Spanish Indies. Maciel instantly dis patched a vessel with advices to Europe by the same course stating the diminution which his force had thus unexpectedl undergone, and how little he was able to resist any attack whic the Dutch might make upon him. Greatly, however, as suc an attack was to be apprehended, he continued to act as thoug in perfect security; and the same blind selfishness which ha so often made him set at naught the feelings of religion an common humanity, led him now to disregard the plainest worl ly prudence. Weakened as S. Luiz had been by the las draught of soldiers, he drew a second detachment from th garrison, and dispatched the men to Belem, with orders t Teixeira to send them on to his new Captaincy, and with them as many troops from Para as there might be there above th number in Francisco Coelho's time. Teixeira reluctantly obey ed instructions against which he did not venture to remon strate, because he knew the violence of Maciel's temper. H resolved now to go to Portugal himself, and there solicit th reward of services which seemed to be in danger of remainin unrewarded; but while he was preparing for the voyage he died greatly regretted by the people of Para, and leaving a memor able name in the history of South America.

Teixeira's death.

Berredo. § 676—755.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

The news of the Acclamation now reached S. Luiz, and instructions came to the Governor at the same time, that he was to regard no people as enemies, except the Moors and Spaniards,.. names which could thus be coupled only to show that the Portugueze regarded both with equal abhorrence. Maciel knew that since these instructions were written the Dutch had seized Seregipe, and this knowledge might well have alarmed him for Maranham. An Englishman, who arrived from St. Michael's, brought him positive information that he would be attacked; he only ridiculed the intelligence. A few days afterwards some Indians assured him that a fleet was making for Peria, and tidings speedily followed that they were at anchor in the Bay of Aressagy, only four leagues from the city. Then indeed he sent to see what they were; and when he was told that they were fourteen ships, and all Dutch, such was his besotted confidence, that instead of making any preparations for defence, he saluted them, as soon as they appeared at the entrance of the Bay, as if they had been friends. They neither returned the salute nor brought to: and he then fired upon them; but his subsequent conduct proved this to be an act of sudden anger, not of determined courage. They returned the fire, ran up the river or channel of Bacanga, which separates the isle from the main land on the east, and dropt anchor before the chapel of N. Senhora do Desterro.

Expedition of the Dutch against Maranham.

Berredo. § 756—65.

Koin and Lichthart commanded this expedition. They landed half their men without resistance; the inhabitants, betrayed into a fatal confidence by their Governor's imprudence, were utterly unprepared; and seeing no hope of saving the place, every man thought only of saving himself and his family, and fled with them to the woods. About an hundred and fifty men got into the fort with Maciel, who now sent to the Dutch commander, saying, that the King of Portugal was at peace with

Maciel permits them to land and occupy part of the town.

CHAP. XIX. 1641.

Holland, and therefore the invasion of a Portugueze colony was contrary to all laws. Koin replied, that he had been driven there by stress of weather, and had landed his troops in this hostile manner because he had been fired upon: nevertheless, if the Governor would come out and treat with him in person, something might be agreed upon for the benefit of both nations. Maciel had obtained the reputation of being a brave man; he was only a cruel one: he went out of his fortress; Koin told him he could not leave Maranham till he received instructions from the States, whose conduct would be decided by that of the Court of Lisbon; and he proposed that Maciel should continue in his government till these instructions came, and assign a part of the city as quarters for the Dutch, where they might be supplied with all things necessary, paying the usual prices. Maciel was perfectly satisfied with proposals which gave him time to secure his private interests, issued his orders accordingly, and returned into the fort, to hold his office at the pleasure of the invaders.

Berredo. § 766—9.

The Dutch seize the citadel.

The Dutch, upon their way towards the city, gave sufficient proof, by the insolence of their language, if any proof had been needed, that they considered the island as their conquest; and they broke in pieces the images of the Virgin and of St. Antonio, in the chapel by which they landed. No insult could have been felt more deeply by the Portugueze, who had not all been panic-stricken, like their commander. Paulo Soares de Avellar attempted to make a stand at one of the gates, but his force was inadequate. Francisco Coelho de Carvalho besought Maciel to prepare for defence in the fort; the enemy, he said, were plundering the city, and had parleyed with him only for the sake of gaining admittance. Nothing, however, could rouse this man. A gunner, by name Mathias Joam, formed a masked battery of more than thirty pieces against the Praça de Armas,

which he would have opened upon the enemy as soon as they should come to take possession of it: but when he informed the Governor of the dispositions which he had made, Maciel hesitated and objected, till he made it too late to save the place. He soon found it too late to save himself. Koin advanced to the fort: the gates were opened to him, and Maciel delivered him the keys, in return for which he speedily received his proper reward. The Portugueze flag was struck, that of the United Provinces hoisted in it's place, and the Governor treated as a prisoner. The Dutch then betook themselves to pillage. It was told the Prior of Monte do Carmo, that the priest of the Mother Church had left behind him in his fear some consecrated wafers; and the Prior, regardless of personal danger, hastened to the church and swallowed them, lest the heretics should profane what the people believed to be the actual body of their Redeemer and their God! CHAP. XIX. 1641. *Berredo. 770—5.*

It was the interest of the Dutch commanders to repress the spirit of havoc in their men, and by their efforts the settlements on the opposite main were preserved from plunder. There were five sugar-works, or engines, as they are called, at Itapicuru, which compounded for 5000 *arrobas* of their produce. On the Island there were six engines in full employ. The Dutch found also fifty-five large pieces of cannon, ammunition in abundance, and plenty of wine, but few ships, five and forty having lately sailed for the Cape de Verds. The baseness of Maciel seemed to have infected his family. His nephew Pedro, whom after the Acclamation he had appointed Captain of Para, was on his way to Belem with thirty soldiers, 300 Indians, and a convoy of merchandize. He was at Tapuytapera on the main when the news of the Dutch conquest overtook him, and though out of all danger at the time, and having it completely in his power to reach Belem, where his presence and the reinforcements un- *The Island is conquered, and Maciel sent away prisoner.*

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

der him were now so necessary, he turned back to Maranham, and voluntarily surrendered himself, with all the property in his charge. The settlement at Tapuytapera fell in consequence. The Islanders were now deprived of all hope, and they who had fled from the city returned, and took the oath of obedience to the United States. The Dutch shipt off one hundred and fifty persons, of whom they were suspicious, giving them a leaky vessel, and liberty to go whither they would: they sailed for Madeira, but were glad to put into the island of St. Christophers, then jointly settled by the English and French, where they were hospitably received till they could dispose of themselves. Koin and Lichthart repaired a fort which commanded the mouth of the Itapicuru; stationed a guard of soldiers in each of the sugar-works, as overseers over the owners; and then leaving four ships, and a garrison of 600 men to preserve their conquest, they sailed on the last day of the year for Recife, taking Maciel with them. Nassau, who towards brave men had ever shown himself a generous enemy, treated this man with the contempt which his late conduct deserved, and sent him prisoner to the fortress at Rio Grande, where in a few days he died, at the age of seventy-five, having accumulated upon his soul as heavy a load of guilt, as any one who ever, to his own perdition, hunted down his fellow creatures like beasts of the chase, in order to enslave them for beasts of burden.

Barlæus. p. 224. Ericeyra. p. 303. Berredo. § 776–780.

Antonio Telles appointed Governor of Brazil.

It was in vain for the Court of Lisbon to protest against the conduct of Nassau, and complain, that while the Dutch in Europe were supplying them with stores, and acting conjointly against Spain, they were invading the Portugueze possessions in Africa and America. Their High Mightinesses replied, that these things were done before their Governor in Brazil knew that the truce was ratified. They were determined to keep what they had won, and the Portugueze, justly indignant at

such treatment, were equally determined to recover, notwithstanding the treaty, conquests which, in defiance of it, had been wrested from them. In this inauspicious manner did the truce begin, one party having committed a flagrant injustice, and the other meditating revenge. Antonio Telles da Sylva was appointed Governor of Brazil, and charged to proceed against the three Governors, for their conduct toward the Marquez de Monte Alvam. Barbalho and Brito were accordingly sent home prisoners: the former was pardoned, his errors being imputed to want of judgment; the latter remained for many years in the common jail at Lisbon: the Bishop escaped with a lighter punishment, being only compelled to refund the whole emoluments which he had received during his administration. The new Governor, following the treacherous policy of which the Dutch had set him the example, continued the same friendly communication with them which had been established since the Revolution, and while he always professed to be at peace, diligently watched for every opportunity of exciting and fomenting insurrections against them. *Ericeyra. 310.*

Floods and pestilence in Pernambuco.

Relying on these professions, Nassau hoped to enjoy the fruit of his conquests, and to see the ravages of war repaired. But Pernambuco and the southern provinces were visited by other calamities: the season proved unusually wet, the rivers overflowed, and men and cattle were swept away by the floods; especially about the Capivaribi. The young canes were destroyed by the inundation: those which were tall enough to escape this mode of destruction were killed by a species of aquatic worm, which penetrated them, and ate out the pith. This calamity was succeeded by pestilence: the small pox prevailed with such malignity, that more than 1100 negroes were cut off by it in the Captaincy of Paraiba. One evil thus ollowing another, the Portugueze in these conquered provinces

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

were unable to pay the taxes, and they petitioned the States for relief, representing, that on such occasions their own government was wont to require from those who rented the *Decimas* a tenth only of those tenths.

Barlæus. 228.

Nassau's advice to the Company.

Nassau had other difficulties to contend with: the Company having gained what they could during the negotiations, made it their next object to diminish their expenditure, in reliance upon the truce; and they instructed him to dismiss many of his officers, and lessen the pay of the men. Against this act of impolitic parsimony Nassau strongly remonstrated. Many officers, he assured the Directors, in indignation at the mere report of such a measure, had left the service, and sailed for Portugal to serve the new King. But this was no time for reducing the military establishment: the Portugueze were eagerly awaiting an opportunity to recover their losses, and revenge themselves: they were provoked by the capture of Loanda, St. Thomas, and Maranham; and their state of irritated feeling was manifested in their public remonstrances. It was necessary to guard against them; and at the same time to conciliate by all possible means those who had submitted to the Dutch Government; especially it imported to allow them that full religious liberty which had been promised them; nothing had exasperated them so much as the expulsion of the Jesuits, and other religioners, those who were left being only the dregs and disgrace of the church. He had received orders to restrict toleration within the narrowest bounds, and the reformed clergy were calling upon him to enforce these imprudent orders: but he reminded the Company, that it was not for freedom of religion within their own dwelling-houses that the Portugueze had stipulated, but for the full and public enjoyment of their rites and ceremonies, as freely as under their own Government. They were a people, he said, obstinate in their superstition, and who would never

make any country their permanent place of residence where they could not hear the voice of the priest. By establishing schools throughout their conquests, by carefully attending to the young, and labouring to improve the savages, the purer faith was to be promoted. All other methods were perilous, as well as ineffectual. It seems extraordinary that the Jews, who of all men had most reason to hate the Portuguese Government, should have been suspected by Nassau; he said they were always ready for mischief. He again urged the Company to encourage colonization in their Brazilian possessions, for it was not by garrisons and by fear that they could always be defended, but by the attachment of the inhabitants. This would be materially promoted, if an exemption from the tenths during seven years were granted to new settlers upon their marriage, and an additional year of immunity at the end of that term for each of their children; but it would seem an act of ungrateful injustice if this were done without granting some adequate bounty to the owners and overseers of the sugar-works, whose fidelity had been tried, who had borne the worst of the war, many of whom had intermarried with the Dutch, and by whose labours commerce was flourishing; this, therefore the Company should take into consideration. *Barlæus. 234—9.*

Expedition of the Dutch against Chili.

While Nassau was thus giving the Company wiser counsel than they had wisdom to follow, he was meditating great and extensive plans of conquest. Every thing was ready for an expedition against Buenos Ayres, when his attention was distracted by insurrections in Maranham and in St. Thomas. In the whole of the Spanish colonies there was no place which might so easily have been taken and maintained as Buenos Ayres; but the force intended for this service was now required for the protection of those conquests which had been so dishonourably made, and thus this growing and important city es-

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

caped. It was feared also that similar attempts would be made in Angola and in Seregipe, and that he might be ready against these expected exigencies, Nassau was compelled to abandon an expedition against the Negroes of the Palmares, who continually infested Pernambuco. A squadron destined against Chili had set sail before this intelligence arrived. The failure of the Dutch fleet against Peru, in the year 1624, had arisen entirely from misconduct, and it was hoped that an attempt made upon a more vulnerable part would efface the shame, and make up for the loss which had been then sustained. Henrik Brouwer, who had been Governor General at Batavia, and was now one of the Directors of the West India Company, offered his services for the occasion; he was a man of distinguished courage, conduct, and integrity, but odious to those under his command, because his discipline was strict, even to severity, and this, perhaps, proceeded from his disposition more than from any error in judgement; for like most of his countrymen in that age, Brouwer was merciless. His instructions were, to search for the Terra Australis on his way, and to offer assistance to the natives of Chili, especially the Araucans, to whom he was to relate, how the Dutch, having once been equally oppressed by their common enemy, the Spaniards, had by a like long and obstinate war recovered and secured their liberty. He was artfully to get from these people the secret of their mines, this being in reality the motive which induced him to plan the expedition, and the Company to undertake it. He was to examine the island of S. Maria, with a view of taking possession of it, in the hope that it might be made another Dunkirk: Baldivia also was to be taken and kept, if he found himself equal to maintain it, with the assistance of the natives. He was to bring back salt-petre, to defray the costs of the expedition; the various dies which were in use there, one of which was said to exceed cochineal;

Barlæus. 241—3.

and the vicuna, that it might be introduced into the Brazilian provinces. This voyage is remarkable in maritime history, because Brouwer, who intended to pass through the Straits of Le Maire, was driven off by storms, and discovered Staten Land to be an island. As he was the first person who entered the Pacific by this open course, his countrymen wished to have it called after him, the Brouwer Sea, ... an honour which they could not obtain for him, and to which indeed he had very little claim. He reached Chiloe, stormed some Spanish forts, and with the cruelty which characterized his countrymen in that age, put the men to the sword. But intelligence of his force and designs had previously been received at Lima[1]; the Spaniards were prepared to resist his farther progress; and the natives, notwithstanding the cunning with which the new comers endeavoured to cloak their real object, did not conceal their suspicion and abhorrence when they heard them enquire for mines. Brouwer died at Castro; he was succeeded by Elias Herckmann, one of the best of the Dutch, an excellent seaman, and athirst for knowledge of every kind; he had travelled far into the interior of Brazil, on journeys of discovery, and employed his leisure in poetical and historical composition. He reached Baldivia, and began to build a fort there; but it was found that the natives did not supply the troops with food, notwithstanding their promises; ... in fact, they had little or none to spare from their own wants: the men began first to murmur, then to mutiny and desert, and the Spaniards were collecting forces which would soon have overpowered him. These circum-

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

Cape Horn for the first time past.

Brouwer dies, Herckmann succeeds to the command, and the expedition fails.

[1] Barlæus hints, that this intelligence had been sold to the Spaniards by some of his countrymen: "*Fœdo profectò nostratium more, quibus deferre ad exteros domestica nimium proclive.*" *P.* 275.

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

stances induced him to abandon the country, and return to Pernambuco. His conduct was not approved by all the members of the government; but before any inquiry could take place, he died, more lamented than his predecessor had been, and leaving a better name to posterity.

Barlæus. 258—283.

Tyranny of the Dutch in Maranham.

This was an ill-judged expedition: success had intoxicated the Dutch, and calculators as they were, they seem never to have considered how disproportionate such plans of conquest were to their population, and to their means of maintaining what they might acquire. St. Luiz, like St. Salvador and Olinda, had been easily won; but in Maranham, as in Bahia and Pernambuco, the people whom the incapacity of their rulers had betrayed, soon began to work for their own deliverance. Here, even more than in other parts, the Dutch provoked insurrection by their misconduct. Many of the Portugueze had connected themselves by marriage with the conquerors, thinking that they were delivered over by the mother country; and the people during some months contented themselves with complaining to the Governor of the injuries and insults which they endured: but they found it vain to seek redress from one, who by the admission of his own countrymen was notorious for intemperance, ferocity and cruelty; longer sufferance appeared disgraceful as well as hopeless, and they took the better resolution of revenging themselves with their own right hands. It was time that this resolution should be taken. Four and twenty Portugueze of Maranham had been seized by a creature of the Governor's, from motives of mere personal wickedness, for no suspicion was even pretended against them, and exposed without defence to the savages, by whom they were instantly massacred and devoured.

Barlæus. 241.

Ditto. Berredo. 805.

The inhabitants determine to revolt.

The number of Portugueze who bound themselves to deliver Maranham, or perish in the attempt, did not exceed fifty, besides

some negroes, a race to whom the Dutch have generally behaved more cruelly than any other people. They chose for their leader Antonio Moniz Barreiros, who had been governor of the colony in his early youth, twenty years before this time. The plan which he formed was to attack the five sugar works of Itapicuru on the Main; in these works and in the fort upon the river of that name, there were three hundred Dutch; but the owners were among the confederated patriots, and would be ready, each at his post, to admit and cooperate with their countrymen. It was at first intended that all the five Ingenios should be attacked at the same hour, on the last night of September. The confederates punctually repaired to the appointed place of junction, where they were to receive the final orders of their chief; but when Antonio Moniz saw them thus collected, he thought they were too few to be divided, and immediately changing his plan, determined that they should in one body attack the works of Bento Maciel, which were administered as it is called, by his brother Vital Maciel, both bastards of the infamous governor whose name they bore; that done, they were to proceed to his own works, whither he would previously return, and mark with a light the safest place for their landing. CHAP. XIX. 1642. *Berredo*, § 806, 810.

The first point of attack was carried in less than half an hour; the whole of the Dutch were slain, and the conquerors providing themselves with better arms from the spoils of their enemies, advanced to the second works. Antonio Moniz was ready with his beacon; the Dutch were alarmed, and endeavoured to defend themselves in his dwelling house; it was thatched with palm leaves, to which the Portugueze set fire; the Dutch then broke through the mud wall, endeavouring thus to escape, but they who forced their way out fell by the sword or the musquet; the others, says the Annalist and Governor of Maranham, died like heretics, being consumed in the flames, the just punish- *First successes of the insurgents.*

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

ment of their barbarous errors. Moniz had received personal ill-treatment from these tenants by force, and exacted such vengeance that every man was destroyed. The third Ingenio was on the opposite side of the river, near enough for the garrison to take the alarm, and put themselves on their guard; but the place was not formed for defence, they were terrified and inferior in numbers, and were cut off like their companions. The fourth was attacked with the like success, and it was only at the last that any quarter was given. These works belonged to the Sargento Mor, Antonio Teixeira de Mello, second in command among the patriots, and by his humane exertions some of the Dutch were saved. The head of the detachment to which they were entrusted thought this mercy ill-timed, and ordered his men to put them to death, but they with proper feeling refused to obey him.

Berredo, §11, §16.

Fort Calvary taken by the Portugueze.

Fort Calvary was still to be won; it was garrisoned by seventy men with eight pieces of cannon. Moniz marched toward it without delay, and arrived near it just before day-break. His scouts fortunately laid hands on a soldier who had past the night without the walls, and this man, to save his own life, became their guide and adviser. He stationed them about fifty paces only from the fort, behind a great rock which from that day has been called the Rock of Patience, *Penedo da Paciencia*, because under its shadow the Portugueze remained several hours waiting for an opportunity to attack the enemy. At length the morning trumpet sounded, the gates were opened, and a small party issued out to reconnoitre and see that all was safe. This had been done so often that it was become a mere formality; they approached the rock without looking behind it, and returned to the fort with so little circumspection, that the Portugueze followed them unperceived, and closely enough to enter the gates at the same time. Even the centinels

did not discover them till they were within the fort, and began to cut down the astonished Dutchmen. The Commandant attempted to make a stand, but his men were panic stricken at the suddenness of the assault. Some were slain upon the spot; others flying to the sally-port, found that also in possession of the assailants. The greater number were put to the sword; those who were spared owed their lives to the interference of a Priest; he had borne the Crucifix before his comrades as a standard beneath which they were to march to victory, and he stretched out that Crucifix to protect his enemies now, when the victory was won. But this mercy was extended only to the Frenchmen who composed part of the garrison; a Catholic feeling incensed the conquerors against the Dutch, and thus rendered them immitigable towards an enemy, more hated for their heretical opinions than for their cruelty and their perfidiousness.

Berredo, § 817—20. *Ericeyra*, p. 371.

Some settlers upon the Itapicuru, who had joined their countrymen during the night, were left to garrison Fort Calvary, while Antonio Moniz crossed over to Isle Maranham, hoping to surprize Fort Felippe. But a negro, who escaping from the sugar-works, had swam across, had already carried intelligence of the insurrection to St. Luiz, and forty Dutchmen were sent out from that city to reconnoitre. They fell in with an advanced party of the patriots; the negro's tidings had spread among friends as well as enemies, and though this party consisted at first of not more than thirty men, Portugueze and Indians were now joining them so fast, that the Dutch detachment was outnumbered and cut to pieces. Moniz then took up a strong position about three leagues from the city, and stationed an advanced guard within a league of it, on the river Coty. A canoe was sent down the river, in hopes of making a prisoner, from whom information of the enemy's designs might be obtained.

They advance against the town.

CHAP. XIX 1642.

Some native fishermen came to meet the canoe, and enquiring eagerly where the Portugueze were, besought the boatmen to return and inform them, that the Dutch had resolved to attack the advanced post on the following day with a great part of their force. Upon this, Moniz advanced, and laid in ambush for the enemy. His force consisted of threescore soldiers and eighty Indians; that which marched against him amounted to an hundred and twenty men. The snare was well laid; the Dutch were surprized by a discharge of musquetry, and of arrows, which were not less destructive, and only five of the whole detachment escaped. More settlers now joined the insurgents, and were armed from the spoils of the field. They called upon their leaders to march without delay against St. Luiz, where the Dutch, they argued, would either be off their guard, in the expectation that their troops had been victorious, or be utterly disheartened, if they should have received tidings of the fate of their comrades. Moniz would have followed this advice, but Antonio Teixeira de Mello, whose experience and authority gave him great weight among the patriots, represented, that the Dutch were still greatly superior in numbers, and being veteran soldiers, would not fail to profit by the favourable ground between their present position and the city. It was better, therefore, to wait till they should receive succours from Para; and in the interim, the success which already had been obtained would bring more of the Islanders to their standard. This advice prevailed for four and twenty hours; the Portugueze then, in that spirit of mutability which want of discipline produces as surely as want of decision, changed their opinion, and Moniz marched at day-break toward St. Luiz. No opposition was made upon the way. He entered the suburbs, and took possession of the Carmo Convent, which stood on a little rising ground, just out of musquet shot from the walls. There he remained till it was

dark, and then during the night possessed himself of a post nearer the fortress, and threw up works there in form of a half-moon. At day-break these works were strong enough to repel the sallies of the enemy, and the Dutch being thus reduced to act upon the defensive, dispatched vessels to Recife, soliciting immediate succour.

Berredo, § 821—36.

Moniz also had applied for succour to his countrymen at Para. That Captaincy was at this time in a singular state of discord. The Capitam Mor, Francisco Cordovil, having received information of the loss of St. Luiz, and on the following day of Pedro Maciel's base surrender, began to prepare for defence, and called upon Joam Velho do Valle, and Cypriano Maciel Aranha, who commanded the new Captaincies of Cabo do Norte and Camuta, to come to his assistance. The former was of a bad race, brother to Pedro Maciel, and nephew to old Bento. In this family selfishness seems to have preponderated over every principle of honour and duty, as well as of humanity. He set out with eighty soldiers and five hundred Indians; there were under his command an hundred and fifty men, paid by the establishment of Para, which now needed and demanded their assistance, and the auxiliary force was in the same proportion greater; but he thought proper to leave nearly half to defend his own plantations of tobacco; and moved towards Belem with so little alacrity, that he consumed two months in a voyage for which only fifteen days were necessary. Having at length arrived, he took up his quarters in the Convent of St. Antonio, (then standing apart from the city, in the place called Campina, but now united with it;) and sending notice of his arrival to Cordovil, and to the Senado da Camera, or Council-Chamber, he informed them, that if they did not furnish his men with all things needful, and receive him as Commandant General, an office which he claimed under a provision of Bento Maciel, he

Affairs of Para.

Joam Velho called to the assistance of Belem.

He demands the government.

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

would immediately return to his own Captaincy. The Chamber replied, that when they saw the provision they would pay that deference to it which it should be found to deserve; that as to food, there was at that time a scarcity, and the best plan which could be adopted under such circumstances was, that his troops should be quartered upon the inhabitants, and fare alike with them, a measure, which however inconvenient in other respects, had the advantage of making the expense easier. Velho would not listen to this proposal, because it would have frustrated his intention of carrying his object by force; and lest the men might incline to it, he removed them during the night to Una, a little way distant from the town. This movement was observed from the fortress, and a few guns were ineffectually fired to prevent it.

Berredo, § 785—9.

and returns to Cabo do Norte when it is refused.

On the ensuing day he repeated his demands with increased arrogance. The same answer was returned respecting food; and touching the Provision, he was informed, that as it had not been registered in their Tribunal, it could not be deemed valid, in conformity to a regulation made by Francisco Coelho, the first Governor of that State, and confirmed by Bento Maciel himself. A few days afterwards, while the dispute still continued, tidings arrived that the Dutch had advanced as far as Gurupy, and were expecting an expedition from Recife expressly destined for the conquest of Para. Alarmed at this, the magistracy again called upon Velho to unite with them for the defence of the city, reminding him that he would otherwise be responsible for it's loss; and conceding something in this exigency, they offered him quarters for his men a league from the town, and promised to supply them there. But the more imminent the danger of the state appeared to be, the more insolent this wretch became in his demands and language; and at length leaving Para to its fate, he returned to the Cabo

Berredo, § 790—2.

do Norte, that he might be upon the spot to make a good bargain for his tobacco with the Dutch.

Cordovil had abstained from taking any part in the dispute beween the Chamber and Velho, occupying himself meantime in preparing for defence, wherein he was well seconded by all the people. Seven months had now elapsed since they learnt the fall of S. Luiz, when a Dutch vessel appeared off the bar, and the Captain sent to say that he was come from the island of St. Christopher, only for the sake of serving the King of Portugal. He was told therefore that upon producing his passports he might enter the river; but at the desire of Pedro Maciel, who was on board, he anchored at Mosqueiro, six leagues distant. This man, after his cowardly surrender, had been treated by the Dutch as he deserved, being one of the persons whom they embarked on board a leaky ship, and committed to the mercy of the sea. The Dutch Captain with whom he now made his appearance, seems to have been a kindly-natured man, who as he had his choice of being at war or at peace with the Portugueze, preferred the ways of commerce to those of piracy; and had sailed from St. Christophers with Pedro Maciel, and forty others who had in like manner been expelled from Maranham, thinking by this act of humanity to recommend himself to the magistrates at Para, and the Government at Lisbon, and thus deservedly obtain facilities in his mercantile pursuits.

Pedro Maciel arrives.

Berredo, § 798—5.

On the following day Pedro Maciel sent to the Chamber Council the patent by which his uncle Bento had appointed him Capitam Mor of Para, and with it a letter, in which he commanded them to yield obedience. They replied, that when he appeared before their Tribunal, according to the usual forms, they would then come to such a resolution as the case might seem to require. Upon this he landed with a small party of

Demands the government, and summons his brother Velho to aid him.

CHAP. XIX. 1642.

armed men, went to a private house, and from thence notified his presence to the Chamber. By this time they had determined how to answer him, which was thus; that upon the invasion and loss of Maranham they had taken measures for themselves, and acquainted the Court of Portugal therewith; consequently, they were not at liberty to receive a new Governor till fresh orders arrived from Lisbon, which they expected in the first ships. Pedro became furious at this reply; he re-embarked in the Dutch vessel, fell down seven or eight leagues below the city, to the Bahia do Sul, and landing in the Isle from whence the Bay derives its name, took up his quarters there, and dedicated them to St. Pedro de Alcantara. From thence he dispatched letters to his brother Joam Velho, urging him to come with all speed, that they might jointly take vengeance upon the people of Belem; and this brother, who when proceeding to the defence of that city, had spent two months upon the way, performed the same voyage in less than a third of the time, when he hoped to establish a tyranny there.

Berredo. § 796—9.

Disputes between the Chamber and these brethren.

The Senado da Camera, under these difficult circumstances, acted with great prudence, neither yielding to these arrogant men, nor irritating them. They sent again to Pedro Maciel, requiring him to come and defend Belem, and protesting, that his present conduct tended greatly to increase its danger, for the Tapuya troops, perceiving how the Portugueze were divided among themselves, were ready to desert. Such representations were unavailing with a man who regarded nothing but his own immediate interest. He replied only by new menaces and insults, and as the ship which brought him there was about to sail for Lisbon, he forbade the Chamber to write by it, saying, their memorial would be made up of falsehoods; but the Dutch captain was disgusted with his proceedings, and privately took charge of their dispatches. His menaces were not confined to

the magistracy; he threatened the people also, and declared, that if sufficient measures were not taken for supplying his men, he would by his own authority seize provisions wherever they were to be found. During these disputes, Cordovil remained neutral, contented with maintaining his command, and unwilling to appear as an active enemy against the two brethren, much as he disapproved of their conduct, because he was nearly related to them. He had enough to occupy him in providing for the defence of the Captaincy, with no better force than eighty ill-armed men, and a body of allies, whose desertion was hourly to be expected, ... perhaps their hostility. Under the difficulties of his situation his health sunk; but before his death, he vested the Government of the Captaincy in the Chamber. This exasperated the two brethren; their relationship to Cordovil had hitherto in some degree restrained them; they now gave way to the natural insolence of their disposition, and it was daily feared that Belem would become the seat of civil war. The brethren were not daring enough for this; their hope was, that the Chamber would be intimidated into submission; bolder measures were not suited to a temper as base as it was insolent.

Berredo. 800–3.

Things were in this state when the messengers of Antonio Moniz arrived at Belem, to request assistance in completing the recovery of Maranham. The Chamber immediately communicated these advices to the two brethren; reminding them, how necessary it was that succours should be sent, how glorious it would be for them to distinguish themselves on such an occasion, and on the other hand, what an everlasting reproach, if, persisting in their present conduct, they should hold back from the enterprize, and detain in inactivity the only disposable force of the State. Pedro Maciel and his brother were not sorry that so fair an opportunity was offered them for giving up their fruitless pretensions, and they departed accordingly to join the

P. Maciel and Velho go to join the insurgents.

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

patriots. A few days afterwards, two inhabitants of S. Luiz reached the city, with dispatches from the Dutch Governor, containing a copy of the Ten Years Truce, which he requested the People of Para to acknowledge. The real motives of the Dutchman were obvious; he had long been in possession of the Treaty, and had there been any hope of effecting the conquest of Belem, it would still have remained among his papers; but feeling himself in danger at S. Luiz, it was brought forth for the purpose of preventing the patriots from obtaining aid from Para. The Chamber perfectly understood this; their reinforcements were already sent off, and this being done, peace was as acceptable to them in their state of weakness, as to the Dutchman. They therefore accepted the Treaty, premising that they could not publish it with the customary ceremonies till they received it immediately from their own Court.

The truce acknowledged in Para.

Berredo. 838—43.

Proceedings of the patriots in Maranham.

Pedro Maciel and his brother meantime proceeded toward Maranham with their usual dilatoriness, when they were not engaged in some selfish pursuit. It was a coasting voyage, performed in canoes, the course lying through three and thirty bays, connected by sheltered channels which are called rivers: such a navigation is subject to little or no interruption from the weather, and is usually the easy work of five or six and twenty days; ... these men were between two and three months upon the way. The reinforcement which they brought consisted of one hundred and thirteen Portugueze, and seven hundred good allies, under native leaders. Antonio Moniz was at this time dangerously ill, and the command vested in Antonio Teixeira de Mello, as Sargento Mor. He had brought over two pieces of cannon from Fort Calvary, which had proved of great use, and which the heretical Dutch had attempted to silence, by exposing an image of St. John the Baptist in that place against which the fire was directed. Being thus strengthened, he resolved to assault Fort

S. Felippe, notwithstanding the strength of its garrison. Some obstacles were opposed by that contradiction which the total want of discipline so frequently occasioned in a Portugueze camp; and before he could make the attempt, the Dutch received a large reinforcement, under Anderson, from Recife. On the morrow after its arrival, the Dutch commander attempted to surprize the Portugueze at noonday, when their watch was less carefully kept; but they started up at the first alarm, and repelled him with considerable loss. He was equally unsuccessful in an attack upon their works at the Carmo, where he lost nearly an hundred men, and the greater part of his Indian allies. Moniz died on the evening after this victory, and Teixeira succeeded to the chief command. Five quintals of powder had been his whole stock, and this was almost wholly spent; thus without ammunition, it was not possible to maintain his position so near an enemy who was always certain of receiving supplies by sea; he resolved, therefore, to retire to the main land, and take post at Tapuytapera, a place separated from S. Luiz by a bay about four leagues broad, and naturally strong. The retreat was begun by night: but even in the act of retreating, his enterprising spirit devised new means of annoying the enemy; it was likely they would pursue him as soon as his movement should be discovered, and attempt to harass his march; no sooner, therefore, had he crossed the Coty, than he laid an ambush in the same place which had formerly proved fatal to the Dutch, and the stratagem a second time succeeded. The Dutch Commandant of Seara, who had been summoned to the defence of Maranham, fell into the snare, and was cut off, with about thirty Dutchmen, and more than an hundred Indians. Their spoils furnished a small supply of ammunition, and the Portugueze leader having made this welcome booty, delayed the execution of his plan, and instead of crossing to the

Death of their leader Moniz. Barreiros succeeds.

Jan. 25.

His success, and cruelty of the Dutch in consequence.

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

main land, posted himself at Moruapy, a strong situation in that part of the Island which is opposite to Itapicuru. The insurgents still retained the posts which they had won there, and were thus at all times sure of their retreat, either by land or water. The Dutch Governor, enraged at the last loss which he had sustained, gave way to the most ferocious spirit of vengeance. Five and twenty Portugueze of S. Luiz he delivered to the savages from Seara, to be devoured by them; and he sent fifty to Barbadoes, to be sold as slaves to the English; the English Governor ordered them to be brought on shore, as if he meant to bargain for them, and then set them at liberty, after indignantly reproving the agent who had insulted him by offering white men and Christians for sale. The other settlers were plundered, their women were stript naked, and in this state they were driven out of the town. Such was the treatment which those families experienced, who for the sake of remaining in peace, preferred submission to the duty of joining their brethren in arms.

Berredo. 848—59. Ericeyra. p. 444.

Teixeira retreats to the main land.

At Moruapy Antonio Teixeira remained more than three months, in the hope of receiving succours; till being weary of perpetual disappointment, and unable to maintain himself longer without supplies, he destroyed whatever property could not be carried away, crossed over to the main land, and abandoning Fort Calvary, reached Tapuytapera, according to his former intention. He had not been many days in this position, before Pedro Maciel and his brother took to their canoes, which had been left here during the late operations, embarked with the greater part of their own people and some of the Maranham colonists, whom they had induced to follow them, and deserting the patriots, set off for Para. This desertion so much alarmed those who had not been invited to accompany them, or for whom there had not been canoes to embark in, that another party

*May 2.

P. Maciel and Velho forsake him.

set off with their families to reach Para by land. The commander seeing himself thus forsaken, and without any ammunition whatever, knew not what better to do than to repair to Belem; sooner or later he doubted not that forces would be sent from Portugal, and Belem seemed to be the place where he could most conveniently await their arrival. But how were they to reach Belem? by water they could not go for want of canoes, and though there were persons who eagerly advised the land march, a journey of nearly eight hundred miles through the wild woodlands of South America was too formidable to be lightly undertaken. While they were yet deliberating what course to pursue, five quintals of powder, with matches and ball in proportion, arrived from Belem. There was but one course which canoes could hold upon this passage; and that the Dutch, masters as they were of the sea, should have suffered these supplies to reach him was represented by Teixeira to his men as something, which added to the safe voyage of those very stores in a defenceless bark from Bahia to Belem, ought to be regarded, if not as absolutely miraculous, certainly as an evident proof of the protection of Heaven. He had with him sixty Portugueze and two hundred Indians. Pedro Maciel and his brother, with their fugitives, when they met the supplies, could not be persuaded to turn back and rejoin their former comrades; this handful of men, however, seeing themselves once more provided with ammunition, resolved to maintain their ground, and continue the war, notwithstanding the important post of Fort Calvary was now again occupied by the enemy. Shortly afterwards a Dutch squadron appeared off the coast, and the commander, hoping that Teixeira might as easily be duped by his cupidity or cowardice as Bento Maciel had been, proposed to him in Nassau's name, that he should take up his residence in S. Luiz as Governor of the Portugueze,

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

He receives supplies.

May 28.

The Dutch reinforced.

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

holding an authority independant of the Dutch Commandant. Teixeira returned a written answer, saying, that he meant indeed ere long to take up his quarters in S. Luiz, but intended first to turn the Dutchmen out. When this reply was communicated to Jan Cornelis, the Dutch Governor, it exasperated him so, that he issued orders to give no quarter to the Portugueze. Cruelty of this kind can only be stopt by retaliating justice; Teixeira therefore proclaimed in like manner a war of extermination against the Dutch; but he politicly exempted the French who were in their service, for he hoped by this means to render them suspected, and perhaps to win them over, especially as they were Catholics.

Berredo. 860—9. 879—80. Ericeyra. p. 445.

The Portugueze hear a firing, and for the sake of making a prize neglect to ascertain its cause.

The reinforcement which the enemy had just received, made them superior in numbers, to any force which could be brought against them in the field; but they knew that the whole country was hostile, and were too much disheartened by that knowledge, to pursue offensive operations, either with spirit or effect. Teixeira, well informed of their inactivity by his numerous spies, threw small parties of his best men into the island, and approaching nearer to it, took up a position on the side of the channel which insulates it. Soon after he had removed to this post, a loud firing was heard from the bar of S. Luiz, and he sent two canoes with eight soldiers and fifty Indians, under Joam da Paz, to ascertain the cause. They fell in on the way with a Dutch launch carrying seven and twenty men and two pieces of cannon. So tempting a prize seduced them to neglect the object on which they had been sent; they boarded and took the launch, and returned triumphant with their booty. Teixeira reproved their commander for disobeying his orders, but in partaking the joy for this new success, he partook also of the negligence which he censured, and made no farther attempt to learn the cause of the firing which had been heard: and finding the

June 13.

Berredo, 881—3.

Dutch were so fearful of his ambuscades that they seldom ventured beyond the city, he entrusted Manoel de Carvalho with forty Portugueze and one hundred Indians, to take up his quarters in the island, and act as circumstances might induce him. CHAP. XIX. 1648.

The Patriots recenter Maranham.

Carvalho having ravaged the country, found himself so compleatly master of it, that he sate down to raise and prepare mandioc in the plantations which the Portugueze had abandoned a few months back. This was a work of some time, as well as of many processes, and his people became so accustomed to security, that they carried it on as if they were in a land of peace. At length the watch which they kept became little more than nominal; of this the Dutch obtained intelligence, and also that Carvalho had divided his little force for the sake of gathering in the harvest more speedily; upon this they sent out threescore European soldiers and an hundred Indians, to surprize the Portugueze. Two Indian centinels hearing the sound of their approach at a considerable distance, advanced to discover the cause. Coming near a rivulet they saw the Dutch, who were weary with their march, lying down to drink and refresh themselves; and they drew near with so little caution, that the enemy judging them by their confidence to be part of some considerable advanced force, betrayed a confusion which might have given them ample time to secure themselves and convey the alarm. In some strange humour of bravery, they thought proper to let fly their arrows at the Dutch, who then perceiving that these men were unsupported, rushed upon them, cut one to pieces, and secured the other. The prisoner gave all the information that could be wished; they hastened their march, and having come upon the Portugueze, set up the warwhoop in concert with their savage allies. The Portugueze being dispersed at various employments, and totally unprepared, lost all presence of mind and

They are surprized by the Dutch, but prove victorious.

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

took to flight, some leaving their arms upon the ground, others taking them up, rather that they might not lose them than with any intention of applying them to immediate use. Twelve men, however, who were so near the enemy that they could not fly, were made resolute by the very extremity of their danger. They fought in a body supporting each other, and yielding the ground only step by step to superior numbers, till they came to a turn in the pathway, where taking advantage of the trees, they stood firm, and defied all the efforts of the enemy. The Dutch attempted to attack them on both sides; they exposed themselves by this manœuvre, and were charged so vigorously when thus divided, that they were broken and routed, the other Portugueze and Indians who had borne no part in the battle, returning to compleat the victory. The patriots thus unexpectedly victorious, sate down on the ground, and were dividing the spoil, when they perceived another body of armed men approaching among the trees, and made ready for a second action. It proved to be Carvalho coming to their assistance from a similar victory of his own; he had received six wounds, but they were neither sufficient to disable him from fight, nor from following up the pursuit to the very gates of S. Luiz. Only ten Frenchmen of all who sallied out, effected their escape into the town, and the Dutch Governor ordered them to be hanged, as traitors who would not fight against the Portugueze, a charge which upon all occasions he made against his mercenaries. Carvalho now having gathered in the harvest, returned to head quarters; and Teixeira continuing a system of warfare which was so well adapted to give confidence to his own men, and to dishearten the enemy, sent other detachments into the island to prevent the Dutch from enjoying the resources with which he had now amply provided himself. A redoubt which had been erected between the city and the river, to impede their movements,

Berredo. 884—99 *Ericeyra.* p. 446.

was scaled by them during the night. Elated with this success, they attacked one of the sugar-works which had been reoccupied by the Dutch, and burnt it to the ground. Fort Calvary they found abandoned to their hands; Teixeira garrisoned it, and then once more crossed over to carry on the war in Maranham.

Pedro de Albuquerque comes out as governor of Maranham.

This brave commander had been left almost wholly to his own resources; the troops from Para had deserted him, led away by their infamous Captains, and their desertion had drawn off from him some even of his own people. One supply of stores from Bahia was all that he had received; it was indeed all that Antonio Telles da Silva, the Governor of Brazil, could send him; and from Portugal, whither he had sent information of his proceedings, little was to be hoped, engrossed as the King was, by the cares and dangers of defending his newly-recovered throne. Some effort however had been made. Pedro de Albuquerque, who had so heroically distinguished himself in the defence of Rio Fermoso, was appointed Governor General of Maranham, and sent out with something more than one hundred men, and abundant stores. After a six weeks prosperous voyage, he came within sight of the island, but having no pilot on board who knew the harbour, and not chusing to enter the Bay of S. Luiz, till he obtained some information respecting the state of affairs, he fired his guns off the bar. This was the firing which Teixeira had heard, and the cause of which Joam da Paz, disobeying his orders, had neglected to ascertain. The consequences of that disobedience were deeply calamitous. Instead of landing his men and stores immediately, as he would have done had he known Teixeira's situation, Albuquerque went on for Para. The navigation of the bar of Belem was not well understood, and the ship struck upon a sandbank. The sea was running high, and the destruction of all on board was expected, when Pedro da Costa Favella, who chanced to be fishing

Vol. I. p. 487.

June 13.

His shipwreck,

CHAP. XIX. 1643.

near, with two small canoes, came to their assistance: the boats were hoisted out according to his directions, and in them and in the canoes, three and thirty persons were conveyed to land. But the tide was now flowing, which increased the violence of the sea. One of the canoes, in spite of all efforts to regain the ship, was driven back to shore, the other was staved against the ship-side. The boats however came safely alongside, and took in a second load, including the Governor and his family. The pilot assured those who were left, that the vessel would not break up in less than four and twenty hours, during which interval there would be sufficient time to save them all. Albuquerque had scarcely reached the nearest shore, when he saw her go to pieces, and concluding that all must immediately have perished, inexcusably he made no effort to see if any had escaped. They who were upon the wreck, perceiving that the ship could not possibly hold together, formed a sort of raft with their water-casks, upon which seventy persons embarked; the raft was hastily made and ill-fastened, so that all were lost. Luiz Figueira, the Jesuit, who was returning to Maranham with fourteen of his spiritual brethren, perished at this time. He endeavoured to swim, with a child of four years old upon his back, and the effort was beyond his strength. Eight of the Jesuits were lost with him. Eleven persons still remained upon the wreck; they made another and better float, and committed themselves to the mercy of the sea, which tost them whither it would. Two of this wretched party, both Jesuits, were washed off on the second day. On the third morning, the others landed upon the Ilha dos Joanes, where the Aruans, a tribe of its savage inhabitants, put six to death: a colonist who happened to be engaged in salting fish near the spot, came in time to save the remaining three.

Berredo. 900 - 8.

and death.

Pedro de Albuquerque, and those who had escaped with him,

made for the Ilha do Sol, where Pedro Maciel and his brother Velho had resumed their former station, and their former projects. He remained there till his people had recovered from the exhaustion produced by their late sufferings, then he proceded to Belem, and there assumed the government. The Chamber willingly resigned their authority; but so little did Pedro Maciel profit by this change, that the Governor, in consequence of his conduct, and the complaints of the whole Captaincy, refused to admit him as Capitam Mor of Para, though the office had now been conferred upon him by royal patent. It was now seen in what merited abhorrence these brethren were held; and the Procurador was charged to request of the Governor, in the name of the whole people, that they should be declared incapable of ever holding any office in the Captaincy, and that the King should be intreated to confirm this sentence, and extend it to the whole race of the Maciels. Pedro de Albuquerque had no time to take any measures for assisting Teixeira in the recovery of Maranham; he was in declining health when he arrived at Belem, and died early in the ensuing year, leaving his kinsman Feliciano Correa, joint Governor with the Sargento Mor of the State, Francisco Coelho de Carvalho. CHAP. XIX. 1644. *Berredo.* 909—15.

Teixeira, however, was so far advanced in his undertaking, that the disappointment occasioned first by the loss of his expected succours from Portugal, and afterwards by the Governor's death, seems little to have impeded his progress. He was now undisputed master of the country, and the Dutch dared not venture beyond the town. Fortunately for them, a ship from the Isle of Fayal, laden with wines for Bahia, was driven by stress of weather into the Bay of Araçagy, near S. Luiz. This vessel they boarded and captured; they had three other ships in the harbour, but all so ill provided, that they *The Dutch evacuate Maranham.*

CHAP. XIX. 1644.

dared not put to sea in them without having some better vessel in company: this prize came seasonably to their relief, and accordingly they embarked and evacuated Maranham, being still nearly five hundred in number, besides fourscore Indians. It was in vain to attempt to reach Recife, they therefore made for the Island of St. Christophers. The town was almost reduced to ruins when they abandoned it. Teixeira had soon to communicate the news of farther re-conquests to his court. When the Dutch first invaded Maranham they brought with them a large body of Tapuyas from Seara. The greater number of these had perished, and the only reward which the eighty survivors received for their services, was now to be turned adrift in their own province, upon the desart banks of the Camocy.

and are cut off in Seara by the Indians.

Indignant at this treatment, they inflamed the discontent of their countrymen, who were groaning under the intolerable[2] yoke of their new allies, and falling upon a redoubt which the Dutch had established upon that river, they surprized it, and put the whole garrison to death. They then proceeded ten leagues farther, to a second redoubt, and carried it with the like success. This second victory encouraged them to attempt the Fort of Seara itself, which was a hundred leagues distant; they marched with the indefatigable ardour of savages when bent upon revenge, approached it during the night, and laid in ambush. At morning the soldiers went out as usual to their respective pursuits, inapprehensive of danger. The Tapuyas let them pass, then starting from their concealment, rushed in at the gate, and put all whom they found within the fort to death; those who were

[2] Barlæus himself admits this: "*Nec tamen hujus nefariæ seditionis autores habebantur Maranhaoenses, licet proximi et contermini, verum culpa nostratium in subditos ferociæ et duriori imperio imputabatur.*" P. 290.

without the walls they afterwards hunted down at leisure. A party employed at the salt licks upon the river Upanemma shared the same fate, and a detachment which came with a Dutch officer to inspect the state of the garrison, being ignorant of its fate, was circumvented and cut off. The Tapuyas immediately advised Teixeira of their conquest, and he lost no time in securing possession of the recovered fortress.

Berredo, 919—23. Ericeyra. p. 447. Barlæus, 290.

Ill tidings crowded upon Nassau, the consequences of that dishonourable policy in which he had been engaged. Maranham and Seara were lost to the Company, and the people of S. Thomas were in arms; they had made themselves masters of the country, and the Dutch were confined to the citadel. In this state of things he began to fear insurrections every where, and Inspectors were sent through the ceded provinces, to disarm all suspected persons. He had now solicited his recall, and having obtained it, appointed Henrik Haus to the military command; the civil government he entrusted to the Great Council, and left them his advice how to administer it. First, he warned them that they should attend to the wants of the soldiers, and never delay listening to their complaints, an error which would be especially dangerous in Brazil, where desertion was so easy. The pay of the officers he recommended them punctually to discharge, for nothing, he said, broke the ties of allegiance, and imposed upon men the necessity of doing wrong, so soon as poverty. With regard to the offences of the troops, he rather advised severe than lenient measures; they were living in a barbarous land, where they continually saw the worst examples: strong means therefore were needed to restrain them from evil. The leaders could not be treated with too much attention, provided the Great Council kept up the respect due to its own authority; they ought at all times to have access to the Government, but the Governors would do well not to asso-

Nassau obtains his recall.

His last advice to the Great Council.

CHAP. XIX. 1644.

ciate too much with them, lest familiarity should breed contempt. But above all things it behoved them to be careful that the soldiers should not become burthensome to the colonists, an ill which was but too common in these provinces, where provisions had always been scarce, and which made the people discontented, and the soldiers insolent. In fact the agriculturalists and the proprietors of the sugar-works dreaded peace for this reason more than war.

He advised them that they should by all fair means endeavour to win over those Portugueze whom they supposed to be most attached to their own country, and especially the priests; if the priests were purchased, the secrets of the people would be always within their reach. Reports against them, he said, were never tlightly o be believed; for such reports usually began among those, who having nothing to lose, were envious of the rich and prosperous. Deserters too were always to be heard with suspicion; nor could he much commend the practice of torture, which was as likely to extort falsehood as truth. Nassau seemed to foresee the perilous times which were at hand. The forts, he said, ought to be frequently inspected, that they might be always in a state of defence: and as there could be no moats in a dry and sandy soil, it was particularly necessary to see that the palisades were in perfect repair, lest, as time was continually injuring such ramparts, a breach or a weak part might invite the enemy. It was of great importance to preserve Friburg and its woods, which in case of war would facilitate the means of supplying Recife with water. The bridge at Boavista should be strengthened with a redoubt for its defence; both bridges would be of essential utility if Recife should be besieged, for before this communication across the rivers had been formed, they might well remember how much they had suffered from scarcity, even almost to the loss of the city. He advised them

by no means rashly to provoke the Governor of Bahia. Their provinces were exposed to his vengeance, he could send in troops to lay them waste, or with a word let the savages loose. Neither could the Portugueze who were now under their dominion endure to see him treated with disrespect: they were a docile people when well treated, but stubborn whenever they felt themselves wronged; and a sense of worthy pride affected them more than the desire of riches. There were persons who insulted them in the performance of their religious ceremonies, and such offenders ought to be chastised, as men whose folly endangered the commonweal. The Portugueze who might be clearly convicted of treasonable practices were to be severely punished; but the most urgent sense of self-preservation required that they should not be irritated by injuries and insults; for if they were, . . the very existence of the Dutch Government in Brazil was at stake. Maranham and Seara had shown proofs of the instability of dominion founded wholly upon force.

He sails for Europe.

Nassau had granted licenses for carrying arms not only to Dutch, French, and English settlers, who had debts to collect in the country, but also to those Portugueze who lived in scattered habitations, where they had to defend themselves against wild beasts as well as robbers: he warned the Council not to grant such licenses indiscriminately. And he advised them rigorously to punish murder and duelling; and strictly to enforce payment of the debts due to the Company, which the traders were always unwilling to pay as long as they could avoid it. Having thus given his last advice to the new government, Count Mauritz of Nassau sailed for Europe, after a residence of eight years in Brazil. He took with him some savages of different tribes: and five Portugueze-Brazilians were deputed to accompany him, that they might see the Dutch in their own land, and convince their countrymen by their testimony that

CHAP. XIX. 1644.

they were not a mere race of pirates and fishermen, as the great body of the people believed. Not less than fourteen hundred persons of all ranks and professions, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, departed in the same fleet; ... with so blind a confidence did the United Provinces rely upon the truce, though they had set so glaring an example of treating it with contempt.

Barlæus. p. 292.

CHAPTER XX.

Embarrassment of the Company. State of Pernambuco. Oppression of the Dutch. Joam Fernandes Vieira plans the deliverance of his country. He communicates with the Governor General, is suspected, absconds, and appears in arms. Battle of Monte das Tabocas.

A union was projected at this time in Holland between the East and West India Companies. Nassau favoured the scheme; if it were accomplished, he said, the Philippines, Peru, Potosi, and the Plata would fall into their hands; and the Spaniards would be unable to defend even the Havannah, Cartagena, and Mexico against them. The project failed, fortunately for the Portugueze and for Brazil, which, had it taken effect, would have been made the theatre of a longer and more wasting war, even if its former and worthier possessors could ultimately have succeeded in recovering it. It was indeed hardly to be expected that two Companies should unite whose circumstances were so widely different. In the East every thing was prosperous, there seemed no limits to the career of conquest which had been begun, and the profits resulting from conquest in that quarter were calculable and certain. But in Brazil, however splendid had been their success, the books of the Company, by

Union proposed between the East and West India Companies. Barlæus. p. 325.

State of the Company in Brazil.

CHAP. XX. 1644. which the advantages of that success were to be summed up, presented a dismal account. They had never been so completely masters of Pernambuco as to be able to supply Recife with provisions from the country; and when the truce might have enabled them securely to establish their dominion there in peace, they ruined themselves by the nefarious policy which led them to take advantage of the weakness of their new ally. Holland, while acting this dishonourable part, seems never to have considered the possibility of retaliation, but to have supposed that any insult and any injury might safely be inflicted upon suffering Portugal.

Embarrassment of the West India Company.

This policy brought upon them its proper punishment. The expeditions to Seregipe, Maranham, Angola, and Chili, exhausted both the treasures and the magazines at Recife; and the Company, ever calculatin how to save immediate expence, ceased to send out supplies, in the belief that they had no longer an enemy to fear. The Council in whom the administration was vested after Nassau's departure, finding themselves thus distressed, were obliged to call upon their debtors for prompt payment, that they themselves might be enabled to pay the civil and military establishments. At the same time the merchants in Holland called upon their agents and correspondents for remittances. Hitherto every thing had been carried on upon a system of credit: the payments which were now required occasioned an immediate scarcity of money; none was to be borrowed upon lower terms than a monthly interest of three or four per cent., and of course they who resorted to such means of relief were soon utterly undone. The Government was not less embarrassed than the subject. They had sold the confiscated estates upon credit, and in like manner had disposed of a great number of negroes, (whom they had imported since the conquest of Angola,) at the price of three hundred

patacas[1] per head. The small pox swept off a large proportion of these poor wretches, and this loss, added to the mischief done by the floods, and the subsequent ravages of the worm, ruined many of the planters. The Council of Nineteen, in whom the management of the Company's affairs was vested at home, were ignorant of the true state of the conquered provinces, and sent out peremptory orders that their negroes should be sold only for ready money, or for sugar, which was considered as equivalent. But it was impossible suddenly to alter the system of trade; no person at this time could purchase upon these terms; and though the price at which slaves were offered was repeatedly lowered, still they remained upon the Company's hands, who had to support the expence of feeding them, and the loss sustained by frequent deaths, till the Home Council revoked instructions which were found to be equally absurd and ruinous. *Nieuhoff, p. 30—1.*

General distress in Pernambuco.

The case was sufficiently hopeless, when the Company, in despair of remedying an evil, were thus compelled to yield to it. But the pressure for money was now so universally felt, that the consequences became seriously alarming to the State. Where the same person was indebted to the Government, and to private creditors, disputes arose who should have the preference in payment; and men, to obtain their just demands, scrupled not at employing means which were manifestly unjust. In this spirit one creditor endeavoured to be beforehand with another, by tempting the debtor to make over his property, on consideration of a considerable abatement; others, pursuing

[1] The translation of Nieuhoff says three hundred pieces of eight, which is impossible. Unfortunately I have no means of correcting this passage by the original. Fr. Manoel Calado gives me the right denomination, .. but the *pataca* may either be worth seven hundred and fifty reis, or three hundred and twenty.

CHAP. XX. 1644.

measures strictly legal, but not less to be reprobated, threw helpless debtors without mercy into prison. Government itself was compelled to act rigorously. Unable to procure payment by milder ways, it called upon its debtors at the sugar-harvest, and began to seize the produce; upon which all the vexations, evils and miseries of legal process followed. The members of the Council went sometimes in person into the country to superintend these executions; they thought that to show themselves thus earnest in looking after the Company's interest, would produce a good effect upon the public; but the consequence was far otherwise. The merchants, factors, and other creditors of the planters, complained that Government, by seizing the sugar in the works, deprived them of their fair demands. Their discontent became loud and menacing, and they sent home complaints and accusations against the Council; while to secure themselves as far as possible, they pursued a like system of rigour, and began to seize negroes, oxen, coppers, and the whole stock of the farmers. The same plan was pursued by the money-lenders. Some of the farmers, enraged at reflecting upon the usurious interest upon which they had borrowed money, for the sake of putting off the evil day, became desperate when that day could be procrastinated no longer, and defended their property by force; so that things seemed tending to a general insurrection. Even where no resistance was made, the creditors were hardly less embarrassed; for when the lands were put up to sale in execution, they were obliged to become the purchasers themselves; and then, unless they knew how to manage them, and could reside upon the spot (which for the merchants and factors was impossible,) the acquisition was a dead weight upon their hands.

Debts fraudulently contracted by the Portuguese.

In this state of general insolvency, it was proposed that the Company should contract with the owners of the sugar-works,

receiving the whole products for a certain number of years, and satisfying those who had demands upon the estate; a thing the less difficult, because these creditors were on their parts debtors to the Government. The Home-Council approved the plan; it was found so beneficial, that contracts to the amount of more than two millions of gilders were entered into accordingly, and the same system was adopted by the merchants. This remedy, however, reached only to part of the evil. The trade of these provinces had long been liable to such perilous contingencies, that men engaged in it rather as gamblers than as merchants. Many of the Dutch, and other foreigners, were adventurers of desperate fortunes, alike devoid of patriotism and of honesty. The Portugueze also who continued in Pernambuco were very generally in distressed circumstances. The war had been the first cause of this, their estates having been repeatedly laid waste. The distress which had been thus occasioned, and the hatred which they bore to their new masters, as the causes of that distress, as oppressors, and above all, as heretics, had produced an effect not less injurious to their own moral principles than to the interests of the Dutch. For relying upon the efforts of Spain in their behalf, and fully expecting that the great armament under the Conde da Torre, which had been so lamentably misconducted, would effect their deliverance, they systematically bought up sugar-works, estates, negroes, and goods of every kind, upon credit. The Company committed a grievous political error in selling the confiscated lands promiscuously to all purchasers, instead of inviting over colonists, as Nassau so often and so urgently recommended. They sold them also at such rates, that the wiser part of their own countrymen could not purchase; while the Portugueze took them at any price, having neither the means nor the intention of payment. The expedition on which their hopes were founded,

CHAP. XX. 1644.

Vol. I. p. 570.

CHAP. XX. 1644.

failed; the day of payment came;.. to borrow was their only resource;.. a compound interest of four per cent. per month soon doubled and trebled the debt; new shifts were then resorted to, and every artifice of chicanery was employed, for the purpose of gaining time, till the reconquest should rid them of their creditors. When, in spite of every delay which legal trickery could interpose, the day of reckoning came, some had interest enough to obtain a protection from the Government, and thus defied their creditors; others absconded, which in such a country was not difficult. Some, whose profligacy was of a baser stamp, went contentedly to prison, speculating upon the unwillingness of a Dutch creditor long to endure the cost of keeping them there; and in fact these costs were so heavy, that the creditor himself often solicited the release of his prisoner, glad to make any composition rather than aggravate his first loss by a continual accumulation of expence.

Barlæus. p. 319. Nieuhoff, p. 30—4. Do. 137.

The Portugueze vexed and oppressed by the conquerors.

Many of the Portugueze in Pernambuco being thus circumstanced, they had a base motive for exciting insurrection, added to those natural and proper feelings, by perverting which they excused and justified to themselves the fraudulent system upon which they proceeded. They had also grievous cause of complaint in the insolence of the conquerors, the hardness and brutality of their manners, and their almost unbridled licentiousness. One instance will show to what vexations and dangers they were subject. An edict was passed which invited all slaves, by a promise of liberty for their reward, to give information if their masters had concealed arms. Every slave who might have rightful cause for hating his master, had now an easy and tempting means of taking vengeance, and upon such testimony some Portugueze were tortured, and others put to death; while others only escaped the same fate by the loss of all which they possessed. Nothing was more common than for the slave to

threaten his owner with an information. Some Dutchmen founded upon this state of things a nefarious practice; they tampered with the slaves to bring accusations, and hid weapons, which were to be found and produced in evidence. A faithful negro at length revealed to some good master that such a snare had been laid for him, and the master went to Fray Manoel do Salvador for assistance, trembling, as the Friar says, like a green twig in the wind. The Friar was in great favour with Nassau, and thus it happened that two of these villains were taken in their own toils; for upon the slave's testimony the arms were found where they had hidden them, their guilt was proved, they were put to the torture till they confessed it, and were then deservedly punished with death.

Valeroso Lucideno. p. 71.

That Holland was at this time a happier country than Portugal cannot be doubted; the people were more industrious and more enlightened; they lived under a free government and a tolerant religion, and enjoyed the regular administration of good laws. But it rarely happens that any nation can extend its own advantages to it's foreign conquests. Nassau could transplant forest and fruit trees in their full size and bearing; but not the beneficial institutions of his own country: for these things have their root in the history and habits and feelings of those with whom they have grown up, and to whose growth they have fitted themselves. If the Dutch had projected the conquest of Brazil, for the purpose of bettering the condition of the inhabitants, and framed the administration of the conquered provinces to that end, the end even then could not have been attained; the language, the religion, the manners, the national character, and the national pride of the Portugueze, presented so many obstacles, strong in themselves, and in their union insuperable. But the conquest had been a mere commercial speculation; the profit of the Company was the one object to

CHAP. XX. 1644.

be kept in view, . . . the pole-star of their whole policy. They had made the Pernambucans their subjects; but they considered them as foreigners and rivals in trade: lest, therefore, they should compete with the Company in the European market, heavy imposts were laid upon the exportation of their produce, and every kind of vexatious impediment interposed, so that they were compelled to sell upon the spot, and at such prices as the conquerors condescended to give. So far did this spirit of monopoly extend, that they were not permitted to slaughter beasts for sale, nor even for home consumption; they were compelled to sell the animal to the Dutch butchers, and purchase the meat at a price fixed by the Council.

Valeroso Lucideno. p. 154.

Even had there been a better spirit in the Government, the conduct of its officers would have defeated it. It is but too well known in more humane ages, and among a more humane people, what shocking instances of rapacity, cruelty, and oppression occur in the management of distant colonies, and especially of conquests. Men require, as individuals, for their own moral government, a constant sense of the presence of all-seeing and retributive justice; as members of a community they equally require a constant sense of the existence of law, the supreme and permanent standard by which their actions must be tried. But it is rarely that either Law or Religion accompany an army; the forms of both are suspended, and the influence does not long survive. The conquerors established two Courts of Justice at Recife; in the lower one there were eight annual judges, four Dutch and four Portugueze, and the inferior officers were in like manner equally chosen from the two nations; but in the higher, which was the court of appeal, there were five Dutch judges to four Portugueze, and all the other officers were Dutch. The Portugueze complained, that the apparent fairness of appointing judges equally from both nations, in the

lower court, was a mere deception; for the Portugueze lived in the country, and never all assembled; whereas the Dutch, as they resided upon the spot, were always present, and decided every thing at their pleasure: and if an appeal were made to the Political Council, the Dutch judges scarcely deigned to notice the Portugueze members of the board, but conferred in their own language, and confirmed whatever their countrymen had decreed. The Portugueze members indeed were treated with such marked indignity that they seldom appeared in the Court, and all causes were decided by corruption and favour. They complained also that the written parts of legal processes were required to be in Dutch, a regulation which, however politic it might be in its remote consequences, occasioned much immediate inconvenience, and was the more galling, because it was at once a badge of subjection and a heavy impost. *Valeroso Lucideno. p. 149.*

CHAP. XX. 1644.

The Government wanted flour for their troops at St. Jorge da Mina, Angola, and S. Thomas; they fixed a maximum in Pernambuco, and bought it up. A scarcity of course followed; and they then issued an order that every inhabitant should plant a certain quantity of mandioc at the two regular seasons, September and January, in proportion to the number of his slaves. The Pernambucans remonstrated that this was not their system; all lands were not fit for mandioc; there were some farmers who cultivated nothing else, and they supplied the sugar-planters and the owners of the sugar-works, who had enough to do with their own concerns. These representations were in vain, and they were to obey the edict, or abide such penalties as the Inspectors should appoint. They were also required to keep the ways about their houses and estates in good order, that the Inspectors might not be impeded by the state of the roads; and every housekeeper was ordered to have a half-bushel measure in good condition. There was no appeal

CHAP. XX. 1644.

from the Inspectors, and consequently they practised the most insolent exactions. The cheapest method was to present at first a handsome peace-offering, otherwise pretexts were never wanting for some arbitrary mulct. Men were fined for planting more ground with mandioc than the law had specified: others, who lived by daily labour, and neither bought nor sold flour, but received it in exchange for their work, were made to pay enormous penalties for not being provided with a measure. Even under Nassau these exactions were carried on; for it was not possible that he could see every thing with his own eyes, and there were persons enough interested in the continuance of such abuses to prevent complaints from reaching him, or to impede the redress which he directed.

Valeroso Lucideno, p. 152—3.

Popularity of Nassau injurious to his successors.

While Nassau was Governor, he endeavoured by all means in his power to repress the excesses of the Dutch, and conciliate the conquered people. So truly indeed did the Portugueze regard him as their protector, that Fray Manoel calls him their St. Antonio. They respected also his high birth, his personal qualities, and his princely magnificence, forming so strong a contrast to that mean money-getting spirit which in their opinion characterized the nation he represented. However much they might hate the house of Orange for its successful stand in support of rebellion and heresy, its acknowledged nobility was not without considerable influence; and when a prince of that house surrendered his authority to Bullestraet and Vander Burgh, and the other members of the Council, these men were as much the object of their secret contempt as of their hatred. Their very names seemed to the Portugueze to betray the baseness of their origin; and the same exactions which under Nassau were felt as the effects of a conqueror's rapacity, were more odious under these men, because now considered as proceeding from the avarice of a set of traders. The conduct of the new Governors was not likely

Valeroso Lucideno, p. 120.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 28.

to overcome such prejudices. They possessed not that personal authority among the soldiers, by which, as much as by his power, Mauritz had kept them in awe; and they had neither his generosity nor his talents.

Dutch deputation to Bahia.

One of their first measures was to send deputies to Bahia, under the plea of complimenting Antonio Telles on his arrival: they were to represent to him, that many Portugueze who had submitted to the Dutch Government, and contracted large debts in the conquered provinces, fled into Bahia to elude payment,.. a practice which he was entreated to check, either by throwing such fugitives into prison, or giving information to the Great Council, which might enable the creditors to take measures for recovering their property. They were also to request, that instead of receiving Dutch deserters, and shipping them for Portugal, he would in future apprehend and send them back to Recife. These were the ostensible purposes of the embassy: its real object was to learn the force of the Portugueze in Bahia and the southern Captaincies, what ships they expected from Portugal, the state of their slave-trade, and of their intercourse with Buenos Ayres, and especially to discover who were the persons at St. Salvador by whom the Pernambucans were encouraged in their disposition to revolt; for that such a diposition existed and received encouragement was well believed. The Deputies obtained little satisfaction in their public business. The Governor frankly told them it was not in his power to comply with what they required; he promised, however, that he would communicate to the Dutch Government the names of such fugitives as might take shelter in Bahia, and he replied to their professions of peace and friendship with protestations equally flattering and equally insincere. The agents were more successful in their private enquiries, except upon that topic which was the most important. They ascertained that the

CHAP. XX. 1645.

number of troops in St. Salvador and the circumjacent forts was about 2500; that about 150 more were quartered in the Captaincies of the Ilheos, Porto Seguro, and Espirito Santo; and that the two companies of Indians and Negroes, amounting to about 150 each, under Camaram and Henrique Diaz, were divided in the northern garrisons along the Dutch frontier, for they were a set of desperadoes, whom it was not prudent to station near the capital. The naval force was nothing; there were only a few small vessels, altogether unfit for war. A new system had been adopted of sending out ships of war from Portugal to collect all the Brazilian merchantmen at Bahia, and convoy them home; and the Brazilians had been ordered, instead of employing caravels and light vessels in future, to build stout ships, capable of better defence against an enemy. Hence the Deputies argued, that the loss of time in waiting for convoy, and the other additional expences, would increase the price of Portugueze imports into Europe so much that Holland would easily undersell them. The negro slave-trade they thought could not be considerable, because they never heard it mentioned; but Bahia could be in no want of negroes, since the price of a good one was about three hundred gilders. There was no intercourse with Buenos Ayres, for though the Portugueze of Bahia would willingly have continued it after the Revolution, they who went there had been treated as enemies, and the communication was thus broken off. It was the general opinion that this would be the ruin of Buenos Ayres, for the prosperity of that city depended upon its trade with Brazil; and it was not likely that the silver of Peru would now be shipped at a port from whence it must be exposed to the risk of passing along an enemy's coast. They could learn nothing concerning any correspondence with the disaffected Portugueze in the Company's dominions, but one circumstance had been

discovered at the very time of their departure, which might well make them jealous of the Governor's designs. When they were entering the bay they had observed two armed vessels sailing out, which it was said were bound for Portugal; they could not learn for what port, and this, joined to some other suspicious appearances, made them surmise that they were destined for some other service: at length secret information was obtained, that these ships were bound, not for Portugal, but for Angola, with reinforcements for the people of Massangano, who had sent to solicit aid against the negroes; the troops, it was added, were instructed to reach that place secretly, and not to commit hostilities against the Dutch: but just when the Deputies were returning, they discovered, that immediately upon their arrival all the Dutchmen and Germans in St. Salvador had been carried on board Portugueze vessels, and confined there, to prevent them from holding any communication with their agents. CHAP. XX. 1645. *Nieuhoff, p. 37—40.*

It is not unlikely that the Council might have obtained better intelligence if they had been faithfully served; but they were betrayed by one of the Deputies. This man, whose name was Dirk[2] van Hoogstraten, and who was commander of the fort at Nazareth, offered his services to the Governor. He was a Catholic, he said, and abhorred the heretics with whom necessity had hitherto connected him; but if the King of Portugal intended to attempt the deliverance of Pernambuco, it was equally in his power and in his inclination to facilitate the success of the enterprize. Antonio Telles was too good a statesman at once to credit professions which might so probably be feigned, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, when all *Hoogstraten offers his services to the Portugueze.*

[2] The Portugueze call him Theodozio Estrater: but Dirk is the Dutch abbreviation of Theodorick, and not, I believe, of Theodosius.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

other means had failed. He thanked Hoogstraten for his offers, assured him that the King his master had no other wish at that time than punctually to observe the truce, and continue on friendly terms with the States; but added, that should any circumstances occur to disturb this good understanding, he would not fail to inform him of it, and avail himself of his services.

Castrioto Lusitano. 5, § 53.

Measures against the priests and religioners.

The report of these Deputies tended only to make the Dutch Government more suspicious of the Pernambucans. They had always distrusted them, and this reasonable distrust led to measures of rigour which produced fresh discontent in the oppressed, and more active hatred. It was known that they had sent letters to Joam IV, expressing their regret that they could not exhibit their loyalty like the other provinces, and complaining that no provision had been made in the truce for securing to them freedom of religion. Even Nassau pronounced that such an appeal for protection was worthy of punishment; they themselves thought it allowable to solicit the mediation of their natural government for the removal of restrictions which affected not merely their feelings, but the very principles of their religious belief. All funds which had heretofore been appropriated to religious purposes, the new Government declared should now belong to itself, to be applied to the support of schools, churches, and hospitals. Priests were to be imprisoned if they entered the conquered provinces without a safe conduct; and they who chose to reside there were required to take the oath of fidelity, and not to receive ordination from the Bishop of Bahia. The Portugueze were forbidden to acknowledge the authority of any priest or prelate not resident among them, or to receive his suffragan, or send money for his use. They were irritated also by a measure of severity which had been fully provoked. A little before the news of the Acclamation arrived, it was dis-

Barlæus. 299.

Barlæus. p. 300.

covered that some of the religioners who were employed as confessors by the Dutch Catholics, and by the French in the Dutch service, had refused to give these persons absolution while serving in an unjust war against the Christians, as they called the Portugueze, to distinguish them from the heretics of the Reformation! To tolerate this was impossible. In consequence, the members of every monastic order were commanded within the space of a month to quit the Dutch possessions on the continent, and repair to the island of Itamaraca, that they might be conveyed from thence to the Spanish main. The needful measure was carried into effect with brutal cruelty, as such deportations usually have been. The Dutch stript them of their habits, and turned them ashore in their shirts and drawers, in such remote situations that most of them perished. *Valeroso Lucideno, p. 51.*

Among the Pernambucans who had submitted to the Dutch was that Joam Fernandes Vieira, who, after the loss of Olinda, had distinguished himself so bravely in the defence of Fort St. Jorge. He was born at Funchal, in the Island of Madeira, the son of a good family, from whom he ran away when very young to seek his fortune in Brazil. On his arrival in Pernambuco he was glad to be taken into the service of a merchant, for no other wages than his maintenance. He became, however, ashamed of holding this menial character in a city where he was always liable to be recognized by some of his countrymen; and leaving Recife for this reason, got into the employ of another merchant, who first tried his abilities and principles, then trusted him confidentially in business of the greatest importance, and finally enabled him to trade for himself. When the Camp of Bom Jesus was taken he was made prisoner, and was one of the persons whom the conquerors, by an infamous act of cruelty and injustice, compelled to pay a ransom for their lives. Feeling afterwards that things were hopeless in *Rise of Joam Fernandes Vieira.* *Vol. I. p. 470.* *Vol. I. p. 508.*

CHAP. XX. 1645.

these Captaincies, according to the manner in which the war was carried on, he yielded to the times, waiting for a happier season, and ready to take advantage of whatever fair occasions might occur. In the course of ten years he became one of the wealthiest men in the country; his riches were considered a pledge for his fidelity; and by the uniform wisdom of his conduct, the fairness of his dealings, his princely liberality, and his winning manners, he obtained the confidence of the Dutch, and the love and respect of the Portugueze. One of the members of the Great Council, with whom he lived in intimacy, left him for his sole agent when he returned to Holland, giving him a deed at his departure, by which, as by a last will, he enjoined his executors, in case of his demise, to receive the word of this his agent as a sufficient voucher, and forbade them to institute any legal proceedings against a man in whom he so entirely confided. Joam Fernandes bought the property himself; and prospered so well in all his undertakings, that he had at one time five sugar-engines of his own in full employ. He married Dona Maria Cesar, the young and beautiful daughter of Francisco Berenguer de Andrada, a native of Madeira, who traced his descent from the Counts of Barcelona. During this career of prosperous fortune he had made himself thoroughly informed of the strength of the Dutch, and of their weakness; his heart was fixed upon the deliverance of Brazil from these heretics, and neither domestic happiness nor worldly prosperity made him lose sight of this great object. With many good qualities, and many great ones, Joam Fernandes Vieira was blindly devoted to the Romish superstitions; and his abhorrence of heresy, and his dread of the progress which it might make among a catholic people, strengthened the patriotic resolution which he had formed.

Valeroso Lucideno, p. 159. Castrioto Lusitano, b. § 7.

His liberality.

A characteristic anecdote of his politic liberality shows also

in what manner designs of such magnitude affected his manners and disposition. A Portugueze, whose ship had been taken at Angola, was landed at Recife with scarcely clothes to cover him. After soliciting in vain the charity of Gaspar Diaz Ferreira, the richest Jew in the province, he went with his melancholy story to Fray Manoel do Salvador, who advised him to apply to Joam Fernandes. The applicant found him in the act of mounting his horse, and received this answer: "I am putting foot in the stirrup to return to my house, which is nearly two leagues off; and therefore, Sir, I have no leisure now to relieve you; but if you will take the trouble to follow me there, you shall find support as long as my means hold out; if they fail, and there should be nothing else to eat, I will cut off a leg, and we will feed upon it together. If you cannot walk, I will send a horse for you." This was said so gravely, and with so severe a countenance, that the poor Portugueze, comparing the strangeness of the speech with the hardness of his manner, complained to Fr. Manoel of his ill-fortune in being again repulsed. The Friar told him, that Joam Fernandes was rarely seen to have a cheerful countenance, but that his goodness might be relied on; and accordingly in the course of the afternoon a mulatto arrived at the Friar's door, with a horse for the petitioner.

Valeroso Lucideno, p. 59.

About sixteen months before Nassau left Brazil, Joam Fernandes appeared voluntarily before the Governor and Great Council, and said, he had been informed by certain Jews that he and his father-in-law Berenguer were suspected in Holland of having sent letters to the King of Portugal, tending to the detriment of the State, by Antonio de Andrada, Berenguer's son. He admitted that a letter had been sent in the manner stated, but declared that it only contained a recommendation of his brother-in-law, with a view of procuring for him some advancement in the Portugueze service; and this he offered to prove by

December 1642. *He is accused before the Council.*

CHAP. XX. 1645.

producing a copy of the letter. The copy was examined, and substantiated what he had said of its contents. Joam Fernandes then, more to confirm the Council in the good opinion which they entertained of his loyalty, advised them, as a measure necessary for the safety of the State, to disarm the Portugueze and their dependents. This was accordingly done: the suggestion removed all suspicion from him; and the measure itself was no impediment to his views, for fresh arms could be provided long before his projects would be mature. After six months had elapsed, the accusation which he had foreseen and forestalled came over in a dispatch from the Council of Nineteen. A Dutchman, formerly in the service of Joam Fernandes, who had accompanied Francisco de Andrada to Europe, had testified, that there was a letter, signed by Joam Fernandes, Berenguer, Bernardino Carvalho, Joam Bezerra, and Luiz Bras Bezerra, wherein they assured the King of Portugal that they were provided with men, money, and arms for recovering the provinces which had been wrested from him; and which letter, the Dutchman said, had been communicated to him in confidence by Andrada, the bearer. The accusation seems to bear with it strong marks of falsehood: it would have been gross imprudence to have trusted their agent with a paper, which, if intercepted, must condemn themselves, and, if safely transmitted, contained nothing which that agent might not with equal authority have delivered by word of mouth; and it is absurd to suppose they should tell the King that they were well supplied with men and arms, when their difficulties arose from the want of both. The Company did not give much credit to the charge; they only advised the Council to keep a watchful eye over the persons accused.

Nieuhoff, p. 35.

Begins to prepare the minds of his countrymen.

Joam Fernandes had taken no step which could endanger himself before Nassau was recalled: the weakness of the garri-

son, the imprudent security of the Government, and the increased vexations of his countrymen under a worse administration, then appeared to offer the opportunity for which he waited. Hitherto his designs had been confined to his own breast; the first communication was an aweful crisis; when that was once made he would no longer be master of his own secret; his life and fortune would irrevocably be set upon the die, and both be at the mercy of the truth or discretion of others. This danger he could not but distinctly perceive; and one day when the sense of the risk pressed upon him with more weight than usual, he retired into his oratory, and poured out his heart in prayer to a Crucifix which stood before a picture of the Trinity. The earnestness with which he then devoted himself to the cause of his country and the catholic faith, while he implored the protection of the triune and incarnate Deity whose images were there before him, produced the confidence for which he prayed. He left the oratory in a state of calm determination, and began from that hour to sound the numerous guests who frequented his table. The Portugueze had long complained to each other of their intolerable oppressions, and Joam Fernandes saw by the bitterness with which they resented their present condition, that they would eagerly engage in any enterprize for the deliverance of their country. *Cast. Lus. 5. § 30—2.*

1645.

At this time Andre Vidal de Negreiros came to Recife with Fray Ignacio, a Benedictine. Vidal was one of the bravest, wisest, and best of the Portugueze. He had been appointed to the Captaincy of Maranham, and was come to visit his parents in Paraiba, that he might either take them with him to his Government, or receive before he went what might too probably be their last blessing. The Monk also had relations in Pernambuco, who served as the cause or pretext of his journey. To these persons Joam Fernandes imparted his designs. While

Sept. 1644. *Opens his project to Vidal.*

CHAP. XX. 1645. Vidal was at Recife, preparing to embark for his return, four Portugueze marauders, who had been apprehended near Porto Calvo, were brought in; it was immediately said that they would be put to death, upon which Vidal and Fr. Manoel do Salvador went to the Council to intercede for them. These men, they said, were deserters from Bahia, and the fittest mode of proceeding would be to deliver them to Vidal, that he might take them back to St. Salvador; where they would be punished as their offences deserved, and in such manner as might remove all suspicion that they or such as they had acted under the Governor's order or connivance. If the Council objected to this, let them be sent prisoners to Holland; either course would gratify the Portugueze, a people easily conciliated by kindness, but who were not to be governed by rigour. Moreover the culprits had brethren and kinsmen in Pernambuco, who, if they were executed, would endeavour to revenge their death. Vidal added, that if the Council would grant a safe conduct for the purpose, he would touch at Porto Calvo on his return, offer a pardon to the marauders in that part of the country for the offences in consequence of which they had deserted, and take them all off with him. The Dutch gladly accepted this proposal, and granted passports for all such persons who should accompany Vidal by sea, or if they were too late for this, return with his Alferez by land: this latter officer was therefore immediately dispatched to Porto Calvo to make the arrangement known. Touching the prisoners, the Council only replied that they would execute justice with mercy: but as soon as Vidal and the Friar had left the Chamber, orders were sent to hang three of them, and cut off the hands of one before his execution: the fourth escaped by bribing the Fiscal, through a Jew to whom he was related. There can be little doubt that these fellows deserved their fate, but the Council aggravated an ill-

timed act of severity, by refusing to let them be accompanied by a priest of their own faith. Fr. Manoel protested loudly against this breach of the terms upon which the Portugueze had submitted to the Dutch Government. It was the worst of tyrannies, he said, to deprive them of the consolations of religion, and the benefits of confession; the worst of cruelties thus to kill the soul as well as the body. Upon this remonstrance the Council suffered him to visit the prisoners, but not to attend them to the place of execution, when the Dutch chose that a Calvanistic preacher should make trial of his skill. This silly act of bigotry wounded the Pernambucans in their tenderest feelings. Vidal also felt personally offended, and the offence was heightened by a subsequent act of injustice, as well as cruelty. The marauders accepted the invitation, and came to Porto Calvo to embark there. One man was taken ill, and the Alferez remained to travel with him by land, if he should recover. But when the Council heard that Vidal had set sail, they seized this poor wretch, in defiance of the officer's reclamations, brought him to Recife, and there had him hanged and quartered. *Valeroso Lucideno, p. 163.*

CHAP. XX. 1645.

Vidal was bitterly incensed, and vowed vengeance for this perfidy. He was one of those men who are above all selfish considerations; rank, honours, and emoluments were as nothing in his eyes when placed in competition with the service of his country. Having seen the sufferings of the Pernambucans, and the state of the forts, he thought no more of Maranham, but entered into the prospect which Joam Fernandes had revealed to him with all his heart, and devoted himself with all his soul and all his strength to its accomplishment. Joam Fernandes had through him addressed a memorial to the Governor of Brazil. The enemy, he said, were off their guard, their fortifications neglected, the palisades rotten, the garrisons weak; the best officers had departed with Nassau, and many of the soldiers had

His representations to the governor general.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

since followed, as their terms expired, because the harvest of plunder was over. The greater part of the remaining Dutch were traders of different descriptions, who had usurped the sugar-works and farms of the Portugueze, and were living upon them as much at their ease as if they were in Holland. The city was chiefly inhabited by Jews, most of whom were originally fugitives from Portugal; they had their open synagogues there, to the scandal of Christianity; for the honour of the faith, therefore, the Portugueze ought to risk their lives and properties, ... yea, they ought to think that both would be well lost for the service of Christ their Redeemer, in putting down such an abomination. He did not dissemble or extenuate the difficulties of the attempt; but the die, he said, was cast, advice would come too late, and what he asked for was assistance. The Governor, to whom the preservation of the State was entrusted, could not want means wherewith to assist him: and he protested before God, that if he were disappointed of assistance in that quarter from whence he properly looked for it and expected it, he must apply to strangers, ... for in fact some of the Portugueze declared, that if their own natural Government refused to help them, they would apply to Spain, or even give themselves up to the Turks, rather than endure the intolerable yoke of Holland. By the same channel Joam Fernandes wrote also to Camaram, who was then before Seregipe, requesting from him and his native troops that cooperation which the Pernambucans had ever found him ready to bestow, and which they had so much reason to expect from him, as one who was born in that province, and had often shown himself there to be one of the bravest and faithfullest subjects. He wrote also to Henrique Diaz, whose services had been rewarded with the title of Governor of the Mina-Negroes. At the same time he sent a memorial to be dispatched to Portugal, in which he laid before

Nieuhoff, p. 51.

the King a detail of the grievances and outrages which compelled him and his compatriots to take arms for their own deliverance, protesting that no law, truce, or treaty could deprive them of their natural and indefeasible rights.

Val. Luc. p. 164. Cast Lus. 5. § 34.

The course which Antonio Telles had to pursue when he received this application from the Pernambucan patriots, accompanied by the encouraging intelligence which Vidal and his companion had obtained concerning the Dutch force, and the state of the fortresses, was sufficiently plain for one who understood the disposition of the Portugueze court. Should the insurrection succeed, there was no fear of being disavowed; his business was carefully to foment it, but as carefully to withhold any avowed assistance, and take care to commit no open breach of the truce. As secretly therefore as possible, he sent sixty chosen men, under Antonio Diaz Cardozo, to act in whatever manner Joam Fernandes might direct; and mindful that he had deprecated all useless advice, reminded him only, that it behoved him to weigh well what he was attempting before he began, and when it was too late to recede, then to go resolutely forward. The detachment consisted mostly of experienced officers; they made their way singly or in small parties, unseen or unsuspected, and without arms the better to escape suspicion; and when they got to the place appointed, they were concealed by Joam Fernandes; one faithful servant, by name Miguel Fernandes, being the only person entrusted with the secret. He had begun to make deposits of arms, ammunition, provisions, and money upon his different estates, and in the woods; but it had not been possible to collect arms enough, and four of these auxiliaries were sent back to Bahia to solicit a supply. The letter which they carried was written in such a manner that its enigmatical meaning would readily

Cardozo sent into Pernambuco.

December 1644.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 35—7.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

be understood by the person to whom it was addressed, but pass undiscovered if it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

Joam Fernandes declares his intentions.

Camaram and Henrique Diaz received the invitation to take arms like men who hated the Dutch, and moved in their native element only when they were engaged in war. The former thanked Joam Fernandes for inviting him to bear a part in the glorious enterprize which he was preparing; the latter said, he rejoiced in this opportunity of making some return for the good offices he had formerly received at his hands, and vowed that he would never again wear the cross of the Order of Christ with which he had been invested, till Pernambuco should be recovered: both promised instantly to begin their march. The chances of discovery were now so much increased, that Joam Fernandes, in concert with Cardozo, determined upon opening his designs to his friends and kinsmen: they were therefore all invited to an entertainment, and at the conclusion of the feast he told them for what purpose they had been there assembled. He was resolved, he said, to effect the deliverance of Pernambuco, or to perish in the attempt. During many years he had been preparing for this great enterprize. The Governor of Bahia, knowing and approving of his design had sent him sixty soldiers, most of whom were experienced officers, under a brave and distinguished leader. Camaram and Henrique Diaz were on the way to join him. There was the example of Maranham to encourage... there were their own manifold wrongs to sting them to the attempt; and what was there to deter them? The fear of losing their property? alas! bitter experience had proved that there was no way of securing it, except by their own right hands! Was it the love of their families? better see them at once cut off while the purity of their faith was yet inviolate, than living in a contagious society of heretics!

Val. Luc. p. 167.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 36, 40.

Was it the fear of death? better to die in vindicating the liberty of their country, than continue to exist in that country a conquered, oppressed, despised, and insulted people!

Meeting with Cardozo.

This harangue produced various effects upon the various hearers: they whose fortunes were desperate received it with joy, the young and enterprizing with generous ardour, the elder patriots with calm and religious approbation: some there were who listened with dissembled fear, and resolved to provide for their own safety by giving immediate information to the Dutch Government. All, however, requested that they might see Cardozo. A second meeting was appointed for the ensuing day, at a stock farm belonging to Joam Fernandes; and there the parties met, going singly, and taking different routes. Cardozo confirmed to them what they had already heard of the approbation and support of the Governor at Bahia, and the advance of Camaram and Henrique Diaz with their troops. The whole assembly then with one voice saluted Joam Fernandes as their General and Governor during the insurrection. They who wanted courage for such an undertaking were constrained to yield for the moment, and join in the general expression: but they took their measures so well, and diffused their own fears so artfully, that before three days elapsed, the whole party came to Joam Fernandes, some with simulated, and more with real concern, and told him that the Great Council was informed of their meeting, and possessed a list of all their names. It was impossible for him to know who the informers were, but he knew that they were present. Dissembling this, however, he affected to treat their alarm as groundless; whatever suspicions the Council might entertain, he said, whether they only suspected the design, or if it had been actually betrayed, he would undertake to remove them. It was well known in what estimation

Some of the Portuguese seek to deter him,

CHAP. XX. 1645.

he was held by the Dutch Government; a lie[3] from him would outweigh the truth from any other person. Joam Fernandes said this with perfect calmness and intrepidity; they who had betrayed the conspiracy were sensible that it was no idle boast; they saw themselves in danger of being treated as impostors by the Dutch, and as traitors by the Portugueze; and as the means of extricating themselves, they proposed to treat with the Council in such a manner, that the Government should gladly grant Cardozo and his men a safe conduct to return to Bahia. Fernandes replied, that it was useless to propose a plan to which Cardozo, as a soldier and a man of honour, could never consent. Leaving them then, he hastened to Cardozo, to tell him what had occurred, and who the persons were whom he suspected of being the traitors, that he might be on his guard against them.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 41—6.

and to make Cardozo return to Bahia.

This warning was in good time. While Cardozo was brooding over it in his lurking place, one of the traitors came to tell him that the Dutch were informed of his arrival, and troops would be sent from Recife, with orders not to desist from searching the woods till they had found him. It was impossible, the man said, that he could escape; and therefore the best measure both for his own safety and that of the confederated patriots was, that a passport should be obtained for him, which would at once deliver him from danger, and the Council from their fears. Cardozo replied, that such terms might very well be accepted by a set of traitors; but he wore a sword, wherewith he could make terms for himself; and if he were taken, it would

[3] "*Para com os Magistrados, mais pezava a sua mentira, que a verdade de muitos.*" (*Cast. Lus. 5, § 45.*) Raphael de Jesus puts these words in the mouth of Joam Fernandes, under whose patronage, and from whose information he wrote.

be to the destruction of those who betrayed him; for they might be assured, that without being put to the torture he would at once give up their names, declare that he had been invited by them into Pernambuco, and persist in affirming that Joam Fernandes had neither joined in inviting him, nor known of his coming. Provoked at the tone and manner of this reply, the Pernambucan ventured to threaten Cardozo in return, but took to flight upon seeing him draw his sword. Cardozo and Fernandes now consulted together, and agreed that the former should address a letter to the latter, which might be laid, if necessary, before the Council, for the purpose of exculpating him, and criminating those who had revealed the conspiracy. It was to this tenour; that Cardozo had been drawn into Pernambuco by the repeated solicitations of the Portugueze inhabitants, confiding in their oaths and protestations signed by their own hands, that they were leagued to throw off the yoke of the Dutch. Deceived by these assurances, he had reached the place appointed, after suffering such hardships upon the way as God and his men could witness; and no sooner had he arrived than he found himself betrayed. Against this, however, he was upon his guard, having always in some degree apprehended it, because of the anxiety which the conspirators expressed to conceal their proceedings from Joam Fernandes. This anxiety on their part had prevented him from showing that respect to a person so distinguished among his countrymen, which both courtesy and inclination would otherwise have alike required: and he would not do it now, lest it might give occasion for any doubt of his loyalty in the Dutch Government, who were so greatly beholden to him for the example which he had afforded of fidelity. Cardozo added, that he wrote this letter as the only mark of respect which he could pay to Joam Fernandes, informing him that he was about to return to Bahia, lest those

CHAP. XX. 1645.

CHAP. XX. 1645. who had tempted him into Pernambuco should deliver him up to the Council. He had a sword wherewith to defend himself in this danger; if that failed him, he should proclaim aloud who were the traitors, and appeal to the favour of Fernandes in his misfortunes.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 46–8.

Having prepared this well-devised paper, Cardozo retired to a different part of the woods, whither he was guided by a trusty servant of his politic confederate. Joam Fernandes meantime sent for the persons to whom his designs had been imparted, and giving them the letter to read, asked what cause Cardozo could have for returning so suddenly without taking any other leave of them than what they there saw? He warned those among them who were guilty to beware of the consequences to themselves; for they well knew, that as he had both ability and spirit to spend more in one hour than they could do in the whole course of their lives, a word from him would be of more avail with the Dutch than all their oaths conjointly. The letter, he said, he should carefully preserve, as evidence to lay before the Council.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 49.

Embarrassment of the Council.

Fernandes was too subtle a conspirator for the Dutch. So well had he concealed Cardozo and his men in the woods, that all search for them proved in vain. The Great Council were now considerably embarrassed. They had been informed that the Portugueze had been meditating a revolt from the time of Nassau's departure, in consequence of the aggravated extortions and grievances which they had since that time endured: that Vidal's visit to Pernambuco had been undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of affairs; that the Portugueze even counted upon the Company's negroes for assistance, most of them being Catholics, and that Joam Fernandes and his father-in-law Berenguer were the heads of the conspiracy. Several others had been named; but they complained in

their dispatches to the Company that they could not obtain sufficient information for committing them to prison; and they did not venture to make a search and disarm the Portugueze, lest it should occasion an immediate insurrection, against which they were ill prepared; for their magazines and storehouses were not secured, they could not draw from the garrisons a force equal to protect the open country, and all who lived at a distance from the forts would be cut off by the insurgents. Thus circumstanced, they earnestly solicited immediate reinforcements, till the arrival of which all they could do was to provide as much as possible against the danger, and continue to make the most vigilant enquiries. *Nieuhoff, p. 41.*

The Governor promises to assist Fernandes.

Meantime Cardozo's messengers reached St. Salvador; the Governor observed as usual the most cautious language, but he promised all the assistance in his power to the Pernambucans, if the Dutch should continue to oppress them, and secretly permitted volunteers to accompany them on their return. About forty adventurers offered themselves for this perilous service; they accomplished their march in safety, were placed under Cardozo's orders, and quartered secretly in the woods. It was at this time reported, that the Tapuyas were to be let loose against the people of Paraiba, and that the Great Council had determined to cut off all the male Portugueze in their conquests between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. The former report was not incredible, because a German, by name Jacob Rabbi, was stationed among those savages, as agent for the Dutch; he had married the daughter of one of their chiefs, and accommodating himself with little difficulty to their way of life, and with less to the ferocity of the savage character, it was to be expected that when the war began he would prove a cruel enemy. The latter project was beyond all doubt a calumnious imputation. The Dutch were capable of such a crime, ... for they have proved

CHAP. XX. 1645.

themselves so at Batavia; but at this time we know by the dispatches of the Great Council, that they did not dare take measures for disarming the Portugueze, though they knew their danger; much less then would they venture upon a massacre. Joam Fernandes could not possibly have believed the report; it was very probably a falsehood of his own fabrication, for he circulated it as an assured fact, of which he had obtained certain intelligence; and urged his associates to make ready with all speed, that they might prevent the blow which was aimed against them. He had now indeed proceeded too far to escape detection; it was therefore necessary that no time should be lost; Camaram and Diaz were hourly expected to arrive; and acting with the authority of general, with which he had been invested at the first meeting, he nominated captains in every district, drew out their commissions in the customary form, and sent them orders how to act.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 54—5.

Preparations of Fernandes.

He had long been laying up stores for this great enterprize. As President of many religious fraternities, he had ventured openly to purchase considerable quantities of gunpowder upon the pretext of using it for fireworks upon the different saints' days; and he had procured other quantities through the interior from Bahia. All this was carefully concealed in the woods, where in like manner he had made deposits of pulse, grain, fish, and meat, both salted and smoked, wine, oil, vinegar and salt, and spirits, in distilling which he employed some of his own works. These things were carried into the woods by the carts which went there to bring back logs of Brazil. He had also sent off the greatest part of his numerous herds to his *curraes*, or grazing farms, in the interior, pretending that in the *Varzea*, or cultivated plain in the immediate vicinity of Recife, they were stolen by the negroes, and that many of them died in consequence of eating a certain plant called *fava*. Under such pretences and by such means he had laid up stores for the intended war.

Val. Luc. p. 160.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

One of the first persons to whom the project had been imparted, was a man of considerable influence, by name Antonio Cavalcanti. He entered warmly into the scheme; but when the time of action was drawing nigh, the difficulties and dangers were magnified through the medium of his fears, and he began to waver and hold back. He had a son and daughter, both at this time marriageable; for the purpose of securing him, Joam Fernandes proposed that they should intermarry with a sister and brother of his wife, and promised to settle them upon two of his *Ingenios*, or Sugar-works, giving them the whole produce for four years, and requiring only a third as rent for a second term of the like duration. The proposal was gladly accepted,.. but little did the parties whose union was thus contracted for imagine what were the preparations for the marriage feast! The friends of both families would of course be invited; and as Joam Fernandes gave the entertainment, it was expected that all the chief officers of the Company, civil and military, would in compliment to him accept the invitation. It was his intention to ply these guests well with wine, and then with one band of conspirators to fall upon and slaughter them, while another party should enter Recife and obtain possession, before the Dutch could recover from the consternation into which they would be thrown by so unexpected an attack, finding themselves deprived of their leaders. Having resolved upon this act of atrocious treachery, he communicated his design to the men of the Varzea, and ordered them to dig up what weapons they had secreted, to procure as many more as they could, and to be ready for the work. They answered him with acclamations, [4] Long live King Joam the fourth! Hurrah for the

He plans a massacre of the leading men among the Dutch.

[4] " *Nam podiam reprimir o alvoroço com que gritaram a huma voz, Viva el Rey D. Joam o quarto nosso Senhor; Viva a Fé Catholica Romana, que professamos; e Viva, viva Joam Fernandes Vieira!*"

CHAP. XX. 1645.

Roman Catholic faith! and Joam Fernandes Vieira for ever! The project cannot be condemned too severely: but in judging him who planned, and those who thus approved it, we should call to mind, that little more than half a century had elapsed since a medal was struck by the head of their Infallible Church, in honour of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 57—60.

Intimation given to the Council.

The men of the Varzea, in the ardour of their hopes, began now to seek for arms with eagerness which could not escape observation. The Council were informed of this; still their intelligence was incompleat, notwithstanding what the timorous rather than traitorous Portugueze had said to intimidate Joam Fernandes and Cardozo; and neither knowing whom to seize, nor venturing upon any bold and general measure of preventive arrest, they affected to treat what they had heard as a vague report. But the Jews were loud in their expressions of alarm; they had more at stake than the Dutch; they were sure of being massacred without mercy during the insurrection, or roasted without mercy if the insurgents should prove successful; they therefore besieged the Council with warnings and accusations. The most specific information, however, came from some Portugueze, in a letter which was signed Truth, and delivered to the Council by a Jew physician. Herein the writer advised them to apprehend Joam Fernandes Vieira, as the head and prime mover of the conspiracy, some of his servants, his father-in-law Berenguer, and Antonio Cavalcanti; if this could be done, the whole would be brought to light. He advised also that all the planters of the adjacent territory should be summoned to Recife, under an assurance that they were not to be molested for their debts; and that when there they should be detained, upon pretence of securing them against the violence of the rebels in the country; a like measure was recommended at Paraiba and at Porto Calvo, as equally beneficial to the Government and to

many individuals: ... we beseech you, said the letter, take care of this poor nation, lest they should be forced to join the rebels against you! The insurrection, it added, was to begin at Whitsuntide. The writer also stated, that three persons were concerned in giving this information; that at some fit season they would not scruple to declare themselves, and that they would communicate farther intelligence as they obtained it: a promise which seemed to be repeated in the words *Plus ultra*, placed after the signature. *Nieuhoff, p. 43.*

They seek to entrap Fernandes.

Information thus positively given by men who hardly affected to conceal themselves, having sent the letter by a messenger through whom they might be traced, convinced the Council both of the certainty and imminence of the danger; and they consulted in what manner to get Joam Fernandes into their power. Lichthart and Haus proposed to invite him to a fishing party and then seize him; this plan however was not attempted, or it failed to deceive the wary conspirator. Another method was devised by the Council. His dealings with the Company were very extensive, and he had for some time been negociating a new contract with them; it was therefore determined to send for him into the city, with his two sureties Berenguer and Bernardino Carvalho, under pretence of compleating the agreement and signing the papers. But Joam Fernandes had three persons in the city who were sold to him, and who advised him of all that passed in the Council; and he had long been upon his guard. By day, while he was about his house as usual, centinels were upon the look-out on every side; he affected to be as accessible as ever, and to be employed in his ordinary concerns, yet he took care to see no person whom he wished to avoid. His servants were equally prepared for resistance and for flight: he had nearly a hundred negro slaves about his dwelling, armed with darts and bows and arrows; a secret

CHAP. XX. 1645.

door had also been made, through which he might escape in case of emergency; his horse was always saddled, and every night he retired into the woods, accompanied by his secretary, Diogo da Sylva a youth of Madeira, and by Luiz da Costa da Sepulveda, who shared with him in all his difficulties. When the Council's broker arrived, he admitted him, and expressed the utmost readiness to conclude the contract; he could not indeed go himself on the morrow, he added, which was the day appointed, because pressing occupations would prevent him; but he would send his agent with sufficient powers. The Dutchman insisted that his presence was indispensable, urged it with an impatience which would have given cause to suspect the design, if he with whom he dealt had not already been sufficiently conscious and sufficiently wary, and betrayed himself still farther, by offering him a protection in the Council's name. Joam Fernandes made answer he was not ignorant of what enemies he had at Recife, nor of what schemes had been laid against him; and as for protections, the best protection was that of his own house.

Val. Luc. p. 172.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 50—6.

Movements of Camaram and Diaz.

Camaram and Henrique Diaz were not yet arrived: the latter, when he was invited to this service, was employed in an expedition against a Mocambo, or settlement of Maroon negroes, in the interior: this had delayed their march, and the weather had impeded it, for the wet season set in with a severity which the oldest persons had never remembered in Brazil. The Council knew that these troops were expected; but having charged their commander at Seregipe to advise them of the movements in that quarter, they were answered that Camaram was gone to keep his Easter at Bahia, and that the men were employed in cultivating the ground. This information tended for some time to encourage them in that belief of security which they willingly indulged. They were thus deceived by the conduct of the Carijo chief, whether that conduct was accidental or politic; and repeatedly as they had been told that troops from

Bahia were in the woods, they never succeeded by any search in detecting their hiding-place, so well had Joam Fernandes and his faithful agents concealed them. Advices, however, at length arrived, which awakened them to a full sense of the danger; from the S. Francisco they were informed that Camaram and Diaz had past the river, and from the Lagoas that some of their party had ventured into the houses there to procure provisions; that they had been seen and spoken with, and that the Dutch commander going in person to discover their design, had found the track of their march far in the interior; a symptom which left no doubt that their intentions were hostile.

Val. Luc. p. 172. Nieuhoff, p. 42—4. Cast. Lus. 5. § 61.

Fernandes takes to the woods.

While these troops were impeded on their march by the rains, Joam Fernandes could no longer wait safely for their arrival. It was now evident that the Dutch intended to secure his person, and now when artifice had failed, he knew that force would be employed. He therefore sent off his wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, to the house of one of her kinsmen, while he himself retired into the woods, never venturing to any of his own estates, nor ever sleeping twice successively in one place. Berenguer always accompanied him, with a few of the most resolute patriots, and a number of his own slaves, whose devoted attachment to him shows that he had been a kind master. It was not long before he received certain advice that Camaram and Diaz had past the S. Francisco; the letter containing this intelligence he sent to the Vigario of the Varzea, Francisco da Costa Falcam, the head of the clergy there, who was deeply engaged in the conspiracy. He was charged to communicate it to the Portugueze in his district, and call upon them to declare themselves at once, that Joam Fernandes might know whom to protect and whom to punish. The answer was unanimous; they were all true and loyal Portugueze, ready with their properties and lives for the service of their natural King and Country.

June 7.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 61—4.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

No open act of insurrection had yet taken place. The Dutch were not informed that Joam Fernandes had left his house, and they hoped to surprise him there in the night preceding S. Antonio's day,.. a saint whom the Portugueze regard as their patron, and the most illustrious of all their canonized countrymen, and whose festival they celebrate with peculiar devotion. Orders were sent to seize the leaders of the conspiracy at the same moment through the Dutch Captaincies. On the eve of S. Antonio's, just at night-fall, a considerable number of troops, in parties of from twenty to thirty, went out of Recife, taking different roads, but all with instructions to surround the house and works of Joam Fernandes. They met there, forced their way in, and found the place deserted: all the neighbouring habitations were in like manner abandoned;... for the Portugueze expected this, and were hid among the canes and in the woods. Miracles had been performed to encourage them, and prepare them for thus outlawing themselves. Fernandes had a chapel dedicated to S. Antonio: about a month before the Saint's holy-day, the person whose business it was to take care of this chapel found the doors open in the morning, though he had locked them over night, and taken home the keys. Nothing had been stolen, nor did it appear that any person had entered. The same prodigy happened the second and the third morning; the sexton now fully believed it to be supernatural, and related it to several priests, who affected to consider it as a trick played upon him by some of his neighbours. He watched at night to ascertain this; no person appeared, and still the doors were open at morning. Joam Fernandes was now made acquainted with the miracle which occurred nightly at his chapel; as the possibility of some person's possessing another key was still suspected, the doors were locked in the presence of a number of persons, and he sealed up the key-hole with his own

Miracles at the Chapel of S. Antonio.

signet. At morning the doors as usual were found open, and the seal unbroken. Easily as all this was done, it past for miraculous. Some inferred that the saint encouraged them to take the field, avow their designs, and begin the good work without farther delay; others discovering a closer allegory in the portent, maintained that he signified by this token his intention of protecting the faithful Portugueze, shewing that they would always find him with the door open to their prayers. A third party differed from both; it was a sign, they said, that they ought to secure themselves and their families, and leave their houses. Lest there should be any doubt that this was the true interpretation, a second prodigy confirmed it; on the same day, while they were attending mass in the chapel, the canopy which was over the altar before the saint's image, fell upon the altar, at his feet. It was universally admitted that this was a warning for them to strip the chapel, remove their effects, and retire. *Cast. Lus. 5. § 64—8.*

The Dutch disappointed in their search.

The Dutch were not more successful in other points, though they had nearly surprized Berenguer and Bernardino de Carvalho, with two other men of note, who were sleeping in the refining-house of an Ingenio, when they were awakened by the noise of the soldiers in the habitations adjoining; and breaking their way out, crost the Capivaribi with the water up to their necks, and got into the woods. The night was wet and stormy, and the Dutch were impeded every where by the mire and sloughs. No sooner had they turned back from their unavailing search, than the Portugueze came from their hiding places, met as they had appointed at the Mother Church in the Várzea, and kept the festival with more passionate feeling than had ever before sanctified it. Fr. Manoel do Salvador preached upon the occasion; for a long time he had delivered his sermons with the fear of the gallows before his eyes, the Dutch

CHAP. XX. 1645.

having set spies upon him and watching all his words. Here he knew his congregation, and spake boldly; he took for his text, Let your loins be girded; and preached a fiery discourse. With right Portugueze feeling, he reminded them of Portugal's old fame, and the heroic achievements of their ancestors; and he dwelt with suspicious ingenuity upon the recent miracles which S. Antonio had performed before their eyes. He addressed himself to willing and greedy auditors: their piety, their patriotism, and their superstition were wrought to the highest pitch: and he may be believed when he tells us that they left the church weeping with emotions of generous joy, and devoting themselves anew to the cause of their country and their faith.

Valerno Lucideno p. 179.

Measures of the Council.

Two persons only of all whom the Council had ordered to be apprehended in the Varzea were taken: one was altogether ignorant of the plot, the other was Sebastian Carvalho, one of those who had written the letter: he now acknowledged this, and to confirm the truth of the information which he had given, declared that he had been privy to the conspiracy, and had signed a paper, whereby he bound himself to take an active part in its execution; but he signed it, he said, in the fear of death, Joam Fernandes having threatened to make away with all who should refuse to join him, and having actually caused several to be murdered on that account. Carvalho was now detained in confinement, at his own request, to secure him from the suspicion of his countrymen. The Council gave immediate orders to widen the ditches, and strengthen the fortifications of Mauritias, and they sent to seize all the meal which could be found for their garrisons; a price, however, was to be paid for it. They offered a pardon to Antonio Cavalcanti and Joam Paes Cabral, leading men among the disaffected, whose desertion they thought would materially weaken and discourage the pa-

triots, and whom they hoped to bring back to submission, because they had large families in the power of the Dutch. The expected arrival of Camaram alarmed them for the fidelity of their own Indians, and they resolved if possible to get the wives and children of these people into the Island of Itamaraca, under pretext of securing them from the insurgents, but in fact as hostages for their tribe.

Nieuhoff. p. 45—7.

Joam Fernandes meanwhile, as soon as he was informed that search had been made for him, and knew that it was no longer possible to protract the time, collected his associates, and took post upon an eminence in the woods, high enough to serve as a watch-tower. The spot seems to have been appointed as a meeting-place, for there he was joined by all the persons whom he employed upon his different estates, armed with weapons which had long been secreted for this purpose. Thither also his slaves came, induced by their attachment to an indulgent master, by the promise of liberty and reward when the enterprize should have succeeded, and by that love of activity and adventure which is natural to man. At the end of three days he found himself at the head of an hundred and thirty resolute and trusty men; but many of them were ill-armed, and all undisciplined. He then moved to Camaragibe, a place well fitted for defence, being surrounded with marshes, and about two miles from the Varzea, so that he was well situated for receiving and communicating intelligence. From thence he sent out his advices on all sides, calling upon all the Portugueze to take arms and join him; and inviting slaves, by an offer of the pay and privileges of the soldiers, and a promise that he would from his own private property purchase the freedom of every one who belonged to a patriot. Many obeyed the call, met together by night, fell upon the houses of those Dutchmen and Jews who happened unfortunately to be within their reach, killed the

Fernandes summons the people to take arms.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

inhabitants, plundered the houses, and then joined the camp of the insurgents. Some who were not able to provide subsistence for their families if they absented themselves, unwillingly remained quiet; and there were not a few, who regarding nothing so much as their own tranquillity, hoped to see the insurrection speedily suppressed.

Castrioto Lusitano. 5, § 69—71.

Precautionary measures of the Council converted into means of extortion.

The first measures of the Council were prompted by that cupidity which was the characteristic and the curse of the Company's Government. They apprehended men at random throughout their provinces; those who were really implicated in the conspiracy had already joined Joam Fernandes, and it seemed as if these persons were apprehended only to make them pay for their release. The consequence might have been foreseen: many who would have remained in obedience if they might have lived unmolested, fled now to the insurgents, because they were indignant at having been arrested without cause, or because they did not chuse to feel themselves at the mercy of every venal or malicious informer. An edict also was published, requiring all the Portugueze who had left their houses to appear within five days at Recife, upon a promise of pardon and protection for all persons except the ringleaders. They were to take a new oath of allegiance, and then be left in quiet possession of their property, as in aforetime. The harpies in office converted this into a new means of extortion. They represented, that all the Portugueze must for their own safety take the oath, and provide themselves with a protection; for which, of course, they exacted fees. All who were not actually in arms were compelled to purchase these protections.

Cast Lus. 5, § 73—5. Val. Euc. 182.

They offer money to Fernandes.

Profit, in it's gross trading sense, was so much the object of the Dutch Government in all their proceedings, that they seem to have considered it as every man's ruling principle. They would gladly have had Joam Fernandes in their power, and

have put him to death; but now when he had eluded them, they thought that it would be a saving bargain to purchase his submission at a high price, and thus avert the destructive war which would otherwise be waged against their plantations and storehouses. In this spirit they found means, through two of his own countrymen, to offer him 200,000 cruzados, to be paid in any place, and secured in any manner that he might please to appoint, provided he would abandon his project, and leave the Captaincy in peace. Fernandes affected to give ear to the proposal, for the sake of gaining time till his expected succours should arrive; and when it was no longer possible to delay giving a final answer, he sent word to the Council that he would not sell the honour of punishing oppressors at so low a rate. Enraged at this, they proclaimed a reward of 4000 florins for any person who would bring him in dead or alive: he replied by a counter-proclamation, offering twice that sum for the head of any of the Supreme Council; and he posted his manifestos in all public places, even within Recife, calling upon all Portugueze to take arms with him against their tyrants, on pain of being treated as enemies of their country; and promising to all strangers and Jews who would remain peaceably in their houses, protection as vassals of the Crown of Portugal. Still farther to intimidate the Council, he wrote to them, saying, they need not by so many base means seek to circumvent him, for he would soon pay them a public visit in their city, for which intent he was making ready with 14,000 European soldiers, and 24,000 Brazilians and Indians. The extravagance of the first part of the assertion was palpable; but the Dutch knew from their own population lists that the latter number was not incredible, if the Portugueze were generally engaged in the conspiracy.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 72—8—9. *Val. Luc.* 183.

The first place at which hostilities began was Ipojuca, a

Character of Fagundes.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

township near Cape S. Augustine. Joam Fernandes had appointed Amador de Araujo to the command in this district, and that officer had given a Captain's commission to Domingos Fagundes, a free mulatto, the son of a wealthy and noble father. Some anecdotes of this man, which are related in his honour by the two historians of this war, one a Benedictine abbot, and the other a friar, are too characteristic of the state of law and of morals to be omitted here. After having borne a part in those predatory incursions which had so greatly annoyed the Dutch during the former war, he had submitted to them, and settled at Porto Calvo. A Dutchman, who had married the widow of Sebastian de Souto, and settled in the same township, speaking one day of this Fagundes, said he was one who made no scruple of killing a man in the woods, but never did it openly in the fair field. This was repeated to Fagundes, who ere long met this Master Jan, as the Dutchman was called, walking with one of his countrymen. Notwithstanding it was in time of peace, the Dutchmen were each armed with pistols and blunderbuss, and the Portugueze had a musquet in his hand. The mulatto stopt him, and said, You are Master Jan; I am Domingos Fagundes, . . . kill me, and show yourself the better man if you can! . . . and at the same moment, before Jan could lift his blunderbuss, he shot him through the heart. This was under Nassau's government; but although there had been a witness of the fact, there was so little law in Pernambuco, or the provocation was considered to have been so great, or money was so omnipotent, that he obtained a protection, and lived safely at Recife. Here a Dutch soldier accidentally struck him with the end of his gun when turning in the street: Fagundes resented it as if it had been intentional, and the soldier then gave him a blow. The Portugueze marked him well that he might know him again; and meeting him afterwards out of the town, at-

Cast. Lus. 5. § 80—1.

tacked him unawares, ran him through the body, and then fled to Ipojuca, where he was secreted in the house of a friend. On the way he visited his friend Fr. Manoel do Salvador, not to receive absolution for what he had done, (for this was ranked among his good works by his Confessor as well as himself) but to communicate to the Friar his future plans. There were forty brave fellows, he said, fit for any thing, who were willing to take to the woods with him, and acknowledge him for their Captain: they had only two musquets at present, and some swords; but they would lie in wait for the Dutch, kill all the stragglers who came in their way, bury their bodies in the thicket, and thus provide themselves with arms. The Friar approved highly of his laudable disposition, but dissuaded him from this project, telling him that it might occasion great inconvenience to his countrymen, and that the time would soon come when he might display his zeal for the King's service. CHAP. XX. 1645. *Val. Luc. p. 175.*

Commencement of hostilities.

The time was now come when such a man might follow his vocation meritoriously. He engaged with Araujo to raise a company for the insurrection, and soon enlisted sixteen men; every thing was ready at Ipojuca, and they waited only for intelligence of the leader's movements, when an affray happened between one of the inhabitants and a Jew merchant; help came to both sides, and in the course of the tumult three Jews were killed. Fagundes and his men took advantage of the confusion, and fell upon the Dutch, plundering their houses, and destroying every thing with fire and sword: the garrison took flight, and the insurgents obtained arms among their spoils. Flushed with success, Fagundes attacked three vessels laden with sugar and flour in Porto do Salgado, won them, and massacred the Dutchmen on board. All the Portugueze of the township and of the adjoining parts immediately joined the insurrection, inflamed by the tidings, now opportunely arriving, that their Governor was

CHAP. XX. 1645.

in arms. Araujo placed himself at their head; and thus the land communication between the Dutch at Cape S. Augustine and all the parts to the southward was cut off, and the fort at the Cape could not without great difficulty be supplied with water from the river.

Cast. Lus. 5. § 82. Nieuhoff, 48.

June 19. *The commander in chief marches against the insurgents.*

This news occasioned much alarm at Recife, accompanied as it was by intelligence that the garrison at St. Antonio, a township to the N. W. of Ipojuca were besieged in the church by the insurgents, and that Camaram and Diaz were committing open hostilities about the Lagoas. There were two companies at the Lagoas, a force wholly insufficient for the defence of so wide a district: a ship therefore was immediately dispatched to bring away as many as it could hold, leaving their baggage behind, and they who could not be received on board were directed to make their way by land to the garrison at the river S. Francisco. At the same time, in order to keep open a communication with the south, Haus went in person with two hundred and twenty Dutch and four hundred native troops to relieve the garrison at S. Antonio, and reduce the rebels at Ipojuca. It was not possible that the half-armed and undisciplined insurgents could resist this force in the field, and they were too wise to attempt it. Fagundes took post in the woods with twenty men, and killed some of the enemy as they passed, then fled to rejoin Araujo. The Dutch commander proceeded to Ipojuca, hung one of the patriots who had fallen into his hands, and offered pardon and protection to all who would take advantage of the proclamation within three days. About two hundred persons accepted it: they were without weapons, or means of subsistence to enable them to join the Governor; and with that duplicity which wars of this nature inevitably occasion, submitted now that they might revolt at a better opportunity. Haus then hastened to cut off Araujo before he could effect his

Nieuhoff, 49, 50—2. Cast. Lus. 6. § 3, 4.

junction with Joam Fernandes: a traitor guided him, and he came up with the patriots; they were easily routed, but they fled into the woods, losing only five men, reunited there, and continued their march toward the General.

Movements of Fernandes.

Meantime Joam Fernandes had received intelligenee that the Dutch were preparing to attack him at Camaragibe; he retired to a Mocambo, or negro hiding-place in the woods, and there Cardozo joined him. Their little army consisted only of two hundred and eighty men, and Cardozo was appointed Sargento Mayor, with all the privileges of Lieutenant General. The Dutch were apprized of this movement, and meant to surprize him there. For this purpose Blaar, who of all his countrymen had the worst character for cruelty, was to go with two hundred Pitagoares and three hundred European soldiers, armed with blunderbusses and musquets, instead of harquebusses, that the smell of the match might not betray them. The intention was discovered by Fr. Manoel do Salvador. This remarkable man, who was soldier, preacher, poet and historian, had among his other gifts a special talent at converting Jews; and had actually persuaded two of his converts to go to Portugal, with a particular recommendation to the Grand Inquisitor. He had at this time a catechumen under his hands, who gave good proof of his sincerity by informing his spiritual father of Blaar's intended march. Joam Fernandes was thus timely advised, and withdrew his troops to a place called Maciape, making their way through the woods, and endeavouring to leave no traces of their path. Here four of his Captains joined him, with ninety men. A party was sent to call upon the inhabitants along the Capeviribe with all their slaves to take arms for the deliverance of the country. Father Simam de Figueiredo commanded the party; he had been a Captain before he entered into holy orders; and had a company given him, as a sort of military

CHAP. XX. 1645.

cure, in this war against the heretics. The call was willingly obeyed; and in the course of five days eight hundred volunteers flocked to the appointed meeting-place. They had only thirty fire-arms among them; those which Fernandes had secreted were now brought out, cleansed from the rust which they had contracted, and distributed among them. He had not with all his long preparation been able to procure enough; great part of his men were armed with hunting-spears, or with stakes, which being of the close-grained woods of Brazil, and pointed in the fire, were no contemptible substitutes for the pike. With this force he marched to S. Lourenço, and had the good fortune on the way to fall in with a convoy of flour for Recife, escorted by fifty men, about half of whom were cut off. At S. Lourenço the bells were rung, and the inhabitants went out to meet him, and swore fellowship and obedience in the common cause.

Val. Luc. 187. Cast. Lus. 5. § 83—5—7.

He crosses the Tapicura in sight of the enemy.

The weather which impeded Camaram and Diaz impeded the operations of the enemy also: the floods were out; and Fernandes thus obtained time to make arrangements for a supply of provisions. The Council, notwithstanding the vigilance of their agents, had great difficulty in obtaining intelligence of his movements, a difficulty which is always experienced by those who are engaged in war against a people. Haus coming from Ipojuca, was to form a junction with Blaar. The latter was on his way to the Mocambo, when he learnt that the insurgents had left that position, and was fain to halt till he could receive information of their course. Meantime, giving way to that ferocious temper which had already rendered him infamous, he sent out parties toward Garassu along all the roads, who burnt the houses, murdered the people without distinction of age or sex, and committed such cruelties and profanations as drew down the censure of Haus, when he arrived and took the command. Fernandes was apprized of the intended junction. S.

Lourenço was not a defensible post, and his purpose was to delay fighting as long as possible, in expectation of Camaram and Diaz. He therefore broke up from his quarters, crost the Capivaribi on rafts, and leaving fifty men as an outpost, proceeded to the Tapicura. The river was no longer fordable. They stretched a cable across, formed of those limber and leafless parasites with which the woods in Brazil are hung; by means of this the troops were ferried over upon a small raft, carrying only eight at a time. Blaar was near enough to behold this, but not to prevent it. A mulatto guided him to the outpost in the night: but though the Portugueze were completely surprized, they broke through the enemy; then trusting to their thorough knowledge of the country, they dispersed in the woods, and soon rejoined the army.

Valeroso Lucideno, 190. Castrioto Lusitano, 3. § 6.

Discontents in his army.

The Governor in the Cause of Liberty, *(Governador da Liberdade)* as he stiled himself, now took up a position at a place called Covas. Here he had to contend with a danger more to be dreaded than the enemy's military power. In his own army, if that name might be given to the ill-armed, undisciplined, motley assemblage under his command, there were some who had joined him reluctantly, and because their fears compelled them to this course; some few who affected patriotism that they might be the better able to serve the Dutch, and obtain a high price for treason skilfully performed. Both descriptions wished to excite discontent, and began to murmur against his proceedings. What were his plans? they said; if he meant to fight the Dutch, wherefore had he not provided stores, arms, surgeons, and medicines, necessary for an armed force? Why did he not take post in some strong situation, and there fortify himself, instead of wandering about from one place to another, and skulking with his men like a band of gipsies? Liberty was the watchword with which he had led them from their homes, . .

CHAP. XX. 1645.

but it would end in banishment. Well would it be if they could find their way to Bahia at last, . . . the object which Joam Fernandes perhaps had in view for himself from the beginning: this would be the best chance that could betide them, for in Pernambuco they had no quarter to expect. Many persons who were sincere in the cause lent ear too readily to these insidious suggestions. Where so much was sacrificed as well as risqued, anxiety naturally produced a state of feverish apprehension; and in wars of this kind, treachery is not more mischievous by its frequent occurrence, than by the perpetual suspicion which its frequency occasions. The growing discontent threatened to break out in mutiny; the priests, however, were of great use in abating it, and most of the captains had full confidence in their general. Joam Fernandes being well informed of what was going on, ordered a false alarm to be given; upon which Cardozo, as had been concerted with him, divided the troops into small bodies, taking care to separate those who were disaffected. When this was done, and the scouts brought assurance that there was no cause for the alarm, these bodies were marched in succession before the general; who harangued them, praised the alacrity which they had displayed on this as on every former occasion; and said, that if there was any among them who for want of zeal or courage wished to quit the service, he might freely confess it, and depart without injury or molestation. The traitors dared not speak; and they who had been deluded, and whose murmurs proceeded from impatience, joined in one general protestation of obedience to their leader, and ardour for the cause. Joam Fernandes then proceeded to declare, that he had staked his life and possessions upon the issue of this great enterprize; and from that day forward, if any one were found attempting to seduce the meanest person of that army from his duties, whatever the rank of the offender might

be, he would assuredly order him to be hanged as a traitor. Having thus overawed the turbulent, and quelled the incipient faction, it behoved him to guard against the worse danger of assassination, which he and his friends apprehended. For this purpose he selected a body-guard, to attend him day and night; and lest any attempt upon his life should be made by poison, two soldiers were stationed to prevent all persons from approaching the place where his food was prepared by a servant, of whose fidelity he was assured.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 7, 8, 9.

Joam Fernandes had curbed the discontented with the strong hand of authority, but the reasonable part of their complaint was not lost upon him. The want of medical help was what any man might have cause to lament, he knew not how soon; and to supply this want, he sent a small detachment to catch a Frenchman, who practised medicine in the township of S. Amaro, and bring him, willing or not. The poor surgeon, when he found himself in the hands of such a party, cried out that he was a Roman Catholic Christian, and had always cured the Portugueze with the greatest attention and tenderness; .. if the gentlemen meant to carry him into the woods and murder him, he intreated that they would rather have the goodness to kill him at once, near the church, where some good Christian would bury him for the love of God. But if they wanted him to attend the wounded Portugueze, they must get him a horse, for he had a bad leg, and could not go on foot. A horse was accordingly put in requisition, with as little ceremony as the doctor had been; his whole stock in trade was packed up, and Mestrola, as he is called, made his appearance at Covas as a volunteer, with the philosophy of one who had learnt from the Portugueze to take things patiently when there was no remedy, and with the gaiety of a Frenchman to boot. Here also Araujo joined the patriots; having collected on his way the insurgents of Moribeca, who

Want of medical aid.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

like himself were flying from Haus, and those of S. Antonio do Cabo; he brought with him four hundred men. The joy at receiving this reinforcement had scarcely abated, before a trumpet was heard, and seven Indians appeared, armed with Biscayan muskets: the superior quality of their arms indicated from whence they came. They belonged to Camaram's regiment, and brought tidings that their commander and Henrique Diaz would arrive in the course of a week. The centinel whose good fortune it was to announce the approach of these welcome messengers, was rewarded by Joam Fernandes with a present of two slaves.

Val. Luc. p. 196. Cast. Lus. 6. § 12. Cast. Lus. 6. § 10, 11.

The Dutch expel the women and children.

Meantime the Council issued a proclamation, commanding all women and children whose husbands and fathers were among the insurgents to leave their homes within six days, on pain of being punished as rebels themselves; and declaring, that all persons who presumed to harbour them would be considered as no longer under the protection of the States. The Dutch historian says, that this measure was first advised by some of those whom he calls the faithful Portugueze. In all similar struggles it is ever found that the most cruel enemies of those who take arms against oppression, are some of their unworthy countrymen; but wherever this measure originated, the guilt and infamy are imputable to the Government which adopted it. The reasons assigned for it were, that if the rebels were thus encumbered with their families, their consumption of food would be greatly increased, and they must necessarily change their quarters oftener, while they could neither march nor encamp with the same facility as before, nor lurk as they had done in the wilds; that they would be in more danger of attack, and in greater fear, as being less able to withstand it, . . . consequently, they would be disheartened; and that as the women by means of their negroes acted as spies for them, this channel of intelli-

gence would be cut off. Some of the most respectable of the Portugueze who were not yet in arms, presented a petition to the Council in behalf of these poor people, praying, that as the ways were impassable in consequence of the inundation, they might be permitted to remain in their houses, at least till the waters had abated. But even this was refused.

Nieuhoff, p. 53—4—62.

Father Manoel do Salvador was one of those who applied personally to the Governor on this occasion. The Friar had lived a busy and extraordinary life in Recife, and contrived to make himself popular among all descriptions of persons, at a time when others of his profession could not appear in the streets without receiving insults. For this he was indebted to his lively disposition, and to an adroitness of talent, which enabled him to intrigue not only in affairs of state, but in every family where he could obtain footing. Wherever the wife or the husband was Catholic, there he contrived to christen the children according to the Romish forms, unknown to the Protestant part of the family. He performed a secret mass upon holidays for the Papists in the Dutch service; in converting Jews he possessed a singular dexterity, and once he tells us, when he ejected the Devil out of a boy by his exorcisms, he delivered at the same time all who were present from the spirit of heresy. Upon the present occasion, he spoke with a warmth which his former intimacy with Nassau, and the estimation in which he was held, justified; he dwelt upon the protection which the Company had pledged itself to afford; reminded the Governors that this measure went to punish those who had committed no crime; that the woods were full of soldiers and armed savages; and that the Portugueze, though patient of all other wrongs, never forgave an injury offered to their wives and daughters. If the edict were enforced, he said, the Dutch must expect to be at war with the Portugueze as

Fr. Manoel do Salvador intercedes for them.

85307

CHAP. XX. 1645.

long as its remembrance should endure. His representations were of no avail. The Members of the Council shewed him the letter which they had received from Joam Fernandes, and which had so exasperated them that they betrayed themselves, saying in their bitterness, that there were those who would deliver him into their power, dead or alive; and to prove that this was more than a mere boast, they put into his hands a letter, wherein a promise to this effect was expressed in metaphorical terms. The Friar affected not to understand it, and said it concerned not him. But immediately he sent off a messenger to Joam Fernandes, and began to provide for his own safety, thinking that even if there had been no just ground for suspicion against him, the Council might think they had trusted him too far. So he dispatched his two negroes with all his manuscripts in a canoe, and without attempting to preserve any thing else, fastened the door of his house, and walked out, staff in hand, as if for recreation. But when he was out of the fortifications, he struck into the woods. He had soon the satisfaction of hearing, that the Dutch said he was the greatest traitor in Pernambuco.

Vat. Luc. p. 192—4.

Situation of the expelled families.

The edict against the women and children was accordingly issued, and they had no alternative but to expose themselves to the rains and floods, and the reptiles and beasts of the wood, .. or to remain at the mercy of the ruffian soldiery, and the savages who would be let loose upon them. "Let the compassionate reader," says F. Manoel, "consider what these poor miserable women could do, not knowing where to seek their fathers, brethren, and sons, ... forsaken, helpless, in the midst of a dreadful winter, without food wherewith to support life in the woods, ... and the sword of the enemy thus, as it were, at their throats! Some fell upon their knees, and with streaming eyes and uplifted hands called upon God to forgive their sins, and have compas-

sion upon them; others, with the rosaries of the Virgin in their hands, told over the beads again and again; some embraced their innocent infants, and lamented over them; some lay upon the ground, as if they were stupified with affliction; others, who had never gone out of their houses, except to church in time of Lent, and on the principal festivals, and then leaning upon their pages, lest they should fall, strove now with sudden fear to run into the woods, and there throwing themselves under the trees, they implored the mercy of God, and the help of the Virgin Mary, and those saints to whom they were most devoted,.. for from no other quarter could they hope for remedy or succour." *Val. Luc.* 190.

If any mode of warfare can preeminently deserve to be called wicked, it was this. It was attacking the Portugueze, not as enemies, nor even as insurgents and rebels, who were amenable to law, however sanctioned in their enterprize by the higher obligations of justice,... but as civilized and social beings, in their moral and human nature. The anguish which the tidings excited in the camp was excessive; but they had arms in their hands, and Joam Fernandes, knowing that they who are least accessible by worthier feelings are most accessible to fear, issued a counter-edict, which, to the astonishment of the Dutch, was posted up in all the most frequented parts of Recife. The Dutch, he said, contrary to the laws of nations, and of ordinary policy, had made war upon that sex, which the courtesy of nations, and its own weakness, exempted from all acts of hostility. The decree which had been published was void by its own barbarity. No person was bound to obey it; and He, the General of the Portugueze, ordered all his countrywomen to remain fearlessly in their houses under His protection; for he protested that He would take cognizance of, and exact rigorous vengeance for the slightest injury which should be offered to any the meanest among them. The Council were either now ashamed of the *Counter-edict of Fernandes.* July 15. *Cast. Lus.* 6. § 1—113.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

measure, or not improbably intimidated by the threat; they forbore either to repeat the proclamation, or to enforce it; and those persons who had not already fled, received no farther molestation upon this ground.

Massacre of the Portugueze at Cunhau.

The bare threat had exasperated the Portugueze; and their indignation was soon more violently excited by a massacre which the Pitagoares and Tapuyas from the Potengi committed in the township of Cunhau. The savages entered on a Saturday evening, and their leaders sent round a summons to the Portugueze, to attend at the church on the following day, that they might confer together, after mass, upon business of importance to themselves and the service of the state. When they were thus collected, they were put to the sword. In this manner sixty-nine persons were butchered; there were but three men who escaped, but many of the women were preserved by the humanity of the Jews and foreign settlers in the township, who secreted them. The men were some of those who had brought in their arms, and surrendered, in pursuance of the proclamation. It is more likely that the savages acted from their own love of blood, and the resentment of their own wrongs, than that they should have been instigated by the Dutch Government: the effect, however, was the same. The insurgents represented it as the act and deed of the Council, ... as an example of the general massacre which would have been perpetrated, had not they by their insurrection prevented it. The accusation was readily believed; and the Portugueze of the Northern Captaincies, seeing that there was no security in submission, became eager for an opportunity of joining their countrymen in arms.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 14. Do. 4, § 19. 20. Nieuhoff, p. 65.

The insurgents take post at Monte das Tabocas.

While the patriots were in a state of fury with the horror which this massacre excited, intelligence came that Haus, having formed his junction with Blaar, had ascertained the place of their encampment, and was preparing to attack them. Covas

July 31.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

was a good post for concealment, not for defence; they removed therefore to the Monte das Tabocas, about nine leagues to the westward of Recife; a spot chosen by Cardozo, who knew the country well, and whose sound judgment was manifested by the choice. The hill derived its name from a species of thick and thorny canes, so called. The river Tapicura, a small stream, except, as now, in the rainy season, flows near it on the west; a level ground, opening to the south, and about half a mile in length, lay between the river and a thicket of these canes, which surrounded the whole mount with an impenetrable rampart, about fifty feet in thickness. Between this and the foot of the eminence there intervened a second but smaller glade, and then again a second thicket of tabocas; the top of the hill was covered on the south with trees, which formed in themselves a strong place of defence, and were strengthened by an outer row of these formidable canes. Along the eastern side was an old cart-track, made when Brazil-wood was cut in these wilds, but now forgotten and overgrown, through long disuse. About a league and a half to the north was a chapel, dedicated to S. Antonius the Great, from whom the settlers in that district looked for protection against the wild beasts by which it was infested; and here also were a few mud houses, to which their owner had given the appellation of the City of Braga, naming it thus sportively after himself, and in fond recollection of his birth-place in the mother country. *Cast. Lus. 6. § 16.*

Re-conversion of a converted priest.

Joam Fernandes, leaving an outpost in some sugar-works a few miles distant, encamped upon this mount. His own quarters were fixed upon the summit, and on the sides tents were spread and huts erected, to shelter the men from the rain. His first business having been thus to provide for the troops, the second was characteristic both of the individual and of the people whom he

CHAP. XX. 1645.

commanded. A priest, by name Manoel de Moraes,[5] who had abjured popery under the protection of the Dutch Government, and now preached as a Calvinistic divine, happened to live at no great distance; and Fernandes sent a detachment expressly to apprehend him. The attempt succeeded, and Moraes was brought into the insurgents' camp. Having no inclination for martyrdom, he threw himself at the Governor's feet, and protested that his apostacy had proceeded not from an error of judgement, but only from corruption of heart; that he had indeed yielded to the lust of the flesh, but that his reason had never been perverted. According to the morals of the Catholic church this was an extenuation of his offence; he was accepted as a repentant sinner, and his reconciliation to the faith was regarded by the general and by the army as an appropriate token of a victory soon to be achieved over their heretical enemies.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 17.

Murmurs in the camp.

The traitors in his army were still planning his destruction. They took advantage of the delay of Camaram and Diaz to aggravate the impatience of the troops, and provoke them, if possible, to mutiny. "Where were these long-expected succours? or rather, were there any succours to expect? Was it not from the first a fable without foundation, devised by Joam Fernandes, for the purpose of seducing them from their peaceful homes, and making them the tools and victims of his own desperate ambition?" They even talked among those who were most discontented, or most hopeless, that it would be well to fall upon him, and punish him at once with death, and then they might return to Recife, with the cer-

[5] He is said to have written, while in Holland, a History of America, from which Jan de Laet derived many good materials for his Novis Orbis.

Pinto de Sousa. Bibl. Hist. de Portugal, No. 67.

tainty of pardon and reward. Fernandes was informed of all their purposes; this was no time for punishing them; he therefore affected not to know the designs of his enemies, but carefully kept them at a distance, doubled his guards, and quartered Cardozo near his own tent. While he took these precautions against the traitors, he endeavoured to quiet the impatience of the army, by sending off a detachment of forty men to meet Camaram and Diaz, and guide them to the encampment, . . thus implying that he knew them to be near at hand. *Cast Lus. 6. § 18.*

Haus, meantime, after his junction with Blaar, had received all the reinforcements which could be spared from Recife; for the Council rightly considered, that the preservation of their conquests might possibly depend upon their first successes, and that it would never be so easy to strike an effectual blow against the insurgents as at this time. The Dutch general had with him fifteen hundred European troops, well armed, thoroughly disciplined, and accustomed to consider themselves superior to an enemy whom they had so often defeated: he had also a considerable Indian force, and many of the slaves who followed for the service of the camp, were armed in case of need. Joam Fernandes had decamped so secretly from the Covas, that Haus was uninformed of his movements, and expected to surprize him there. Provoked at the disappointment, he set fire to an Ingenio there, of which the buildings are described as sumptuous. A Portugueze centinel, who was posted upon an eminence, observed the smoke, and hastened to inform the Governor. While he was sending off a reconnoitring party, a soldier arrived with intelligence that the outpost was engaged with the rear of the Dutch army, and that notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers, their knowledge of the country and their position in the woods enabled them to make head. Joam Fernandes then sent orders to the commander to fall back to the *The Dutch advance.* *Nieuhoff, 62.* *Cast. Lus. 6. § 19.*

CHAP. XX. 1645.

Monte das Tabocas, where he had determined to await the enemy.

Battle of Monte das Tabocas. Aug. 3.

The Portugueze were under arms, and ready for action, when a sharp firing was heard, and the scouts were driven in; the enemy, they said, were approaching, and preparing to cross the river. Cardozo had cut three openings in the outer cane thicket, and laid an ambush in each. The governor remained with his guard in reserve upon the summit, from whence he could see the whole fight, and send succour wherever it should most be needed. Fagundes with his company was ordered to dispute the passage of the Tapicura, and when that could be done no longer, lead the Dutch on toward the ambuscades. The banks of the river were covered with wood, and Haus poured a heavy fire among the trees, for the double purpose of dispersing any troops who might be posted there, and of passing the stream under cover of the smoke. Fagundes disputed the passage, resisted the Dutch step by step after they had effected it, and thus fighting and retreating drew them on. They were now skirting the canes, and seeking a way through; when Cardozo, who had placed himself as soon as the action began in the first ambush, opened his fire upon them, and every shot took effect. Enraged at their loss, they pushed on, and received the fire of the second ambush, which checked their ardour: the second battalion came up and joined them, and their numbers being thus increased, the fire of the third ambush proved more destructive than either of the former. They fell back at this; Joam Fernandes saw them from the summit; his eagerness mastered him ... "At them," he cried, "Portugueze! sword in hand! for God is with us!" And he would have sallied against them with the reserve, if his cooler friends had not interposed, and by means of Cardozo, whose experience gave him all the authority of command, prevented him from executing his rash purpose.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 21—2.

The Dutch had been severely galled, but they were neither broken nor dispirited. They fell back to form a new disposition, and the Portugueze, rushing forward, attacked them on both flanks; their superior force enabled them to divide into three bodies, and while two of these repelled the patriots, the third made for the passage through the canes. The ambushes again opened upon them; but they were now prepared for this: they poured in their fire toward the place from whence the shot proceeded, and many of the patriots fell. Here Joam Paez Cabral was wounded, a man of noble family, of the name, and probably the lineage, of the discoverer of Brazil. His men would have borne him from the field; but he exclaimed "It is nothing... at them again! Christ's faith for ever!" and advancing again to the fight, he received a second shot, which was instantly mortal. Here also the Alferez Joam de Matos died, whose father had already lost three sons in the wars of Pernambuco; the moment he fell, his body was seized by the Indians, and cut in pieces. A second time would Joam Fernandes have hastened to the scene of action,.. not now in the joy of victory, but to prevent defeat: he was withheld by Father Figueiredo, and the important warning that the ball of a traitor would fly with surer aim than that of an enemy. So much was this apprehended, that his chosen guard never left him, and when Cardozo went into the field, Figueiredo had returned from it to watch over the Governor, and hold him back by force if he should attempt to enter the battle. The enemy were now visibly gaining ground. One of the Priests arose in the moment of danger: "Sirs and Portugueze," he said with a loud voice, "here we are, with death before our eyes. If there be any man among us who is at enmity with another, let him now be reconciled to his neighbour: and if any have his conscience troubled with sin, let him confess forthwith, and make his peace with

CHAP. XX. 1645.

God, that God in his mercy may help us in this our need." The Priests then hastened to the hottest of the fight, with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other. They absolved the dying, they heard the hasty confession of the living, and they fought with all the ardour of generous patriotism, and all the ferocity of inveterate zeal. Moraes, whom the Governor, by help of the gallows, had so lately reclaimed from Calvinism, particularly distinguished himself, and by the desperate valour which he displayed against his late friends, convinced the Portugueze of the sincerity of his conversion. The insurgents now stood their ground resolutely: but few as their fire-arms were, they had not sufficient ammunition for their use; Cardozo knew that if this were known it would occasion a general despondency; he therefore boldly gave out, that whoever wanted a supply might fetch it from the Governor's tent; and this prevented the majority of the army, who were fighting with pike or with sword, from feeling any fear of being left unsupported. At this time one of those accidents which so often influence the fate of battle, occurred in their favour. Two officers, with some thirty men, armed only with spears and sharpened stakes, had taken panic, and fled into the woods upon the skirts of the glade. One of their countrymen called out to and upbraided them in vain; fear possessed them too strongly, ... when in the hurry and blindness of their panic, they came out full upon one of the Dutch wings; the Dutch, supposing it to be another ambuscade, took fright in their turn, fled at full speed, and were pursued by men, who in the very act of flight found themselves victorious.

Val. Euc. 200. *Cast. Lus.* 6, § 23—7.

The Dutch were a second time repulsed; but the whole of their force had not yet been brought into action, and after a short breathing-time they came up with fresh troops to the attack. The ambuscades were less destructive than before, for

lack of powder; and the Portugueze were weary with an engagement which had continued several hours. They gave way from mere exhaustion; and the fresh force of the enemy pressing upon them, drove them from each of the ambushes, and made way into the inner glade. It was now that a priest standing beside Joam Fernandes elevated the crucifix, and with a loud voice called upon Christ, adjuring him by his cross and passion, and by the anguish which his Virgin Mother endured at the foot of that cross, that he would not permit the enemies of his holy faith, who had so often profaned his temples, and defaced the images of his saints, to triumph over those who were fighting for his honour; but that as the cause was his own, he would give the Portugueze the victory over their tyrannical enemies, that the world might know how the assistance of heaven never was wanting to those who were engaged in the cause of God. Then he exhorted his countrymen to fight manfully, and make vows for their good success. Accordingly, at his exhortation vows in abundance were made of fasts, pilgrimages, alms, and offerings, and disciplines, and cilices. Joam Fernandes vowed to build a church to the Virgin, under her invocation of N. Senhora do Desterro, . . . the circumstances of his own outlawry reminding him of the flight to Egypt. He now sent off his guard; it consisted chiefly of his slaves, and he promised to give them their freedom if they played their parts well this day. They rushed down the hill, blowing their horns, and uttering such yells as their savage countrymen used in war; and the insurgents charging the Dutch with fresh spirit, drove them back through the canes, and recovered the ground which had been lost. But Haus had risqued too much upon the action to give it over while there was any possibility of success. He made another attack; by this time the passes through the canes were well known, the places of ambush had been laid open,

CHAP XX. 1645.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

stratagem was no longer of avail, and the fate of the day was to be decided by close fighting. The Portugueze seemed once more to be yielding to numbers, and the bodily strength of his nearest friends was again required to hold back Fernandes from the battle, while they called upon him in God's name not to expose a life upon which every thing depended. The new convert, Moraes, cried out that they should sing *Salve Regina*, in honour of the Mother of God. Joam Fernandes, falling upon his knees, began the hymn; the troops caught the strain, and joined in: . . they concluded with shouts of victory, for the enemy now gave way, and retired from this last and decisive repulse.

Val. Luc. p. 201. Cast. Lus. 6, § 28.

Night was closing round; it was stormy and dark, and under cover of the darkness the Dutch recrost the river. The conquerors were not aware of their complete success; their first business was thanksgiving; their next to prepare for another attack, which they expected on the morrow. All the remaining powder was distributed to the centinels, trenches were thrown up in the glade between the two cane thickets, and space for an ambuscade was cut in the third, which skirted the wood on the summit. The main body of the patriots then retired to the summit, as a place where they could not possibly be surprized. A party of negroes had been sent to observe the motions of the enemy, and harass them during the night; they came up with the rear of the Dutch, while employed in crossing the river, crost after them, dispersed them, and drove them into the woods. When this was reported, a party of veteran troops was sent to explore the country for two leagues: they fell in with a detachment of fifty Dutch, escorting (as it afterwards appeared) about four hundred wounded; the Portugueze saw only the number of the enemy, and as the escort prepared for defence, they turned back, and fled to the Governor, with tidings that the Dutch

were forming again, and preparing for another attack. In consequence of this alarm, the patriots past the night under arms. Daylight discovered to them the whole extent of their victory: weapons and ammunition in abundance were lying on the field; the soldiers armed, and the Negroes and Indians clothed themselves with the spoils. About nine a countryman arrived with intelligence that the Dutch were flying toward Recife; he bore a message from Haus, requesting that the Portugueze would give quarter to the wounded, who were following the retreat in carts; the laws of war, he said, entitled him to make this demand; and if it were refused, the vengeance should exceed the offence. The whole army being now assured of their deliverance and their great success, fell on their knees, and returned thanks to the Giver of Victory; the hill then echoed with shouts of "Long live the Roman Catholic faith! Liberty for ever! Long live King Joam!" while Fernandes went, hat in hand, through the troops, congratulating, commending, and embracing them one by one. He immediately, according to his promise, emancipated fifty of his slaves, advanced them to the rank of free soldiers, and divided them into two companies of four and twenty each, with captains chosen from among them. Three hundred and seventy Dutch were found upon the field; some had been swept away by the river, which was swoln with rains; and of those who died during the retreat, or in the hospital at Recife, no account was known: but the Portugueze assert that three parts of the Dutch force were destroyed. The insurgent army consisted of twelve hundred Portugueze, and about an hundred Indians and Negroes; there were not more than two hundred firelocks among them, chiefly fowling-pieces; the greater number were armed with swords, which had rusted in concealment, bill-hooks, hunting

CHAP. XX. 1645.

CHAP. XX. 1645. spears, and javelins pointed by burning. Thirty seven fell in battle, including some of the principal men in the insurrection. What number of their Negroes and Indians were killed is not stated; but being few in the whole their loss must have been small. A defeat would have been fatal; and although victory was not equally decisive, its value was in proportion to the evil which it averted. Deeply as it was felt by the patriots, it is not strange if in their state of feeling, and with their principles of belief, they fancied themselves beholden to miraculous assistance. Men whom a spent ball had bruised, affirmed that the Virgin or some patron saint had deadened the force of the blow; and others who were wounded, accounted it equally a miracle that they had not been slain. Their leader was as likely to believe such things as they were to imagine them: policy as well as superstition gave ready currency to every tale that was devised, and the impudence of the priests authenticated all. The miracle of the loaves and fishes was parodied for the battle of Monte das Tabocas. During the last attack, it was said, the patriots had only two pounds of powder, and no other balls than what were made for the occasion from pewter plates; yet they fired more than a thousand shot, and powder and ball were left. They appealed even to many of the Dutch themselves, whether during the hottest of the conflict a woman of resplendent beauty had not been seen, clothed in azure and white, bearing a beautiful boy in her arms, and with her a venerable old man, in the habit of a hermit; they boldly affirmed, and impudently declared the Dutch would testify the same, that these celestial personages distributed powder and ball among the Portugueze, and so dazzled the eyes of the heretics, that they threw down their weapons, and turning away hastily from the unendurable appearance, took to flight. The woman was that Mother of Mer-

cies, upon whom they had called when they sang *Salve Regina* in the moment of danger; and the hermit was that holy Antonius the Great, famous in old time for his conflicts with the Tempter, whose chapel had been neglected and festival unobserved under the usurpation, and whose image the Calvinists had broken.

CHAP. XX. 1645.

Vat. Luc. p. 204—5. *Cast. Lus.* 6 § 29—36.

CHAPTER XXI.

Troops sent from Bahia under Vidal and Martim Soares. Farther success of the Insurgents. Hoogstraten deserts to them. They recover the whole country to the south, and encamp before Recife. Massacre at Rio Grande. Treachery of the deserters. Camaram sent to Rio Grande, where he defeats the Dutch. Recife distressed for food. Scarcity in the camp also. The Portugueze troops receive orders from Lisbon to retire. Martim Soares obeys, but Vidal determines to persist in the war.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

Retreat of the Dutch.

Haus, with the wreck of his army, continued his retreat during the whole of the night, never halting till he reached S. Lourenço de Ipojuca, a place seven leagues from the scene of his defeat. Here he waited for his wounded and stragglers, and dispatched intelligence of his ill-success to Recife, requesting immediate assistance. Succours were accordingly sent so promptly, that they joined him on the same day; they were sufficient to secure his farther retreat, not to enable him to resume offensive operations, for which, indeed, troops could not be spared from the city. From the commencement of the insurrection the Council felt the weakness to which the Company had reduced them by its improvident economy, and distinctly perceived their danger. They had good reason to distrust the professions of the Governor of Bahia, and to suspect that a force sent by him would speedily join the insurgents; and they were certain that if it were not already dispatched, it would not

Nieuhoff. p. 65. Cast, Lus. 6. § 37.

be delayed when he should receive the news of this success. They therefore recalled Haus to Recife, where his troops were now considered to be necessary for the defence of the place.

Embassy to Bahia.

About three weeks before the battle, Hoogstraten and another deputy had again been sent to Bahia, to express the full persuasion of the Dutch Government that Camaram and Diaz were in no degree authorized in their invasion by the Portugueze Governor; and to request that he would recal them, either by proclamation, or such other means as he might deem most forcible and expedient, and punish them according to their deserts; or if they refused to obey, declare them open enemies of the King of Portugal. Antonio Telles continued the same conduct as he had before observed. To the Dutch professions of friendship, and of their earnest desire to maintain with all good faith the established truce, he replied by professions equally amicable, and at this time even less sincere. He retorted upon them their acts of aggression at Angola, at S. Thomas, and at Maranham. As a soldier, he said, he ought not tamely to have submitted to so many injuries, nor to have let pass so many fair occasions of doing himself justice; but he had subdued his own feelings, in obedience to the reiterated commands of his King, enjoining him by every means in his power to preserve and strengthen the good understanding which happily subsisted between Portugal and the United Provinces. The troops who had crost the river S. Francisco consisted of discontented men; and when he was thus required to make them return within their own boundaries, he could not but be infinitely concerned, reflecting upon the calamities which they were occasioning on the one hand, and on the other, how destitute he was of power to satisfy the request of the Council; for Camaram and Diaz were not men to be reduced by persuasions. Touching the Portugueze who were complained of as being in insurrection, true it was that they had

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

applied to him for assistance, pleading that they were subjects of the same King; for they said they had been compelled, in consequence of false accusations preferred against them by the malicious and perfidious Jews, to abandon their houses and possessions, and leave their wives and children, chusing rather to endure all the miseries of flight than be subject to imprisonment. Besides, the Tapuyas of the Potengi had been sent for to be employed against them, and they must have been exposed to the fury of those savages if they had not thus fled. For himself, the Governor General said, he marvelled that the Council should have given ear to the fabrications of a race so universally despised as the Jews; and though he believed that in the present state of affairs the Portugueze of Pernambuco would be glad to put themselves under his protection, thinking it better, if such were the only choice, to be oppressed by their natural King than by strangers; yet to convince the Council of the sincerity of the Portugueze nation, which was such that no opportunity of promoting their own interest, however great, ever stood in competition with what they thought due to their confederates, he would take upon himself the office of mediator, and endeavour to appease these troubles. To this end he would speedily send persons of known ability, with sufficient instructions and power, who should exhort the revolters to return to their duty: if exhortation failed, such measures must then be taken as would force them to obedience.

Nieuhoff, p. 56, 60. Cast. Lus. 6. § 88—9.

Measures of the Governor General.

While the Deputies remained at S. Salvador, Hoogstraten repeated his offers to the Governor, and expressly engaged to deliver Nazareth into his power; a plan, he said, which he had already imparted to Joam Fernandes. Telles was now persuaded that Hoogstraten was a true traitor, and without farther dissimulation promised, that if he would perform this engagement, he should be rewarded by the Portugueze Government as

so signal a service would deserve. The Dutchman was apprehensive that his private conferences with the Portugueze might excite suspicion in his colleague: with a boldness of duplicity which has seldom been equalled, he told him that the Portugueze were tampering for the betrayal of his fort, and that he gave ear the better to discover their secret purposes. On his return to Recife he repeated the same tale to the Council, and added that the Governor only waited for some ships from Rio de Janeiro to begin his projected attempt against the Dutch Captaincies. This mode of conduct was probably concerted with Antonio Telles; the part which he intended to take could not long continue doubtful: the enemy were already upon their guard; little injury could arise from confirming their suspicions of him; but it was of great importance to prevent them from entertaining any doubt of Hoogstraten's fidelity. Two regiments, under Vidal and Martim Soares Moreno, were now embarked at Bahia in eight ships; the naval command was given to Jeronymo Serram da Payva. The homeward-bound fleet of thirty-seven ships, which had assembled in the bay, under Salvador Correa de Sa Benavides, was to accompany them to Tamandare; there the troops were to be landed, and Payva proceed to Recife with letters for the Council, wherein the Governor General informed them, that in fulfilment of his promise he had sent two officers of unquestionable conduct to remonstrate with the insurgents, and if remonstrances should prove ineffectual, compel them to return to their obedience.

Nieuhof, 60—1.

Cast. Lusi 6. § 41.

Just at this time the Dutch commandant at Serinhaem had received instructions to disarm the Portugueze in his district. They, in obedience to this order, were about passively to deliver up their arms, when one, by name Joam de Albuquerque, exclaimed that they were yielding themselves to be slaughtered; for it was the intention of the enemy first to render them de-

The troops in Bahia take Serinhaem.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

fenceless, and then to massacre them. The young men gathered round him, seized and sunk three vessels which were lying there laden for Recife, and hearing that these troops from Bahia had landed in the vicinity, hastened to put themselves under their protection. As soon as their leader saw the two Camp Masters, he called upon them in the name of God and the King to deliver the Pernambucans from the yoke against which they were struggling; and urged them to march without delay against the fort at Serinhaem. Dissimulation on their part was almost at an end, and Paulo da Cunha was sent with a detachment to summon the garrison. In his summons he said, that the Governor General had sent a force to reduce the Portugueze of Pernambuco, if they had revolted without just cause, but to support them if it should appear that they had been driven into insurrection by repeated wrongs. Having landed among them, and enquired into their complaints, the Camp-Masters found that the Dutch Government had treated them not as subjects, but as slaves; it became therefore their duty to assist in driving out of Brazil a people who had shown themselves unfit to govern in it. The garrison, seeing themselves surrounded by a superior force, and having their water cut off, speedily surrendered, and basely; for they left sixty Indians to the merciless vengeance of the Portugueze. The Auditor General, Francisco Bravo, who accompanied the army, past sentence against them, as traitors to the King of Portugal; thirty of these injured savages were immediately tied to the palisades of the fort, and strangled; the rest were divided among the officers, to carry their baggage, and their wives and children were distributed among the inhabitants of the township, not indeed under the name of slaves, but upon the little less nefarious system of administration, as it was called. The greater part of the garrison, who were eighty in number, entered the Portugueze service; and

of the Dutch who were settled in the district, there were only two who forsook it upon its reconquest. The rest solicited protections from the Portugueze, and remained to repent at leisure. Paulo da Cunha completed his triumph by compelling two Jews to profess Christianity.

Death of Antonio Cavalcanti.

The joy of the Camp-Masters at this success was heightened by the tidings which they now received of the victory at Monte das Tabocas. Joam Fernandes had remained there seven days upon the scene of action, to bury the dead and heal the wounded. On the seventh day he was informed that the troops from Bahia were landed, upon which he set forth to meet them. The inhabitants of Garassu and Goyana being threatened by the Dutch in Itamaraca, sent to him soliciting succour, and Antonio Cavalcanti requested that he might be employed upon this service. Cavalcanti was the man whom notwithstanding the intended connection between their families, Fernandes suspected of instigating all the murmurs against him, and of plotting against his life. There is no proof of these designs, but had he cooperated heartily in the cause the suspicion could not have arisen. He was desirous of quitting the camp, and Joam Fernandes was glad of an opportunity to dismiss him with his own concurrence; accordingly he was appointed on this service, with a detachment of an hundred and fifty men. At Garassu he remained inactive, so that some doubted his courage, and others his fidelity; ere long he died there of pleurisy, and his countrymen, in that spirit of presumption which too often accompanies religious zeal, ascribed his death to a divine judgment.

Cast. Lus. 6 § 40—4. Val. Luc.

Arrival of Camaram and Dias.

Camaram and Diaz, with part of their troops, reached the Monte das Tabocas soon after the patriots had left it; and following their traces, came up with them the second night. At the same time Joam Fernandes received intelligence that an hundred and eighty Dutch were posted at S. Antonio do Cabo;

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

immediately he set out to surprize them, and reached the place at day-break; but the Dutch, notwithstanding the celerity of his movements, had been warned in time, and were fled to Nazareth. At S. Antonio he halted. The Bahian troops were at Ipojuca, three leagues off: Joam Fernandes wrote to the Camp Masters, saying, he knew they were sent to pacify the country; and that notwithstanding the reports which were current, they and he could only have the same end in view, that of assisting the oppressed, and putting down the oppressor. Upon receiving this letter, Martim Soares took post at Algodoaes, a league from the Pontal de Nazareth; and Vidal with his division marched to meet Fernandes.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 45.

Interview between Fernandes and Vidal.

A great concourse of men, women, and children, who had flocked to the army for protection, were present at the meeting. Vidal addressed him with a loud voice, saying that he was sent by the Governor General to arrest him, Joam Fernandes, in consequence of complaints made against him by the Council at Recife; and also to punish the leaders of the insurrection. Fernandes replied, that as the Governor General had heard the complaint of the Ruler, so also was it just that he should hear the cries of the people. "I know," he continued, "you bring conditional instructions, which you are to execute according to the merits of the two parties, giving to each the punishment or the support which it deserves; and you are arrived at a time when you may with your own eyes behold the miserable slavery to which these Captaincies are reduced. The inhabitants, here in their own country, are fain to take shelter in the woods, thinking even beasts themselves less dreadful than their oppressors. They come to me for protection and for deliverance; and I have undertaken to deliver and avenge them, by virtue of that natural and universal law which authorizes all men to use all means for the preservation of life and honour." His speech was followed

by a general clamour of mingled voices, some uttering their griefs, others bursting out in indignation. One of Vidal's soldiers stept forward, and harangued his comrades. "The injustice of the Dutch," said he, "has driven all these people from their homes; some of them are flying from oppression, others are in search of vengeance, and have we not all to lament for parents, kinsmen, friends, countrymen, destroyed by the cruelty of these Flemings, . . . losses which we can at no time forget, and which are at all times calling upon us for retribution! We have now opportunity in our hand, example before our eyes, and fortune on our side. What therefore have we now to do as Patriots and as Portugueze, but to offer up our lives for the service of God and of our country? If any among us be of a different mind, let him return to Bahia!" Vidal had foreseen, or perhaps concerted this: the speech was received with acclamations, as he expected: and the declaration of the troops, he said, precluded him from obeying the orders which he had received. He was now a soldier like themselves, and knowing, as he well did, to what extent the patience of the people and the insolence of the foreigners had been carried, he rejoiced to fight in such a cause, under the banners of so brave a general and so dear a friend as Joam Fernandes. The Bahian troops then fell into the ranks of the insurgents, and Vidal, having embraced Fernandes, went with him to his tent, and continued to be his comrade from that time till the end of the war.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 46.

Troops sent against Nazareth.

The first measure was to send a detachment under Araujo against the fort at Nazareth. Martim Soares, hearing what had past with Vidal, and probably having agreed with him how to act, affected in like manner to yield to the will of his people, sent to inform Fernandes that he and his troops were at his disposal, and then proceeded to join the force against Nazareth. The main body of the patriots, increased with its new succours, Aug. 16.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

and with a long train of settlers and their families, Indians, and slaves, moved on to Moribeca. Fernandes would have proceeded without halting to the river Tygipio, but Vidal represented how much the fugitives in their company had suffered from the floods and miry roads, and that it would be inhuman not to allow them some rest and refreshment. They halted, therefore, a few hours, and came to the river about six in the evening. The Camp-Master was in the van; Joam Fernandes brought up the rear; and before the men encamped, he placed a guard at each of the paths and roads around, to prevent any intelligence from being carried to the enemy.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 47—8.

The women of the Varzea seized as hostages.

Blaar had that day been sent to seize all the Portugueze women in the Varzea as hostages, and to plunder the houses of the insurgents. Especial search was made for the wife of Joam Fernandes; but he, anticipating this danger, had secreted her in the woods, with a mulatto to attend her, in a place known only to one of his servants, who had it in charge to supply her with food, and watch over her safety. The other leaders having been less provident, many of their wives and children were seized; among others, those of Berenguer, Bezerra, and Amaro Lopes; . . . persons whose houses were privileged from all officers of justice. The prisoners were conveyed to some houses which bore the name of their owner, Dona Anna Paes, and where Haus had his head-quarters; from thence they were to be removed to Recife, about a league distant. A chaplain of Fernandes, who officiated in the Varzea, and had intelligence of all his movements, that he might at all times know whither to send information, hastened with this news to the encampment. It was made known to the army, and immediately they moved forward to rescue the women. Fagundes led the advanced guard: he fell in with two of the enemy's scouts, learnt from them all that they could communicate, then put them to death,

Fernandes marches to their rescue,

and proceeded, till coming in sight of some sugar-works, he halted, upon hearing an uproar there. A party of Dutch were busy at the work of plunder, and Fagundes, considering that if he attacked them, and only a single man should escape, the design of surprizing the enemy, upon which so much depended, would be frustrated, wisely kept his men concealed till they departed with their booty. By midnight the whole army reached these sugar-works; it rained heavily, and the night was dark; they crowded under cover as many as could, and ate the food which they had brought from Moribeca; and here they halted for three hours: but then Fernandes started up from the mat upon which he was lying, and declared that St. Antonio had appeared to him, and reproved him for sleeping at such a time. The army was soon put in motion, and just at day-break the van reached the Capivaribe; the river was greatly swoln, the ford was judged impassable, and neither boat, nor canoe, nor raft could be discovered. The enemy's quarters were almost in sight. A mulatto of Fernandes' household, who swam excellently, ventured first into the water; Fernandes himself followed;... the water reached the pommel of his saddle, but he effected the passage; and the men, encouraged at this, fastened their firelocks upon their heads, and advanced into the river, holding by each other, that they might the better withstand the violence of the current.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 49, 52. Val. Luc. p. 217—8.

and delivers them.

Having accomplished this passage, which the slightest resistance would have made impracticable, they proceeded through the woods, till the Casas de Dona Anna were in sight; they then halted, while a small party went forward to surprize some of the Dutch centinels. Two were soon taken; their account was, that two squadrons of their countrymen were drawn up in the Terreiro, (or Green, as it may be called,) of the settlement; one destined for Olinda, the other for the Varzea, where they

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

were to lay waste every thing with fire and sword. The officers were within at table, and as soon as they had finished their meal they were to march off with the prisoners. The Portugueze advanced upon this intelligence, and came in sight of two other centinels at the entrance of the works: these men they fired at; the one fell, the other fled, but was speedily cut down. The officers at table heard the guns, but seeing that none of the centinels came to give the alarm, they continued over their morning cups. It was not long before Camaram blew his whistle, . . . the signal for his dreadful troops: the Dutch beat to arms; and the sound of drum and trumpet, drowned in the discharge of musquetry and the cries of battle, made them start from table, . . . too late to avail themselves of any advantage which the ground might have offered. Their men were driven in; Blaar, who expected no quarter, and who deserved none, was for fighting their way through to Recife, . . but this was impracticable, for Vidal had effectually cut off their retreat. All which could be done was to defend themselves as long as possible in the dwelling-houses. There was a large pile of wood at hand, ready for the use of the furnaces; it served as cover for the Portugueze, and they perforated the thin sides of the larger house with their musket-balls, making great havoc among its crowded occupants. The Dutch then brought out the Portugueze women, and exposed them at the windows to receive the fire, in sight of their husbands, relations, and children. Upon this the assailants sent a white flag, proposing terms of surrender to the enemy: the Dutch seem to have supposed that they had fallen upon a sure device for their own safety: they fired upon the flag, and killed the ensign who bore it; and at the same time taking aim at Vidal, who had approached in confidence of the flag, and whom they knew by the Order of Christ which he wore upon his breast, they shattered one of his holsters with one shot, and killed his

horse. It might well be imagined how this exasperated the Portugueze. They forgot the women in their fury. The house which they were attacking was built upon pillars, like a granary: they laid wood under the floor, and set fire to it; the wood was wet, and this first attempt produced only smoke. Searching for drier materials, they found brushwood, and soon kindled a flame which terrified the enemy. Haus then opening one of the jealousies, hung out a white signal, and shewed himself at the window, holding the hilt of his pistol presented toward the Portugueze, hat in hand, in the attitude of one who surrendered.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 53–6. Val. Luc. p. 222.

Haus and Blaar made prisoners.

Joam Fernandes and the Pernambucans were for giving no quarter; they remembered all their wrongs, the recent massacre at Cunhau, the edict against the women; their zeal as well as their fury was inflamed by the sight of an image of the Virgin, which an old inhabitant of the Varzea exposed to them during the heat of the action, with its arms hackt off by the Dutch, in their contempt for the palpable idolatry of the Portugueze: drops of water were falling from it; the man exclaimed "A miracle! A miracle! The image of Our Lady sweats!" The Pernambucans seeing this, and that the fire was kindled, and the Dutch within its reach, perceived in the spirit of their cruel church a peculiar fitness in destroying the enemy by this mode of death, and cried out that they should be burnt alive, as obstinate and incorrigible heretics. But Vidal, whose natural humanity neither the character of the times, nor the circumstances of Brazil, nor the deadly superstition of his country had destroyed, opposed them, and by his orders the flames were extinguished. S. Lorenzo's day was just past, and the people were reconciled to his determination by a remark, that as this saint had been martyred by fire, he did not chuse that the Dutch should perish in the same manner as himself. Haus and Blaar were now suffered to come out and make conditions. All they demanded was

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

that their lives should be spared; and they would fain have stipulated that the Indians in their service should be spared also. The Portugueze demurred at this; they regarded these people as rebels, and they were exasperated by the recent excesses which they had committed. The unhappy savages put an end to the discussion, .. knowing how little mercy they could expect, they attacked their inexorable tyrants, ... and when they were overpowered no mercy was shown. Every man was put to the sword. Camaram was related to their chief. The christianity which he had been taught did little toward abating the ferocity of the savage character; .. his kinsman, in his judgement, deserved death doubly, as a rebel to his King and to his God; but that he might die with as much honour as possible, he put him to death with his own hand, and gave him decent burial; the bodies of the others being left to the beasts and birds. The number who were thus massacred was about two hundred. One of the Indians having received a mortal wound, dropt, and lay like a corpse among the dead: but when the first Portugueze came within his reach, he sprang up with a dying effort, and stabbed him thrice, then fell and expired. The wives of these wretched Indians, beholding the slaughter, caught up their children, and dashed out their brains against the stones!

* *Cast. Lus. 6. § 56—7. Vil. Luc. p 222—30. Nieuhoff, 84.*

Loss of the Dutch.

More than two hundred Dutch were made prisoners, and above six hundred stand of arms fell into the insurgents' hands; they found also many good horses, and abundance of provisions. Their own loss in killed and wounded was about three score. Diaz [1] was hurt in the leg, but did not leave the action. Fagun-

[1] Henrique Diaz was his own surgeon upon this occasion; he fried some wool in fish-oil, and laid it scalding hot upon the wound. Ambrose Paré's improvements in the treatment of gunshot-wounds had probably not reached Brazil, ... and the Negro acted upon the old system, of killing the venom of the gunpowder.

gundes was shot through the belly, and recovered. The priests distinguished themselves here as in the former victory, and here also they embellished it with miracles. The sweat from the mutilated image of the Virgin was not the only one which was invented for the occasion. It was reported and attested, that some of the Portugueze, who having foundered on the way, were left in some sugar-works, just within hearing of the action, when they heard the musquetry, went with the Chaplain of the Establishment into the Church, and kneeling before St. Sebastian's altar, implored his assistance for their countrymen. Immediately the image began to sweat, like one who was violently exerting himself; and the drops continued to run as long as the action lasted, so that all who were present wetted their handkerchiefs in the miraculous effusion.

Miracles.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 62.

Joam Fernandes was now undisputed master of the field, in a country where he had so lately wandered from place to place, with a handful of outlawed insurgents, seeking shelter in the woods. One of his own sugar-works, called St. John the Baptist, from the saint to whom its chapel was dedicated, was near at hand, and thither he now returned in triumph. Music went before, the prisoners followed, then came the Portugueze, escorting in festival march the women whom they had rescued; and lastly the people, shouting and rejoicing as they returned thanks to God, and blest and magnified the author of their deliverance. Some of the prisoners enlisted in the Portugueze service; the others were sent to Bahia. A detachment could not be spared to guard them; it was therefore ordered, that the inhabitants of one township should escort them on to the next, the whole Captaincy being now in arms; and that in this manner they should be consigned to the Governor General. Upon the way Blaar met with the fate which he had anticipated, and which his former cruelties had provoked and deserved; he was marked

Blaar murdered on the way to Bahia.

CHAP. XXL 1645.

for vengeance in one of the places through which he past, and shot. He was the only victim upon the march; the other prisoners had no cause of complaint; but such as were invalided, or straggled on the road, and had afterwards to make their way, when they were no longer under the safeguard of the general order to escort them, were killed by the peasantry.

Cast Lus. 6, § 68.

Olinda taken by the insurgents.

On the day of this second victory Olinda was taken possession of by a party of thirty Pernambucans, headed by Manoel Barboza, a youth of distinguished family. His elder sister, being a widow, kept house a league from Mauritias, and her sisters resided with her; while Manoel with five companions, young and resolute as himself, was secreted in the adjoining woods, waiting for an opportunity to join Joam Fernandes. A troop of sixteen Dutch came this way, escorting a party of negroes, who were laden with plunder. It was night, and they stopt at Dona Luiza's house, and demanded admission. The inhabitants feared, as well they might, to open the door to such guests; upon which they broke in, and presently the cries of the women were heard. Barboza and his comrades were within hearing; they had two muskets, two swords, a reaping-hook, and a staff shod with iron; with these weapons the six Portugueze attacked the enemy, either being ignorant of their numbers, or more probably disregarding all danger upon such an occasion: this boldness made the Dutch suppose them to be more numerous, and the darkness was in their favour; they slew most of the party, put the rest to flight, and found arms enough among the spoils to equip fourteen of their countrymen, who in consequence of this success joined them in the morning. Increasing now in numbers and in audacity, even thus close to Recife, they harassed and defied the Dutch, and now took possession of Olinda, notwithstanding there was a fortified redoubt above the town. Joam Fernandes rewarded their leader by sending him a Captain's commission.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 69.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

Martim Soares meantime was lying before the Fort at Nazareth, which he summoned by Paulo da Cunha. Hoogstraten received this officer publicly, and declared his resolution of defending the post; but privately assured him that he was ready to fulfil his engagements with the Governor, as soon as the Camp-Master Vidal should join the besieging army with his division, and give him a fair opportunity. Vidal, who was then at the Engenho of St. John the Baptist, came accordingly, and a second summons was sent upon his arrival. The messenger was not one whom Hoogstraten knew, and this cautious traitor declared he would return no answer to the Portugueze commander, unless a man of sufficient rank were deputed. Paulo da Cunha upon this went a second time, and Hoogstraten again gave him audience in public, and then replied aloud, that as an individual he was the old friend of the Portugueze; but as commander of that fortress, his country must be his only friend, and his duty was to die in defence of his post. After this bravado he attended Paulo to the gate, and told him on the way, that the Portugueze should without delay assault the fort at the Bar, which he had taken care should fall into their hands; and that they should also take possession of the watering-place. After these points had been thus betrayed, it was not difficult to convince the garrison that all hopes of relief were cut off, and that as the want of water must soon reduce them to capitulate upon any terms, they had better make good ones while it was in their power. A bargain, rather than a capitulation, was made. The troops were to be paid the arrears due to them by the Company: as many as so pleased might enter the Portugueze service, they who preferred serving in Europe should be sent to Lisbon, and such as chose to return to their own country should be provided with means of transport. These conditions were transmitted to Fernandes. He had raised a contri-

Hoogstraten delivers up Nazareth.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

bution among the insurgents, which fell short of 2000 cruzadoes, and 9000 were required for the present important purpose; he himself made up the deficiency. The whole garrison entered the Portugueze service.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 70—7.

Aug. 12. Lichthart sent against the Portuguese squadron,

While the Bahian troops were thus actively cooperating with the insurgents, Salvador Correa, according to his instructions, proceeded to Recife with the homeward-bound fleet. Its formidable appearance excited the utmost alarm; and weakened and disheartened as the Dutch were by the defeat at Monte das Tabocas, if the city had been attacked at this time it would probably have surrendered without a struggle. But the Portugueze admiral knew nothing of what had past on shore, and his orders from the Governor General were, to offer to the Council the services of that fleet, as well as of the troops under Vidal and Soares, . . . a mockery which seems so far to pass all ordinary bounds of political dissimulation, that it might almost be considered as an insult. The Dutch felt it to be so, and deliberated whether they should arrest the two persons who had been landed with the Governor's letters: but their own ships were inferior in number to Correa's, and were not ready for action; and they feared to give him any cause for commencing hostilities. So they sent a reply, couched in friendly terms, remonstrating against the conduct of the Camp-Masters, and requesting that the Admiral would withdraw his fleet out of the roads, because while it remained there it encouraged the insurgents. This they had good cause to say: the appearance of the fleet had excited the utmost ferment; the heights were crowded with joyful spectators, and those inhabitants who had not yet taken arms, were now eagerly seeking for weapons, that they might join in the expected attack upon Recife. But Correa, who had discharged his instructions, and was eager to be on the way with his convoy, did not wait at anchor to receive the Council's answer; he was

Cast. Lus. 6, § 64. Val. Luc. p. 232. Nieuhoff, p. 68—71.

already under sail when it reached him. The Council then recovered courage, and ordered Lichthart [2] to get his ships ready with all possible speed, and sink, burn, and destroy the Portugueze wherever he could find them.

and destroys it.

Jeronymo de Payva was at this time lying with his eight ships in the Bay of Tamandare. The Camp-Masters, as soon as they had completed their business with Hoogstraten, wrote to acquaint him with their success, and advise him to put into the port at Nazareth, where he would be safe; they added, as a farther inducement, that they meant to receive the sacrament in the fort, which they had had re-named, in honour of that mystery, and where they had found a mass-book,.. a thing, they said, of no small service to them. They urged this advice by a second dispatch, having learnt from an intercepted letter that the Dutch fleet was at sea in search of him. Both dispatches fell into the enemy's hands [3]; and the Portugueze, not knowing that Nazareth was in possession of their countrymen, remained in an open bay. There Lichthart found them, hoisted the red flag, and attacked them. His force was greatly superior, and the advantage of skill, as well as of confidence and numbers, was on his side. One of the Portugueze stood out to sea in time, made her way through the Dutch, and reached Bahia; two were abandoned and set on fire; other two ran aground,

Sept. 2.

Sept. 6.

Sept. 8.

[2] Raphael de Jesus calls this the most infamous treachery that ever human breast could devise. 6, § 66. The manner in which he represents these whole transactions would be ludicrous from its extravagant injustice,.. if it were not a melancholy thing to observe, through the whole course of human history, how lamentably men deceive themselves perverting all laws of right and wrong as their passions and prejudices induce them.

[3] So it must be inferred, because they are given by Nieuhoff, who could not have obtained them by any other means.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

but they were defended so well that the enemy could not effect their destruction; the remaining three were taken. Payva's ship was boarded in three places at once, Lichthart having commenced the attack by singling it; he defended it most gallantly; and when the enemy were masters of the deck, stood sword in hand at his cabin-door, cut several of them down, and was not made prisoner till he had fallen, exhausted with exertions, and with loss of blood from his numerous wounds. The Portugueze are said to have lost seven hundred men in this action. They accused the Dutch of treachery in having thus attacked them, because for two days before some of Lichthart's smaller vessels had been watching them under a white flag; ... they forgot with how little reason in this war either party could upbraid the other with dishonourable dealing. With more justice they complained of the cruelty shown to the prisoners; ... many having been thrown overboard, of whom some saved themselves by swimming, and others were fished [4] up with bullets and stones fastened to their necks and legs. When the news reached Bahia, the Governor issued an edict, forbidding any person to put on mourning for those who had perished in the treacherous affair at Tamandare, and promising before God and man that he would exert all the power of the state to take vengeance for, what he called, so abominable a treason.

Nieuhoff, p. 73—80. Cast. Lus. 6. § 68.

Insurrection in Goyana,

While these things were passing in Pernambuco, the Portugueze of the other ceded Captaincies were not inactive. About the middle of June the Council had dispatched Paulus de Linge to Paraiba, to take measures for the security of that province.

[4] Vidal asserts this, ... a man whose authority may be believed. The letter in which he states it is in reply to one from Payva; but I suspect that that which Nieuhoff has given as Payva's is not genuine. The Carmelite Giovanne Giuseppe says erroneously that Payva was slain in the action. *Part. 2, p. 72.*

He fixed his head-quarters impoliticly in the Convent of S. Francisco, and made the inhabitants renew their oath of allegiance, as if oaths taken by compulsion would be any security for their obedience, and as if it were not as easy to be absolved from the oath as to take it! Linge arrested four of the suspected persons, and chose them so well, that the two whom Fernandes had appointed Captains for the district were among them. One of the arrested was put to death; the body of another, who died in confinement, was dragged through the streets; the other two were detained in prison. This, however, did not prevent the inhabitants of Goyana from rising. Two officers from the Pernambucan army were sent to head them; and they were strong enough to resist any force which the Dutch could spare to act against them. At this juncture the Tapuyas committed the massacre at Cunhau; nothing could be more ill-timed or more unfortunate for the Dutch: it was universally imputed to the Government, and obtained a ready belief for the monstrous charge which Fernandes circulated, that a general massacre of the Portugueze was intended. The widows and children of the slain went about in mourning, calling upon God and man to revenge them. Instead of striking terror through the Captaincy, this horrible act excited deeper indignation, and exasperated a people who were already eager to avenge themselves for their long sufferings. It afforded them also a pretext for requiring arms from Linge. These same Tapuyas were on the way to Goyana; they would pass near Paraiba, and if we are without means of defence, said the Paraibans, the same horrors will be perpetrated here as at Cunhau. They accompanied their petition by a gift, and it was enforced by Linge's own fear, for he had now heard of the defeat of his countrymen at Monte das Tabocas. He granted them permission to provide themselves with any weapons except fire-arms, and retired with part of his

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

troops to Fort Cabedello. The Paraibans being thus allowed to take measures for their own defence, began to fortify those places which were most defensible, and it soon appeared that their alarm had not been groundless. For the Tapuyas, with a body of Dutch under Willem Lambartz, who had been sent to solicit the aid of these savages, came on, murdering all the Portugueze whom they found upon the way. Jan Duwy, their Royalet, according to the statement of the Dutch themselves, demanded, when he agreed to grant his assistance, that all the Portugueze in Paraiba should be destroyed. It was in vain that Lambartz endeavoured to prevent their cruelties; part of the Tapuyas, being satisfied with their booty, affected to take umbrage at his interference, and turned back. The rest continued to advance till they came within sight of Goyana, which they meant to enter during the night. There was a river between them and the town, and in the darkness they fancied that a force stronger than their own was drawn up to defend the ford: they were seized with a panic, and fled. The Tapuyas dispersed, and returned to their own forests, and the Dutch retreated to Cabedello, from whence Lambartz sailed for Recife, to render an account of his bootless expedition.

Nieuhoff, p. 94. Cast. Lus. 6. § 79—86. and in Paraiba.

After the capture of Haus and Blaar, the two Governors, as Fernandes and Vidal were now called, sent officers to Paraiba to command the insurgents. One was Vidal's nephew, and like him a native of that Captaincy. A Captain from Camaram's regiment, and another from that of Henrique Diaz were also sent, that the Indians and Negroes might be enlisted under men of their own colour and nation. They halted about three leagues from the city, and sent to three of its inhabitants, who had been nominated Governors of the Province, communicating to them their appointment, and requiring them to take measures for proclaiming the liberty of Paraiba. Those measures were

so well concerted, that in one day all the Portugueze throughout the Captaincy followed the example of Goyana, and the acclamation of liberty, as it was called, took place. An Engenho of Jorge Homem Pinto, called St. Antonio's, was chosen as the best position for defence; it was fortified, and obtained the name of the Camp. Linge sent a force of three hundred Dutch and six hundred savages to surprize it, making at the same time a feint of attacking the city by water. The insurgents, seeing the launches ascend the river, were deceived, and prepared to defend Paraiba; but they had left a sufficient force in the Camp, who sallied, and attacked the enemy. The Dutch were perhaps weary with their march; a heavy shower lessened the advantage which they would otherwise have derived from their matchlocks; the patriots closed with them, and they were defeated, leaving about fourscore slain. There was a church upon the field of battle, dedicated to the Saints Cosmo and Damiano; the doors were found open, though it was never known by what human hand they had been opened; and thus the people of Paraiba also had their miracle as well as their victory. This success made them so secure, that they recalled their wives and children, whom they had sent into the woods. They now began a secret negociation with Linge for the purchase of Fort Cabedello. Every thing was nearly concluded, when, by a rare instance of infidelity, a Portugueze priest revealed it to the Calvinist minister; and the Dutch commander, to save himself from suspicion, hung the agent of the patriots. So the fort remained in the power of the Dutch, while the Portugueze were masters of the rest of the Captaincy.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

Sept. 11.

Cast. Lus. 6, § 87, 92. Nieuhoff, p. 92.

Porto Calvo surrendered by the Dutch.

The affairs of the Dutch were even more unsuccessful to the southward of Recife. Hopeless of succouring their garrisons at Seregipe, at the River S. Francisco, and at Porto Calvo, they sent orders to evacuate these forts, and bury or destroy the

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

guns; ... but even this was too late. At the latter place the insurrection broke out upon the arrest of one of the principal inhabitants; the others took arms under Christovam Lins, whom Fernandes had appointed Captain of the district. The Dutch Commander sent a detachment to crush them before they should gather strength; Lins laid an ambush so judiciously, that the whole were cut off. Three days afterward he surprized a vessel which was coming up the river Mangoaba, with stores for the fort; and having thus acquired arms and confidence, he blockaded the enemy. The Dutch Commander, Klaas Florins, was a mere mercenary, and knew that his men had no better principle of action than himself. He represented to them that they were not bound to defend the place to the imminent peril of their lives; for as they only served for pay in order that they might live by that pay, it was absurd to suppose there could be any reason why they should die for it. Such logic was irrefragable under such circumstances, and Florins, with the full approbation of his troops, sent to propose a capitulation, or more properly, to offer the fortress for sale; but with a delicacy respecting his honour not to have been expected in such a logician, he requested that an officer from the army might be appointed to treat with him, lest it should be said he had bargained with those persons who had lived with him in intimacy. An officer was accordingly deputed by the Governors, and for seven hundred milreas distributed among them, the soldiers, about an hundred and fifty in number, marched out with the honours of war, and then laid down their arms. The fortress was immediately razed, at the desire of the inhabitants, and its eight brazen guns were sent to the army of the patriots in the Varzea.

Sept. 17.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 93—7.

The Dutch abandon the R. S. Francisco.

The first occurrences at Fort Mauritz upon the river S. Francisco were nearly similar. One of the Portugueze was arrested

and rescued. Seventy soldiers were ordered to chastise the insurgents, entrapped into an ambush, and all cut off. The patriots then, under Valentim de Rocha Pita, laid siege to the fortress, and sent to Bahia to intreat succours. The Governor General, who no longer thought it necessary to dissemble, dispatched a small force under Nicolao Aranha. They marched from Rio Real to the S. Francisco in fourteen days, which, when the distance and the season were considered, astonished every body. The Portugueze, notwithstanding the fortress, were masters of the river; they surprized many small vessels, and drove back those which brought the order of the Council for withdrawing the garrison. The Dutch made one attempt to sally: but the first four were shot as they attempted to pass the gate, so near had the Portugueze posted themselves, and so certain was their aim. Their comrades were too much intimidated by this to expose themselves in like manner to destruction. Aranha offered terms; they requested three days to consider of them. Just at this time Haus and the prisoners who were taken with him arrived here on their way to Bahia: their appearance proved the deplorable state of the Company's affairs in Brazil, and the garrison forthwith surrendered. Two hundred and sixty-six men laid down their arms; about eighty had been killed by the Portugueze marksmen during the seige. So expert were these people, that when any man of the besieged, venturing to look at the enemy from the ramparts, bent down on each side the broad flaps of his hat to assist his sight, the hat and the hands were immediately pierced with a ball. Several of the prisoners showed both hands thus perforated. This conquest [5]

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

July 27.

[5] Fr. Manoel do Salvador embellishes this conquest with a miracle. Soon after Aranha learnt the defeat of his countrymen in Tamandare Bay, and while the enemy were deliberating whether or not to surrender, a bell was heard in the

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

was of great importance; the fort was considered as the key of Pernambuco; there was now nothing to oppose the free passage of the Portugueze from Bahia, and the insurgents could be supplied with food from the extensive pastures along this great river. The fort was razed at the request of the inhabitants, and Aranha proceeded with his troops to join Fernandes and Vidal in the Varzea.

Nieuhoff, 92. Cast. Lus. 6 § 98 105. Val. Luc. p. 261.

The deserters formed into a regiment.

Vidal and Soares had now joined Fernandes after the capture of Nazareth: they consulted with him in what manner to re-

---

camp; presently some of the soldiers heard music, like the chaunt of the litany, and a great light was seen. "Sirs and comrades," said Pedro Aranha, the Captain's brother, "without doubt this must be the souls of the departed, who are come to succour us. I am especially devoted to them, and every day commend them to God, ... having this moment finished those prayers which I daily offer to God in their behalf. Let us promise them a chaunted mass to-morrow as soon as it shall be day, ... that being the day on which the Holy Catholic Church is accustomed to say mass and offer suffrage for them. The mass accordingly was performed, and at the moment of elevation, when the troops fired a salute, a gun was fired from the fortress, to intimate that the garrison would surrender." *P.* 261. There is nothing extraordinary in the miracle, which is not ill conceived, and might very easily have been performed; .. but it is worthy of notice, that Raphael de Jesus reprehends Fr. Manoel for relating it, and affects to discredit it, as not having been required for the occasion. "*Nam duvidamos do muyto, que alcança de Deos a devaçam das almas, e do quanto as obriga quem a inculca; porem sabemos que nam faz Deos milagres sem porque: Quando quer dar os fins, dispoem os meyos; e o que pellos humanos se pode conseguir, escuza os milagrosos: Com mas evidencia neste cazo, em o qual o motivo relatado pello sobre dito Author, foy tam occulto ao hereje, que nam o avia de convencer do erro, nem enformar do castigo; e a doutrina Catholica nos ensina, que para convencer incredulos obra Deos a seus olhos as maravilhas; e socorre aos fieis com milagres nas occazioens, e apertos, aonde nam chegam as forças humanas.*" *Cast. Lus.* 6, 104. This Benedictine swallowed camels without hesitation: the wry face which he makes at a gnat may be explained by a certain degree of jealousy toward an author who had anticipated him in all the more brilliant parts of his history.

ward Hoogstraten for his treason, till he should receive that recompence from the King which was to be expected for such a service; and it was proposed that all the Dutch deserters should be formed into a regiment, which should be given him, with the rank of Camp-Master; and that all who deserted from the enemy in future should be incorporated in it. Fernandes objected to this; these northern troops, he said, could never be too much distrusted; brought up in heresy, and ready every day to adopt a new creed, how was it to be expected that they who did not keep their faith towards God should keep it towards man? He advised that they should be divided among the Portugueze regiments: but both Vidal and Soares differed from him. They observed, that when two regiments of different countries were in the field together, emulation made each exert itself to the utmost; and they urged the weightier argument, that to mix in the same regiment men who spake different languages would cause confusion. Fernandes apprehended worse consequences from leaving them together; but he yielded to their judgement. *Cast. Lus. 6, § 07.*

Fernandes encamps before Recife.

About a league from Recife, upon the neck of sand which divides the river from the sea, was the fort of S. Cruz, commanding the communication of Recife with Olinda, and with the country on that side. Barboza was master of Olinda; it was of importance to obtain possession of this fort, and accordingly the insurgents resolved to assault it. But Hoogstraten, being acquainted with the commander, persuaded him to sell the place, and enter, with all his men, into the deserters' regiment. *Cast. Lus. 6, § 108.* Being now completely masters of the country, it was debated whether they should restore the old camp of Bom Jesus, and blockade the city. Fernandes thought this would be giving the war too much of a defensive character, when more active operations were required. He advised that a fort should be erected to secure the ammunition and stores; and that under

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

its protection the troops should encamp so near the enemy as never to have them out of sight. This plan was followed, and a fort built upon an eminence four miles from the city. Fernandes chose the spot; no man knew the country better, and as the encampments which were made in consequence destroyed the plantations of three of his own sugar-works, it was manifest that no other motive than the public good could have influenced his choice. In three months the work was completed, according to all the rules of art, and the appellation of the Good Jesus, which had been given to the old camp, was transferred to the new castle. A little town speedily grew up under its shelter, which was called the New Camp; and here Fernandes, for the benefit of the sick and wounded, established one of those charitable institutions known in Portugal by the name of *Casas de Misericordia*, or Houses of Compassion, and raised funds for it by a contribution levied upon the Pernambucans, according to their respective means. Every assistance, medical and spiritual, was provided for the patriots; and similar institutions were soon founded in the other revolted provinces.

Cast. Lus. 6 § 113—5.

Do. 106.

Preparations for defence at Recife.

The Dutch beheld with consternation the progress of the enemy. The people of Recife petitioned that Nassau's palace might be pulled down, lest it should be taken possession of by the insurgents: the Council refused to do this, saying, they hoped to make it useful for the defence of the city; but they destroyed the outhouses and gardens which had been made upon so magnificent a scale, and broke down the bridge of Boavista. An attempt was made to fortify Mauritias; but either finding the situation unfavourable, or their force too scanty, the Council judged it more expedient to issue an edict for totally demolishing the new town; the inhabitants were commanded by beat of drum to pull down their houses within ten days, after which time any person might seize for his own use

Aug. 29.

whatever materials were found standing. The anxiety of the people continued so great, notwithstanding these precautions, that the Council thought it necessary to communicate to them the contents of their last dispatches to Amsterdam, in order to satisfy them that their imminent danger had been represented to the Company in terms as strong as the urgency of the case required.

Nieuhoff, 88, 91—4.

Attempt upon Itamaraca.

There was a fort on the beach, called from its form the Fort of the Five Angles. Fernandes proposed to attack it by night; but Hoogstraten had lately surveyed it, and therefore knowing its strength, dissuaded him from making the attempt, and advised an expedition against the island of Itamaraca, which was the granary of all the enemy's remaining possessions. The camp was left under Diaz, while the main body of the army marched to Garassu, and ordered all the boats of the neighbourhood to be collected at the bar of the river Catuama. A ship had been stationed, to defend the passage of the channel between the island and the mainland; it was surprized and captured; and the troops effected their landing unperceived. A Dutch woman, flying, probably for some offence, from the city of Schoppe, as the conquerors had named their chief settlement on the island, fell into their hands, and in her resentment against those from whom she was absconding, offered to lead them, unperceived, within the enemy's entrenchments. She proved a bad guide, and Cardozo, who had trusted to his own knowledge of the ground, reached the scene of action with his detachment first. The Indian women, going out of the town at day-break, some for water, others to collect shell-fish, discovered his approach: they gave the alarm; and the firing which ensued served to direct Joam Fernandes and Vidal, with the rest of the army. After three attacks the assailants forced their way into the town; the Dutch were driven into the intrenchments with which they had

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

fortified the church, and there they were preparing to capitulate, when the Portugueze, by their rapacity and cruelty, were deprived of the victory which they had at this time actually achieved. The troops from Bahia fell to plundering, an example which was eagerly followed by Hoogstraten's regiment. Cardozo, at the commencement of the assault, had given orders to put the Indians to the sword; these men, knowing they had no mercy to expect, made a desperate attack upon the enemy, who thought their conquest completed. The Dutch, seeing the assailants in confusion, recovered heart, and sallied out upon them; and the Portugueze, instead of making themselves masters of the island, thought themselves happy in effecting a retreat, and carrying off as many of their countrymen as were disposed to join in insurrection. The loss fell chiefly upon Hoogstraten's regiment; Camaram was wounded; Vidal and Fernandes escaped unhurt, though the latter had some of his hair carried away by a ball, and the former received a shot upon his pistol. Seven of the Dutch regiment were found to have brought away their knapsacks full of booty, and to have lost their arms: Hoogstraten condemned them all to death, and when the sentence was mitigated they drew lots for their lives, and one was executed.

Nieuhoff, p. 95. Cast. Lus. 6, 116—24. Val. Luc. 268.

Contagion in the camp.

The Portugueze having fortified Garassu, and secured all the roads by which the enemy from Itamaraca could molest them, returned to the camp, and were kept inactive there till the close of the year by an infectious disease. It began with an oppression of the chest, which was followed by acute pains, and pleurisy: some died suddenly, others in a few hours; no person to whom it proved fatal survived the third day. The physicians, having never seen a like disease, knew not how to treat it: at length, however, they discovered that frequent and copious bleeding was successful. Joam Fernandes, seeing that both the

Hospital and the Casa da Misericordia were full of soldiers, who were daily dying of this contagion, set up an image of St. Gonzalo among the patients, that saint being one of those who peculiarly exert themselves against the plague; mass was celebrated every day before this idol; and in order to secure another advocate, the image of S. Sebastian was brought there also in procession. Other processions were made, wherein all persons went barefooted, and some scourged [6] themselves. To these measures the cessation of the evil was ascribed, after a great mortality. No race or colour was exempt from this pestilence. While it was raging in Paraiba, where it began, Jacob Rabbi and the Tapuyas entered the Captaincy of Rio Grande, and massacred all the Portugueze upon whom they could lay hands, in revenge for the execution of their countrymen at Serinhaem. This massacre [7] was accompanied with hateful circumstances of treachery, as well as atrocity; and the odium fell upon the Dutch, not undeservedly, because, though the sufferers had not been engaged in the insurrection, their cattle were seized and their property sold for the benefit of the Company.

Cast. Lus. 6. § 125. Val. Luc. p. 295.

Massacre at the Potengi.

Nieuhoff. p. 96.

The Camp-Masters had sent a detachment to protect their countrymen in this province, and collect cattle there for the use

Desultory warfare.

[6] Fr. Manoel do Salvador adds, that he himself preached upon this occasion with that doctrine, erudition, and spirit which he always used to display:... *pregou tambam o P. Fr. Manoel do Salvador com a doutrina, erudiçam e espirito que sempre costumava fazer.* P. 295.

[7] The manner in which Raphael de Jesus relates this massacre, embellishing it with all the most approved circumstances of martyrdoms and miracles, is a complete specimen of Popish church-history. *Cast. Lus.* 6, § 127—141. Nieuhoff's manner of recounting it is not less characteristic; after saying that the Dutch upon the Potengi were not strong enough to punish these cruelties, he adds, "it had this good effect, that the province was for the time entirely purged of that rebellious crew." P. 96.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

of the army; they arrived too late; but the massacre, like that of Cunhau, made the Portugueze more implacable, and convinced those who had not yet taken arms, it was in arms alone that safety could be hoped for. Meantime the main force of the insurgents continued before Recife; they were not provided with means for besieging the place, nor while the enemy were masters of the sea was it likely that they could reduce it by famine: still their blockade distressed the town, and some favorable chance might throw it into their hands. That kind of contest was now carried on which affords little for relation, though perhaps more military talent and more personal courage are displayed in it than in any other form of warfare. Every day, almost every night, some sally was made, some ambush posted, and skirmishes and stratagems called forth all the skill and activity of both parties. Each was now so well acquainted with the temper and character of the other, and both had such good intelligence, that no opportunity was lost on either side. The great holiday of the negroes in Brazil was the festival of the Rosary, which was celebrated with peculiar solemnities at Olinda, on the first Sunday in October. Henrique Diaz, knowing that the Dutch knew this, expected they would take the opportunity of making an attack in that quarter; he warned the captains at the nearest stations; the attack was made, and the Dutch, though at first successful, were finally repulsed with considerable loss. If the enemy eluded the Portugueze scouts and centinels, while they went above the reach of the tide for fresh water, their track was soon discovered in the woods, and parties were stationed to intercept them, or dispute the watering place. Even when they succeeded in filling their casks, they were sometimes deprived of a necessary which had been so difficultly obtained. About fifty pipes of water were lying under the guns of the Affogados; a party of the besiegers stole under the walls in the night, staved the whole, and carried off some

Cast. Luso 7. § 2.

horses, which, with the same incaution, had been exposed to their attempts. Great part of the booty which the Portugueze acquired during these unremitting hostilities consisted in slaves: for many of these people, seeing the present state of the contest, and the different spirit by which the two parties were animated, believing that they must fall sooner or later into the power of the insurgents, came over to them while they could claim some merit for so doing, or exposed themselves to be taken. The generals, for the sake of encouraging the troops, usually distributed them among the captors; and for the same reason winked at those who concealed such as had fallen into their hands. If they had belonged to any of the Portugueze, they were restored to the owner, on payment of a sum in the nature of salvage. The negroes who had been Dutch property were sold, and the produce applied to the costs of the war. CHAP. XXI. 1645. *Cast. Lus. 7, § 5—6.*

The Dutch were at this time in hopes of striking an effectual blow by means of Hoogstraten's regiment. His treason indeed was of that kind which left him neither claim for, nor hope of, forgiveness; but most of the men, it was presumed, had entered the Portugueze service in order to avoid ill treatment, and with a view of escaping from it; and none of them, it was known, could have any principle to detain them in it, if anything were to be gained by a second breach of faith. A correspondence was easily opened with them, and the bargain was soon concluded. It was agreed that they on their part were not to fire with ball, and that the troops from Recife should never aim at them, till they could find an opportunity to join their countrymen during action, and turn upon the Portugueze. Meantime they were for their own security to distinguish themselves by wearing a folded [8] paper in the hat. This part of the scheme *Treachery of the deserters.* *Cast. Lus. 7, § 8.*

[8] In the manner, says Raphael de Jesus, that clients wear one in the girdle.

CHAP. XXI. 1645. was defeated by an unexpected and whimsical accident: the Portugueze admired the paper cockade, and thinking it had a soldier-like appearance, chose to wear it also.

Joam Fernandes always regarded the regiment of deserters with a suspicious eye, and though the other leaders are said not to have entertained the same doubts concerning them, they had never blindly trusted them. From time to time small detachments of them had been sent off to different stations, till about two hundred and fifty were all that remained with the main body of the army. These, under the direction of a captain, by
Nov. 9. name Nicolzon, were waiting for the first opportunity to escape. To favour them, a sally was made in great force from the city, under Garsmann, who upon the capture of Haus and Blaar had succeeded to the command. The deserters got together, and were only prevented from effecting their purpose by a chance movement of Cardozo's. During the whole war for the recovery of Pernambuco, the Portugueze were never in such danger as on this day; for had they been suddenly attacked in the midst of a doubtful action by part of their own army, their defeat was certain, and would have been almost irremediable. This plan having been baffled, the enemy were driven back, after an action in which some loss was sustained on both sides. Paulo da Cunha and Pedro Cavalcanti were wounded; a ball grazed Vidal's hat, and occasioned for a time a dimness of sight. The backwardness and suspicious conduct of the deserters on this day could not escape notice; and Nicolzon being aware of this, went with one of his confederates to the Camp-Masters, and in the name of his countrymen requested that they might be allowed to wipe off the imputation which lay upon them. They knew, he said, that the enemy would be venturing out for water; they would lie in wait, and either cut off his whole party, or perish in the attempt. The Camp-Masters assented to this, upon Hoogstraten's suggesting what he thought a sure method of preventing

any treachery: it was, that he would observe what men Nicolzon and his comrade were inclined to select for this service, and instead of letting them go, he would appoint others of his own choosing, on whom he could depend: for though he thought it likely enough that there might be many in the regiment who would gladly desert back to the service of their own country, this renegade had persuaded himself that the greater number were heartily engaged in their new cause. Accordingly, he selected about threescore men from the different companies; they set forward, and concealed themselves, as if in ambuscade, among the trees by the Beberibe; but when the river became fordable at low water they crossed it, and with drums beating, and firing salutes, marched into Recife. Hoogstraten could not be suspected of any part in this treachery: as soon as the fact was ascertained, Joam Fernandes and the Camp-Masters sent for him, to consult how they should act with the remainder of his regiment; for when they on whom he had most reliance had acted thus, what could be looked for from those whom he distrusted? He was in despair at what had occurred: all, he said, beyond a doubt were equally guilty, and by the laws of war all were worthy of death, and he himself deserved the same punishment for having been the commander of such wretches. They were immediately surrounded and disarmed; their quarters were then searched, and proofs enough of their communication with Recife were discovered, ... for like true Dutchmen, they had provided themselves with Dutch cheese, Dutch butter, and Dutch herrings; things no otherwise procurable than by a direct intercourse with the city. Orders were expedited to disarm all those who had been detached to different stations, and to send them and their families to the Camp; they were then marched to Bahia, under good escort, and in different parties, there to be disposed of as the Governor

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

Nov. 12.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

General should think fit [9]. All who were Catholics were therefore believed to be innocent, and permitted to remain; and any Catholic woman who wished to rid herself of an heretical husband, had only to plead her religion, and obtain an effectual divorce. The surgeons were detained, for they were too useful to be dismissed; and two engineers were detained also, who were employed upon the works of the camp. Hoogstraten and La Tour, his Sargento Mor, requested leave to serve in Bahia, feeling humiliated in their present situation: their request was granted, and on their arrival at S. Salvador they were appointed to the same rank in a Portugueze regiment.

Cast. Lus. 7. § 9—17.

The Dutch suspect the deserters.

As the contest was now carried on with all the mines and countermines of insidious policy, the Camp-Masters upon this occasion framed a letter to the Dutch Governors, which purported to be written by one of their friends, and stated, that Nicolzon and his party were acting in collusion with Hoogstraten and Joam Fernandes; that if it had not been thus, they could not possibly have effected their escape in so large a body; and that if the Dutch were not carefully upon their guard, they would soon feel the effect of this refined stratagem. This letter would have completely succeeded if the disarming of the deserters could have been delayed. Spies were immediately set upon the

[9] Nieuhoff says that the Portugueze pretended to send them to Bahia, but that in reality they murdered them and their wives and children upon the way. *P.* 98. If the Camp-Masters had determined upon putting them to death, they were not men to have shrunk from doing it openly. The fact is, that many of them met with this fate from the people of the country through which they past. Joam Fernandes was exceedingly indignant upon hearing this, and threatened to inflict examplary punishment upon the places where these excesses had been committed; but the Pernambucans in his army declared that all the Dutch ought to have been executed for their treason, and threatened to leave the camp if any of their countrymen were punished for having taken vengeance upon such wretches. *Val. Luc. p.* 291.

party: it happened that one of these agents found two of them at a tavern, where over their cups they boasted of the regular pay and good living which they had enjoyed in the camp, shewing in proof their money, and the mandioc flour and fresh meat which they had brought away in their knapsacks. To a government so often deceived, in such perilous circumstances, and noways scrupulous in the administration of justice, this appeared a sufficient proof of treasonable designs: the men were sentenced to be hanged; all their comrades were arrested, and would probably have shared the same fate, if intelligence had not been received of the proceedings against the deserters, by which the artifice of the letter was discovered. The suspicion of the Dutch rulers was thus removed from their own countrymen, but it fell upon the foreigners in their service. There were thirty Frenchmen in the garrison of Fort Affogados, who were all arrested; four were put to the torture, and though neither of them confessed any thing, one was executed. A Mina Negro, who deserted from the fort on the same night, informed Henrique Diaz of what had occurred there: that able partizan immediately laid an ambush for the detachment who were to replace the suspected Frenchmen, and relieve the other soldiers; their fidelity being doubted because of their communication with the foreigners. As this was a strong escort, the inhabitants of Recife took the opportunity of sending their clothes out of the city at the same time to be washed in the fresh water; the escort fell into the ambush, and Diaz's black troops stocked themselves with fine linen from the booty. The provisions for this fort were sent with imprudent regularity every Saturday, in sufficient quantities for the ensuing week. Opportunity was hereby given for fresh enterprizes, in one of which Paulo da Cunha bore a part. He was quartered in a house which belonged to Sebastiam de Carvalho, the man who first gave notice of the intended insurrection to

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

CHAP. XXI. 1645.

the Dutch. Paulo was only a few hours absent, and on his return he found the whole of the premises destroyed by fire. By whatever accident this happened, the Portugueze converted it into a miracle; they affirmed that though the building, which was one of the best in the Varzea, was of stone and lime, with portals, pillars, and stairs of hewn stone, the whole was reduced to a heap of cinders and ashes,.. stone as well as wood becoming combustible on the occasion, as if to show the indignation of heaven against a traitor.

Cast. Lus. 6. §18—21.

Transactions at the Potengi.

A detachment under Barboza Pinto had been sent at the commencement of the insurrection, to protect their countrymen at Cunhau. Arriving too late to prevent the massacre, they took up their quarters in the very sugar-works where the main butchery had been committed, fortified themselves there, and began to retaliate upon the enemy. But the force at Fort Keulen exceeded their's; it was prudent to quit a position which they could not render tenable; and as a motive for quitting it a circumstance was assigned, which was either accident magnified and interpreted into miracle, or an artifice contrived to persuade men to a change of quarters, who, blind to the danger of attack, would rather have remained under a good roof than retreat to the marshes. At night the centinel heard sounds like the steps of a large body of men advancing secretly; the alarm was given, the Portugueze beat to arms, and continued in expectation of an attack till day, when neither vestige nor tidings of any enemy could be discovered. The same thing was repeated two or three successive nights, till all agreed that it was a portentous warning, communicated to them, perhaps, by the spirits of their countrymen who had suffered death upon that very spot. They retired therefore to the marshes, and there fortified a position which was accessible on one side only. Scarcely had they completed their entrenchments before nearly

four hundred Dutch landed in the Bahia do Traiçam, and marched, under cover of the night, to surprize them in the sugar-works; finding the place abandoned, they traced the Portugueze to their new post, and attacked them there; but to such disadvantage, that they were repulsed with considerable loss, and fain to retreat to Fort Keulen. CHAP. XXI. 1645. *Cast. Lus. 6. § 143. Nieuhoff, p. 98.*

Here, however, the enemy were superior in numbers to the patriots, and they derived great assistance from a savage chief, known by the name of Pieter Poty, who, though nearly akin to Camaram, and earnestly solicited by him to espouse the same cause, was a zealous partizan of the Dutch. His people perpetrated another massacre in Paraiba. They surprized a number of Portugueze, who were assembled on the eve of St. Martin's at a feast; and they butchered all except one girl, whose exceeding beauty, even at the moment when she saw her father and her other relations murdered, and when the savages were drunk with blood, so much impressed them that they spared her, and conducted her unhurt to the Fort of Paraiba: this is perhaps the most remarkable instance of the effect of beauty that has ever been recorded. Aided by these Tapuyas, the Dutch were masters of the country about the Potengi, and it was feared that the whole of Paraiba also would be at their mercy. Camaram was detached from the camp to prevent this, and to take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed. He took with him his own regiment, and two hundred Tapuyas from the river S. Francisco. His orders were to collect the cattle for the use of the camp, to take vengeance upon the Dutch and their allies, and put every person whom he found to death; . . . orders which Camaram executed with unrelenting fidelity. Having reached Paraiba, and communicated with the insurgent-leaders in that Captaincy, he took from thence fifty men, who were well acquainted with the country, and proceeded *Nieuhoff, p. 98.*

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

to Rio Grande, destroying all whereof he could not make plunder, burning the villages of the Pitagoares and Tapuyas, and sparing neither sex nor age. This movement excited much anxiety at Recife. It was from the fertile plains on the Potengi that the Dutch drew their supplies of mandioc and cattle, since the Portugueze were masters of Pernambuco; and should this resource be cut off, while Itamaraca and Paraiba were closely beset by the insurgents, it would hardly be possible to hold out till the expected succours could arrive from Holland. What was to be done? A bold movement, undertaken as a diversion, might recal Camaram from Rio Grande; but the Portugueze in the Camp, and in Paraiba, and before Itamaraca were in such strength, that an attack could not be risked without exposing all that remained of their conquests to imminent danger. It was resolved, therefore, to make a vigorous effort against Camaram himself. Bas, one of the Members of the Council, had already been sent with two ships to Fort Keulen: as a farther reinforcement, threescore soldiers and an hundred Indians were drafted from Itamaraca, and an equal number from Fort Cabedello, or Margaretha, as the Dutch called it. When these were collected, the whole force amounted to one thousand men, besides an additional body of Tapuyas, under Jacob Rabbi and the sons of Duwy, who were assembling at Fort Keulen. Having thus got together such superior numbers in this part, they thought the only danger was that the enemy should escape them; and it was debated at Recife, whether, if Camaram should either retreat or be driven into Paraiba, he should be pursued there, and the recovery of that Captaincy attempted also. But upon considering how much they risked, and that they were in daily hope of receiving reinforcements, which would enable them to act again on the offensive without imprudence, they concluded not to hazard every thing upon an enter-

Nieuhoff, 100.

prize, of which the possible evil might so greatly overbalance the possible advantage. CHAP. XXI.

Before this determination could be conveyed to Fort Keulen the Dutch had attacked Camaram. He was strongly posted on a little river between Cunhau and the fort. The river being in that part too deep to be forded, protected his front; in his rear was a thicket of *tabocas*, an accident which, reminding the Portugueze of one victory, would be considered as the auspicious omen of another. On the north and south the position was open, and trenches were thrown up to cover it: Camaram stationed Bezerra on the north, and on the south he took post himself. His force consisted of six hundred men, of whom only one hundred were Portugueze, and one hundred and fifty were archers from the river S. Francisco; but his own men were excellent troops; they were unerring marksmen, thoroughly disciplined, and in all things but the art of war, the love of plunder, and the routine of their religion, as savage as ever. He was aware that he should be attacked, and had made all his preparations, military and religious, with skill and devotion equally characteristic. He carried always about him a Relicary, which had a crucifix enamelled on the one side, and on the other the figure of the Virgin; taking this in his hand, he prayed before it for a long time, with such apparent and fervent devotion, that the victory was afterwards attributed as much to his piety as to his military genius, and perhaps even during the action, as confidently expected from it. His musqueteers were arranged in three files; they were ordered to take aim so as not to waste a shot, the first rank to fall back and reload while the second took its place, in like manner to be succeeded by the third. They were to set up the shout of Victory in the heat of the action, in the hope of dismaying the Dutch; and if powder, balls, or matches should fail, instead of calling for what they wanted they were to cry S.

1646.

Camaram's victory.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

Antonio, or S. John; this being understood, they should immediately be supplied; and it would have the double advantage of keeping the heretics ignorant of any momentary deficiency of ammunition, and of provoking those slaves of the Infernal Spirit to blaspheme; for when they heard the saints called upon, they would exclaim "*Te Duivel!*" and "*Sacrement!*" Rhineberg, who commanded the Dutch, approached on that side where Camaram had placed himself, and attacked the trenches. He suffered severely in the attempt; for Camaram's men, being sure that no ball would be spent in vain, determined to send enough, and therefore put two or three in every charge. By a consequence equally unforeseen and ludicrous, this contributed as much to their own safety as to the loss of the enemy; for firing with this heavy charge, and as fast as they could reload, their Biscayan guns, when they became heated, recoiled with such force against the breast as to knock them down, a whole rank at a time, and the enemy's shot past over them; Camaram, when he first saw them fall, thought that they were killed; and his surprize was equal to his joy when he beheld them rise again unhurt. Rhineberg, soon finding it impossible to force this quarter, divided his troops into three bodies; with the one he continued the attack as a feint, and sent the others, one to attempt the passage of the river higher up, the other to force the cane-thicket. Here the former scene among the *tabocas* was repeated; and the Dutch, having fallen into two ambuscades, and received the fire of both, took to flight. The other body attempted in vain to cross the stream; the Indian archers were ready upon the banks, and they who entered the river were arrowed there. The cry of Victory was now set up by the main body, with all the success that Camaram could have desired; Rhineberg thought they were about to rush out upon his divided and dispirited troops, and precipi-

tately retired, leaving an hundred and fifteen of his men dead upon the field, and the whole of his baggage. On the part of the conquerors it is affirmed that not a man was slain, and only three wounded, it is added, that many of them bore bruises upon their bodies, certain and evident signs that the balls of the heretics which struck them had not been permitted to enter. There was some foundation for this miracle, ... the musket which in its recoil knocked the soldier down, would leave behind it the mark of the blow. Camaram had exhausted his ammunition, and therefore could not pursue the enemy; and having remained a week on the field, he retired to Paraiba, there to wait for stores with which to invest Fort Keulen. One loss had occurred during the action: a great number of cattle had been collected for the use of the Camp before Recife, and these it was not possible to secure; they took fright at the guns, and all, except some two hundred, broke away and escaped. Those which were saved were sent to the Camp-Masters, and the news of the victory was suffered to travel at their pace.

Cast Lus. 7, § 26, 33. Val. Luc. p. 306—16. Nieuhoff, p. 101.

While these things were going on in the north, ill-advised orders came from the Governor General to the Camp-Masters in the Varzea, commanding them to burn all the sugar-canes in Pernambuco. The motive was the old one of distressing the Dutch, and inducing them to abandon their conquests by frustrating their hopes of profit. But Antonio Telles did not sufficiently consider the change which had taken place; that the Portugueze at this time, not the Dutch, were masters of the country; and that although, as he reasoned, three thousand seven hundred and fifty men, who were employed in an hundred and fifty sugar-works, would thus be at liberty to bear arms, and all their cattle be convertible to the service of the army, that he was cutting off the spring of those resources by which that army subsisted. Joam Fernandes saw so clearly the impolicy of this

Orders from Bahia to burn the sugar-canes.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

order that he would not countersign it; but he gave the example of obedience, and ordered fire to be first set to his own canes, which were consumed, to the value of 200,000 cruzados. It was not long before a revocation of the order came from Bahia, but it was too late; the mischief had been done, and though not carried to its full extent, the evil consequences were severely experienced.

Vol. I. p. 299. Cast. Lus. 7, § 35.

Distress in Recife.

By this time the Dutch were greatly distressed[10] for provisions. The garrison, a mercenary band of all countries, began to murmur at their privations, and the Jews, who were more interested even than the Dutch themselves in the preservation of these conquests, raised a large donation for the service of the state. Money, however, could not relieve the general distress. Many soldiers and negroes came over to the Portugueze, and the first news of Camaram's victory was received from these deserters. They reported, that nothing prevented frequent and almost universal desertion, but an opinion, carefully spread by the Dutch Government, that every Dutchman, or person in their service, who fell into the hands of the Portugueze, was put to death with the most cruel torments. Two Indian women, who were taken as they were seeking shell-fish between the enemy's forts, were brought to Martim Soares to be questioned by him, for he spake the Tupi language with perfect fluency; in the early part of his life he had lived much among the Tapuyas, and in the various commands which he held had

Vol. I. p. 391.

[10] An *alquiere* of mandioc flour, (something less than two pecks,) sold for sixteen *testoons*, or five patacas: a pitcher of water for a *testoon*, and an orange for a *vintem*. The greater part of the inhabitants drank only such water as they collected in *cazimbas*, or pits dug in the sand, and this proved salt and unwholesome.

behaved to them always with equal wisdom and kindness: these women recognized him, and wept for joy, displaying the strongest emotions of gratitude and affection towards their old benefactor. They affirmed, that all the Indians of their tribe would gladly come over to the Portugueze, if it were not for the fear of being punished as traitors; and if they were from Seara, where Martim Soares had formerly been governor, it is probable that they would be thus inclined, knowing him to be in the Camp. The strength of the Dutch, says Fr. Manoel do Salvador, lay at this time in the Indians, like that of Samson in his hair: and the women, though they wished to have remained where they were rather than return to endure the privations of a blockaded town, were now clothed and sent back, that they might report to their countrymen the good usage which they had received, and the disposition of the Portugueze towards all who should come over to them. The Camp-Masters drew up proclamations to the same effect, and a French deserter exerted the characteristic ingenuity of a Frenchman in circulating them, and endeavouring to ruin those whom he had so lately served.

Cast. Lus. 7, § 41. Val. Luc., p. 302.

When the Camp-Masters first heard of Camaram's victory, they learnt at the same time that the Dutch had sent reinforcements to the Potengi, . . a district upon which their preservation now wholly depended, being the only place from whence they could obtain supplies. It was thought, therefore, of so much importance to obtain the ascendancy there, that Vidal went himself to join Camaram, with four companies of Portugueze, one of Mina Negroes, and one of Creoles, as those Negroes were called who were born in the country in a state of slavery. Notwithstanding the prosperous state of the insurrection, there were still some persons in the Camp who were in correspondence with the enemy; some because they were purchased, others because they hated Joam Fernandes, and some, perhaps, be-

Vidal goes to join Camaram.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

cause they despaired of final success in the struggle, knowing the resources and the vigour of the United Provinces, the distressed state of Portugal, and the baneful indecision and feebleness of its councils. Vidal's departure was by some of these persons immediately communicated to the Dutch, and Joam Fernandes, while he knew that the secrets of the army were betrayed, had no means of bringing home the guilt to the suspected party. The Dutch profited by it, for they ventured to send off a company of fusileers and the greater part of their Tapuyas to Itamaraca, thus lessening the number of mouths in Recife.

Feb. 24. *Cast. Lus.* 7. § 44. *Nieuhoff*, p. 102.

Stratagems and jubilee.

Fernandes now carried on the war of outposts with renewed vigour, that it might not be supposed he had weakened himself by sending off this detachment. Domingos Ferreira distinguished himself in these enterprizes. Five and twenty head of cattle, with a few horses, were pastured by day under protection of Fort Affogados, and at night were collected within a pen, the gate of which was close to the fortress. Ferreira having reconnoitred this place, entered the pen in a dark night, with a few chosen companions; they fastened cords to the cattle, and cut the ropes by which the horses were secured; just as they were about to go through the gate with their booty the stir of the cattle was heard, the alarm given, and the fort began firing at random; they threw themselves on the ground among the beasts, lay there unperceived till the alarm had subsided, then mounted the horses, and drove off the whole of the cattle. The captain of this fort saved his own horse, which happened to be in the stable; but being obliged to turn it out, he appointed a Dutch servant to keep watch over it day and night; the man slept in the ditch, with the cord with which the horse was tethered tied to his own body. The Portugueze cut the rope, and thereby gained more than they expected; for when the man woke, and found the horse gone, he thought it better to desert than abide

his master's anger. Ferreira provoked the enemy by a more singular stratagem. On a dark night he fastened a number of lighted matches to the trees, in a spot which lay between the forts Affogados, Seca, and Salinas, alarmed the garrisons by a discharge, and instantly withdrew his men. The Dutch from the three forts, and from the platform before the gate of Recife, continued to fire all night upon these matches, while the Portugueze, in perfect safety, amused themselves by firing occasionally to quicken their alarm. Daylight discovered how they had been mocked, and the enemy then prepared piles of wood, mingled with other combustibles, with which they kindled huge bonfires whenever any night alarm was afterwards given. More hazardous enterprizes were attempted. Paulo Diaz, a Negro, who was called San Felice, after Bagnuolo, and who was Sargento Mayor to Henrique Diaz, stormed a redoubt in the night, after a desperate struggle; eight of his men were killed, and more than twenty wounded, many of them by the fire of their own party in the confusion: of the fifty Dutch who garrisoned the redoubt, only four survived. The redoubt was not tenable when it was taken; but such exploits tended equally to dismay the enemy and encourage the Portugueze. The intervals of rest which they allowed themselves were employed in practices not less conducive to that enthusiasm and confidence by which alone their country could be recovered. A jubilee had been proclaimed by Pope Innocent X. to all who should offer up certain prayers for the prosperity of the church, the extirpation of heresy, and peace between Christian, by which was exclusively meant, Catholic princes. The ceremonies appointed for this purpose excited in the Camp as much interest and as much zeal as the operations of the blockade.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

Cast. Lus. 7. § 45, 49, 50.

Cast. Lus. 7. § 45—8. Val. Luc. p. 320.

Meantime Vidal joined Camaram at Paraiba. He learnt here that the reinforcements which were on their way from Recife to

Vidal returns from Paraiba.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

the Potengi had halted at Fort Cabedello, and attempted to surprize the town; but perceiving that they were discovered, they had returned down the river without venturing to land. A plan was now laid for entrapping the enemy; but it was apprehended that the Jews would betray the intention; for the Portugueze, having by the most atrocious system of persecution that ever outraged human nature compelled the Jews among them to profess Christianity, lived consequently always in fear of concealed enemies among their own countrymen. To prevent the possibility of this disclosure, Vidal and Camaram marched some leagues inland, without revealing their purpose to any person; having thus precluded all suspicion of their real object, they turned toward the sea, and timed their march so well as to arrive during the night at the church of N. Senhora da Guia, near the forts Antonio and Cabedello. Here they posted three ambushes, not far distant from each other, and sent forty chosen men to decoy the enemy from S. Antonio. This party passed near the fort, as if on their return from a foraging excursion; the lure not proving successful, they then fired upon the fort in bravado, and showing themselves behind a sand-hill from time to time, insulted and defied the Dutchmen. The commander at length became impatient, sent to Cabedello for assistance, and landed sixty Europeans, with about an hundred and sixty Indians, to cut off these insolent assailants. A female [11] Payé was at the head of the Indians. They called her Anhaguiara, or Mistress of the Devil. She came on brandishing a cutlass, and exclaiming, "Let me get at these Portugueze dogs! I am a tyger to pursue them, to rend their flesh, to drink their blood, and to tear out their

[11] I do not recollect any other instance of a female practitioner in juggling among the Tupi or Tapuya tribes.

hearts." The advanced party of the Portugueze awaited them, fired two vollies, then retreated in disorder, and easily decoyed their pursuers into the midst of the ambuscade. In an instant they were fired upon on all sides, and above fifty fell, among whom was the Mistress of the Devil herself; the rest ran into the sea. Vidal called out to his men to take a Dutchman alive: two of Camaram's people rushed into the water, and each seizing a fugitive by the hair, dragged his prize ashore. When they perceived that two were taken, they killed the one, and carried the other to their chief, who learnt from him the force of the enemy in these parts. This information satisfied Vidal that his presence was not necessary at the Potengi, so he dispatched Camaram thither with the rest of the reinforcements, and returned himself with one company to Pernambuco.

Cast. Lus. 7, § 51—4. Val. Luc. p 324.

Scarcity in the Camp.

It was now the beginning of April, and provisions became scarce in the Camp, partly occasioned by a wet season, partly by the injudicious order for destroying the plantations, and partly, perhaps, because many hands who would otherwise have been employed in agriculture were engaged in war: the consequences were such as threatened ruin to the cause for which Joam Fernandes had roused his countrymen. An army like that of the insurgents was under little restraint of discipline; many of the men complained; their complaints became almost mutinous; and some of the troops who had been sent from Bahia, left the Camp, and returned there: many negroes also deserted, and fled to the Reconcave. The Camp-Masters intreated the Governor to apply a remedy to this evil; and Antonio Telles, who was greatly exasperated at the conduct of the soldiers, punished some with death, degraded others to Angola, and sent back those who had been led away by the more criminal. All Negroes also who came from Pernambuco were apprehended, and detained till they could be delivered to their

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

owners. Some time necessarily elapsed before these measures could be efficacious, and in the interim the Dutch, less with the expectation of influencing the Pernambucans than that of exciting mistrust between them and the Bahian troops, sent into the Camp copies of a letter from the King of Portugal to his resident minister in Holland, wherein he disclaimed all participation in the plans of the insurgents. These papers were laid in the way of centries and outposts, and were carried to the Camp-Masters. Their obvious course was to deny the authenticity of the letter; and Henrique Diaz wrote a manifesto, affirming that it was a forgery, and attempting to prove it so from internal evidence, in a manner sufficiently convincing for those who were determined to be of the same opinion, and very probably for himself[12] also.

Nieuhoff, 103. *Cast. Lus.* 7. § 58, 60.

---

[12] Raphael de Jesus represents the letter as a forgery; yet he must have known that it was authentic. Fr. Manoel do Salvador writing at the time and on the spot, honestly disbelieves it. "The letter," he says, "ought to have been signed 'I the King,' and not 'His Royal Majesty.' The Dutch understand matters of trade perfectly well, but very little of the manner in which Kings write." ... "*Muito sabem os Olandeses de mercancias, mas mui poco de modo com que os Reys escrevem.*" He then enters into a warm discussion of the cause of the insurrection, and breaks it off in a manner characteristic of his amusing memoirs: "*Esta materia pode amplificar quem tiver mais prudencia e mais vagar que eu; porque estam tocandoas caixas a rebate, e eu vou acudir a minha obrigaçam*... This matter may be amplified by one who has more prudence and more leisure than I; for the drums are now beating the alarm, and I must repair to my duty." *P.* 333. Diaz seems to have been induced to reply to the letter, because he and Camaram were censured in it for having taken part in the rebellion. His personal vindication has been preserved, and it is curious in itself, as well as for being the composition of so remarkable a man. "Sirs," he says, addressing the Dutch Governors, "your tricks and stratagems are so apparent, that the very stocks and stones understand their deceitfulness, treachery, and treason, .. to say nothing of myself, who by sacrifice of my health and at the cost of my blood, have taken a

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

The effects of dearth in the Camp were becoming daily more serious, and it was now that the Leaders felt the want of the sanction of authority for their proceedings: imperious as the necessity was, they dared not levy an impost upon the inhabitants, for they knew that it would be resisted, and this would lead to the total ruin of the cause. Joam Fernandes went round the province, to solicit as a donation what he could not raise as a tax. This journey was made subservient also to other purposes: the Camp-Masters began to perceive that reinforcements would more probably arrive for the Dutch than for them, and they apprehended that ere long the enemy would be enabled again to act upon the offensive. It was necessary to secure those ports which they possessed, that ships might not be deterred from coming there to trade with them. Fernandes, therefore, to render the port of Nazareth safe, blocked

The Portuguese secure the ports of Nazareth and Tamandare.

Vol. I, p. 500.

Doctor's degree in the knowledge of this truth. Sir Dutchmen, my comrade Camaram is not here, but I can answer both for him and myself. Pernambuco is his country and mine; we could not bear to be absent from it so long, and we will either lose our lives in this country or turn you out of it. Even if the Governor General and his Majesty were to command us to retire, we should reply to the command before we obeyed it, and give our reasons for not desisting from the war. The case stands thus: if you chuse to surrender Recife we will grant you the most honourable terms; if you are tired of being shut up there, and wish to take the air for recreation, you may do it; we will receive you right gladly, and give you a smell of the flowers which our muskets produce. Be wise in time, and cease to put yourselves to such costs without profit, for you may give up all hope of ever drawing more from Pernambuco. Even if for our sins we should be compelled to withdraw, (which God will never permit,) we would leave the land as bare as the palm of the hand; and should you plant it again, we would come at the proper season, and in one night burn your year's work. These are not fables, nor words cast upon the wind; for so it shall be. God preserve you, Sirs, and convert you from your false sects and heresies."

Valeroso Lucideno, 334.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

up that passage through the reef by which Calabar formerly had saved the Dutch fleet. He erected a fort also at Tamandare, at the mouth of the bar; and that the work might go on the better, a poor man dreamt he had found an image of St. John the Baptist among some stones upon the shore. He communicated his dream to the priest, the priest communicated it to the people, away they went to the shore, and there, upon the spot which the dreamer had seen in his vision, a fine image was found among the stones. A more intelligible miracle has never been enacted. "God is with me," exclaimed Joam Fernandes at this invention, "and the glorious St. John the Baptist, my namesake, seeks to do me service! I promise to build a church to him upon this place where his image has appeared, as soon as God shall have brought the enterprize of our deliverance to a happy end!" The fame of this miracle spread throughout the province, and the people, delighted by this proof of divine favour, and flattered by seeing Fernandes among them, gave liberally, according to their means, so that considerable supplies of flour, pulse, cattle, and sugar were sent to the Camp.

Val. Luc. p. 344.

The Dutch attempt to intercept the convoy from the Potengi.

The distress being far greater in the city than among the besiegers, deserters frequently came over; some of whom brought intelligence that Camaram was completely master of the country about the Potengi, and had laid all waste with fire and sword, to the very walls of Fort Keulen. This was soon confirmed by messengers, who added the welcome news, that a convoy of cattle which had been collected there had already reached Paraiba on its way to the camp; but this joy was allayed by an alarm for the safety of the convoy. The Dutch in Itamaraca had nearly exhausted their magazines, and as the Indians from Recife had been sent thither, it became impossible to feed so many additional mouths without obtaining provisions by incursions upon the mainland. In Recife they were still more straitened,

because till now they had received some supplies from Itamaraca. A joint expedition, therefore, was now planned from the city and the island; twelve launches sailed from the harbour; they were seen by the Portugueze centinels steering toward Itamaraca, and the Camp-Masters immediately feared for their convoy, which, as they calculated, ought at that time to be at Tejucapapo, or Goyana. Advice of the danger was dispatched to both places, and followed with all possible speed by two companies, to strengthen the escort. Before they arrived the convoy had past, well guarded, and with trusty guides, Paulo da Cunha remaining with the former escort at Garassu, to rest after a wearying march in most inclement weather. *Cast. Lus. 7. § 58, 62.*

They are defeated at S. Lourenço.

The vessels from Recife were joined by fifteen from the island, and the whole force consisted of six hundred men, two thirds of whom were Dutch. They made for a port called Maria Farinha, and anchored there, as if about to land. The alarm was given; it was heard at Garassu, and Paulo da Cunha immediately drew out his troops, and posted them in ambush to await the enemy. But the Dutch had only anchored for a feint; as soon as it was dark they put out their oars and hoisted sail, and made all speed for Tejucopapo, where they landed at day-break, thinking to surprize S. Lourenço. Two sentries saw them land, and agreed that while one remained to watch their movements, the other should run to the settlement. There were about an hundred men among the inhabitants, who retired with their families, and as much of their effects as possible, into a sort of redoubt, erected for such occasions, and fortified with a strong palisade. In these unfortunate Captaincies every man was a soldier, and Agostinho Nuñes, the local commander, happened to be a man of great skill and experience. He sent off a horseman to the Camp for assistance; but the Camp was twelve leagues off, and before these distant succours could arrive the fate

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

of the place would be decided. He appointed Matheus Fernandes, a youth of distinguished courage, to take thirty chosen horsemen, and harrass them from the woods. With the remaining seventy he prepared for defence; and he proclaimed, that any woman who set up a lamentation during the attack, should instantly be put to death. This measure was not necessary, for the women partook of the spirit by which it was dictated. One of them, as soon as the assault began, went round the redoubt with a Crucifix in her hands, haranguing the men, and denouncing vengeance upon the heretics, with a passion like that of the Anhaguiara at Cabedello, but with better fate. Her companions supplied the soldiers with ammunition and water; and the Dutch, twice attempting to hew down the palisade, were twice repelled with loss. A third time they advanced, and succeeded in making an opening: the women threw themselves into the gap: they knew what horrors awaited them if the Dutch should conquer; they were maddened at the sight of the Crucifix, and the exhortations of the enthusiastic virago who bore it about as a banner; and they confided in the aid of Saints Cosmo and Damiano, whose church was in their district. To these saints the preservation of the place was imputed; it was occasioned partly by the women; for even in the heat of the assault, ruffians as the Dutch were, they would falter and be confused when there was no way to advance but by cutting through a troop of women. But the contest was decided by the little detachment under Matheus Fernandes: they had severely annoyed the enemy during their march from the shore, and now seeing that all was on the hazard, they came out of the woods, and fell upon the flank of the assailants, pouring in so well-directed a fire, and attacking them with such fury, that the Dutch, whom the resistance at the breach had already disheartened, believed nothing but the confidence of numbers could

have given this boldness to the Portugueze, and fled to their vessels, leaving seventy dead on the field. Meantime the horseman who had been dispatched to the Camp arrived there at the same time with Paulo da Cunha, who then perceived how he had been duped. Three hundred men were immediately ordered off, and Vidal with six companies followed as fast as possible: he met the news of the victory, and halted in consequence at Garassu. Here the enemy were seen ere long making for the port, with the design of surprizing the town. Vidal drew out his men, and posted them in two ambuscades: unluckily a German surgeon in his company dropt behind on the way, and riding apace to rejoin the troops, missed his road, and got into the midst of the enemy: alarmed at what they learnt from him, they re-embarked with the utmost speed, and Vidal then returned to the Camp. CHAP. XXI. 1646.

Cast Lus. 7, § 62–6. Nieuhoff.

Fernandes was by this time returned from his circuit. Shortly afterwards there arrived two Jesuits, whom Antonio Telles had sent with positive orders from the King, that Vidal and Martim Soares should return with all their troops to Bahia, and that Pernambuco should be peaceably relinquished to the Dutch. These instructions were so peremptory that the Camp-Masters were at first confounded, and knew not how to reply. It was intolerable to think of abandoning all the advantages they had gained, and yielding up the country to an enemy whom they so heartily and so justly abhorred; and when Joam Fernandes had recovered from the first shock, he boldly affirmed that the orders ought not to be obeyed: for it was not possible, he said, that the King should have given them, if he could have known what would be the situation of his faithful subjects in Pernambuco at this time. The law of nature was paramount to all laws; its first law was that of self-preservation; but to obey these orders would be delivering themselves over to de-

The Camp-Masters are ordered to retire from Pernambuco.

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

struction. Let us then, he continued, represent to his Majesty the prosperous state of our arms, and the utter ruin which would follow if his orders were obeyed; and let us continue the war vigorously till he send out fresh instructions. And should it so prove that he should then confirm these orders, for my own part, said the determined patriot, I will never desist from an enterprize so greatly to the service of God and of so Catholic a Prince, as that of delivering myriads and myriads of souls from temporal slavery and from eternal death, both which are certain if they continue in subjection to the heretics. Vidal agreed in this resolution; Soares hesitatated: his hesitation and their reply were communicated to the Governor General, and he not daring to take farther responsibility upon himself, sent again to the Camp, and commanded them to obey the King's orders. Soares then advised obedience; Vidal and Joam Fernandes continued firm, and he in consequence gave up his command, and sailed soon afterwards for Lisbon. He had business at court, and in the warm discussion which his advice occasioned, it is said that Vidal upbraided him with preferring his individual interests to the common cause. The reproach was natural, but Martim Soares might have alledged the whole tenour of his life to refute it; nor, although he would have held a higher place in history if he had continued to act with his colleagues, ought he to be censured for leaving them. The orders being positive and explicit, the strength of character required for perceiving when obedience is not the soldier's duty, and for acting upon that conviction, belongs to heroic virtue; and to this, the highest praise that a soldier can desire, Vidal is justly entitled. Joam Fernandes could not have obeyed without becoming a ruined adventurer, dependent upon the charity of a government which disowned him. His conduct, therefore, on this occasion, could not have the merit of Vidal's; neither does his fame require it:

in contemplating his character there is much to subtract from our admiration, but enough is left to admire; his bigotry, his cruelty, his deceitfulness belong to the age; his intrepidity, his perseverance, his wisdom, his high and devoted sense of duty to his country, are his own. CHAP. XXI. 1646. *Cast. Lus. 7, § 67, 71.*

The orders from Lisbon had not been given without great reluctance on the part of the King, and long vacillation in his councils. Had the struggle lain only between Portugal and Holland, enfeebled as the former country was, the pride of the Portugueze would not have shrunk from the contest; and their patriotism and unweariable patience would have borne them through; for where these virtues meet they are invincible. But Braganza sate insecurely on the throne of his ancestors; the ease with which he had ascended it indicated with what ease he might be thrown down. He had enemies about his own court; some whom jealousy, envy, and discontent had made so; others whose secret hostility was the more dangerous, because it was bottomed upon the deeper principle of revenge; some, perhaps, who conscienciously believed that their allegiance was due to the King of Spain, under whose government they had grown up. It was not to be doubted but that if the Spaniards should obtain any important advantage over him, they would find active co-operation in these persons, and in that worthless crowd which is ever ready to follow the conquering cause. Spain, engaged as it was in other wars, was still an enemy against whose superior force all the vigilance and all the efforts of Portugal were required: what then was to be apprehended if Holland should be provoked to direct and open war?... not merely the loss of Brazil and of India, but of Portugal itself. These representations were urged by some of the King's advisers, and their opinion, reasonable as it appeared, would probably have prevailed at the commencement, notwithstand- *State of the negociations with Holland.*

CHAP. XXI. 1646.

ing the honourable reluctance of Joam to abandon any part of the patrimony which his predecessors had acquired, if the ambassador at the Hague had not been a man of consummate policy, and so passionately attached to his country, that he scrupled at no means for promoting its interests. This important situation was held at this time by Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, and never did any man discharge a difficult task with greater skill. When the news of the insurrection first reached the States, their High Mightinesses regarded it, as such commotions are usually regarded, with indifference; and their complaints to the ambassador that the Governor General fomented the rebellion, were made rather as a matter of form, than with any real or lively feeling of alarm or resentment. But Francisco de Sousa saw it in its true light: he knew that the funds of the West India Company were not equal to carrying on a long and expensive war: so he advised the King to assist the insurgents with the utmost secrecy, but with the utmost exertions in his power: and at the same time, he protested to the States, that the Pernambucans were acting entirely from themselves, and had neither been excited nor assisted, directly or indirectly, by the Court. This artifice succeeded for awhile; but when fresh intelligence arrived that the insurgents had gained the battle of Tabocas, had recovered all the southern part of Pernambuco, and were actually masters of the Varzea, the Company, whose interests were thus vitally affected, called upon the States for assistance, and endeavoured to inspire them with their own vindictive feelings. They obtained a loan of 70,000 florins, and a levy of 3000 men, at the States' expence. They requested also authority to seize all Portugueze vessels; this was not granted to the full extent of the demand; but they were authorized to examine merchant ships, and seize all which came from Pernambuco, and upon this pretext they captured

all they met. The ambassador now complained in his turn, and was answered in his own manner, that the States gave no encouragement to such proceedings; they had only granted a licence for taking ships from Pernambuco, and such ships could only belong to the insurgents. Francisco de Sousa solicited an audience, that he might propose terms of accommodation; he was told that there needed no accommodation where there was no difference, and there was no difference between the States and Portugal, he having assured them that the King gave no encouragement to the Pernambucan rebels: but all doubts upon that subject would be at an end as soon as their armament reached Recife. The negociations at Munster were now going on, and it was in the prospect of their near treaty with Spain that the Dutch held this language. Meantime the artifices of Sousa had produced their effect; he had deceived the States so long, that when their determination was taken the winter season had set in, and time was thus gained for the Pernambucans to follow up the advantages which they had gained. But the negociations at Munster, as they emboldened the States, so they alarmed the Court of Portugal; and it was in the fear of an offensive alliance between Spain and Holland that Joam dispatched those orders to Bahia which Joam Fernandes and Vidal so bravely disobeyed. *Ericeyra, p. 588.*

CHAPTER XXII.

Attempt to assassinate Joam Fernandes. Second enterprize against Itamaraca. Recife, when in the utmost distress, relieved by a fleet from Holland. Schoppe returns to take the command, and makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Bahia. Barreto sent out to command the Portugueze. Battle of Guararapes. Recovery of Angola. Negociations with Holland. Brazil Company established. Second battle of Guararapes. Siege and capture of Recife. Negociations and final agreement with Holland.

CHAP. XXII.

1646.

Attempt to assassinate Fernandes.

The rapid series of successes after the battle of Tabocas silenced all murmurs; and those persons who at the commencement of the insurrection would willingly have returned to submission, and sacrificed Joam Fernandes as an enemy to the public tranquillity, dared not pursue their complots when they saw that he was openly supported by the Governor General. But when the insurgents were now positively disclaimed by the Portugueze Government, and the soldiers who remained to aid them were acting in direct disobedience of positive orders, the discontented again regarded Joam Fernandes as the sole mover of a war which was ruinous to their private affairs, and they renewed their schemes for terminating it by destroying him. He was repeatedly warned of his danger by letters, which stated that the intent was to shoot him, and specified the names of nine-

teen persons who were engaged in the conspiracy: at length, when these reiterated advices produced no effect, the writer went to him, and repeated what he had written, entering into circumstantial details and proofs; but his zeal was mistaken for malice against those whom he accused, and the man, who really was actuated by an ardent desire to save the champion of his country, had the mortification of seeing himself considered as a calumniator by him whom he was thus anxious to preserve. He went to Vidal with better success, and Vidal, going to Fernandes, remonstrated with him upon his inattention to so important a warning. Fernandes replied, that the accused were related to him, and bound to him by many ties; if these men sought his death, to whom could he look for protection, or what would it avail to seek it? Upon this Vidal sent for a person in whom he could confide, and who was related to one of the conspirators; told him what was come to his knowledge, represented to him the certain destruction which would overtake the guilty, should they persist in their plans, and urged him, for his own sake, seeing the infamy of such things, and the consequent ruin which would extend to all who were connected with the criminals, to talk with his kinsman, and induce him to confess the whole treason, promising secrecy, reward, and full pardon. The attempt was made; the conspirator affected astonishment at the charge, and indignation at the suspicion; and Joam Fernandes either believed, or affected to believe, that the accusation was groundless. But ere long, coming from one of his sugar-works, and as usual out-riding his body-guard, as he was passing by a thick cane-plantation, three Mamalucos, who were posted there in wait, levelled their muskets at him: two missed fire, the third shot him through the shoulder: he, with his wonted intrepidity, turned instantly to face the foe, sword in hand, but could not leap the fence; his guard came up, overtook one of the assas-

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

sins and cut him to pieces upon the spot, and set fire to the canes, hoping thus to burn his accomplices; they, however, were seen to escape by persons, who not knowing what had occurred, made no attempt to secure them. Fernandes knew the musquet of the man who was slain, having given it himself to one of the conspirators; but he took no other vengeance than that of privately informing him and his confederates that he knew their guilt, and exhorting them so to act as to deserve the mercy which he had shewed them now, in not delivering them to the indignation of the soldiers. The wound was soon healed.

Cast. Lus. 7, § 85, 90.

The Portugueze again foiled at Itamaraca.

The first enterprize which the Camp-Masters undertook after the departure of Martim Soares was against Itamaraca. There were three places where the channel which separates this island from the main were fordable at the low water of spring tides; and there the Dutch had anchored three guard-ships, for the double purpose of securing the passage against the enemy, and for themselves. The better to deceive the Dutch, Joam Fernandes celebrated the feast of S. Antonio's transit at his own chapel in the Varzea, with the greatest solemnity; vollies of musquetry were fired, and all the artillery of the Camp discharged. This done, he returned to the Camp, and set off in the middle of a dark and rainy night with Vidal and five hundred picked men. The time had been chosen because the Dutch, knowing the devotion of the Portugueze to S. Antonio, would suppose that they were wholly occupied in the ceremonies of their idolatry, or the rejoicings connected with it: the darkness suited, and even the inclemency of the weather was favourable, by rendering their movements less liable to discovery. They had sent forward two eighteen-pounders, which were planted on a platform, under cover of the mangoes, at Porto dos Marcos, where one of the guard-ships was stationed.

June 13.

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

Two boats also had been provided, and some rafts hastily made of no better materials than the palankeen poles of the women of Garassu. Twelve men embarked in each boat, and the rafts followed them; they approached the guard-ship with muffled oars, but they were descried and hailed; the men on watch being answered that they were friends, bade them keep out: they pushed for the ship, thereby showing themselves to be enemies; the Dutch then fired, and with one shot sunk the foremost boat; the men were picked up by the rafts. The second boat got safely on the other side of the vessel, and four of the Portugueze, with their commander Francisco Martins Cachadas, boarded her: the boat was carried away by the current before their comrades could follow them, and these five unsupported men, demeaning themselves as their desperate situation required, won the ship. As soon as it was day the Portugueze prepared with their prize to attack the second guard-ship, at the ford called Tapessuma; but the Dutch, seeing them approach, set it on fire, and the third vessel at the ford of Entre dous Rios was abandoned also. Joam Fernandes now gave orders to erect a fort upon the Praya dos Marcos, where his battery was planted; and leaving Cardozo to complete the projected operations, returned with the greater part of the troops to the Camp, for what remained was not to be effected by force. Some of the gunners at Fort Orange had been bribed to give information where the place might most advantageously be attacked, and to leave the guns on that side unshotted. The correspondence was discovered; but the Dutch abandoned all their other posts to retire into the fort. Cardozo therefore laid the island waste, and carried off eighteen pieces of artillery. Here also a party of Tapuyas forsook the Dutch and joined him, persuaded perhaps by the women whom Martim Soares had sent back. *Cast. Lus. 7. § 75—9. Nieuhoff, 109.*

The Dutch remove their Indians.

The desertion of the natives would have been general at this

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

time had it not been for the memory of the cruel wrongs which they had endured from the Portugueze: except this feeling toward the common enemy, there was nothing to bind them to the Dutch, who were themselves the most inhuman of masters, and whose cause was now manifestly sinking. The invaders were so reduced in numbers that they could not attempt to relieve Itamaraca; more than two hundred men could not be spared from the city without exposing it to imminent danger, and that number would have been insufficient. There were also only two barks in the harbour, so that they could neither have transported their men, nor have cut off the communication of the Portugueze with the mainland. But few as the troops were, they were more than could now be supplied with food. A little before this time Bullestraet had been sent to the island, to see if by any means he could lessen the consumption there, and provide supplies for the seat of government. For effecting the desired retrenchment, he proposed to give the natives money instead of meal, and to supply them with fishing-nets; forgetting that they could already have recourse to the sea, and that savages of all men would regard money as worth nothing more than what could be obtained in exchange for it, to satisfy their immediate wants. The commissioner was of course obliged to try more effectual means. Twelve hundred natives, the greater part being women and children, whose husbands and fathers had fallen in the war, were shipt off for the Potengi a little before the attack upon the island. A pound of salt-fish for each person, without bread of any kind, was the sole provision for their voyage; they were almost reduced to skeletons when they arrived, and this transportation removed the distress rather than alleviated it. These poor people had embarked unwillingly, fearing that the Dutch were about to expose or abandon them. An act of treachery in the province to which they were

Jacob Rabbi murdered.

bound had excited a deep feeling of indignation and distrust among their countrymen. Jacob Rabbi, the German savage, who had made himself conspicuous by the zeal which he had displayed for the Dutch, and the massacres which he had committed, was murdered by the instigation of Garsman, a Dutch colonel, on his return from a house where they had past the evening together. Duwy, the Tapuya chieftain, was greatly exasperated at this murder; and his resentment cost the Council at Recife a peace-offering of two hundred gilders in money, a thousand ells of Osnaburgh linen, a hundred gallons of Spanish wine, two casks of brandy, forty gallons of oil, and a barrel of powdered beef. The importance of his friendship is shown by the price which was paid for it in a season of scarcity; and the Council, not assenting to the reasons which Garsman offered in justification of his conduct, ordered him into custody. CHAP. XXII. 1646. Nieuhoff, 103—7.

Itamaraca had been relieved by the removal of these natives; but that island was now laid waste; the garrison had no other resources than what the scanty magazines of Fort Orange contained, and the works which the Portugueze had erected on the opposite shore prevented them from marauding upon the mainland. In Recife the distress was more severely felt: the city was searched for food, and all that could be found was seized for the common stock, a single pound per week being the allowance of bread for soldiers and inhabitants alike. Ere long this miserable pittance was withheld from the inhabitants, that it might be doubled for the garrison, who in their hunger were now beginning to listen to the offers of the enemy. Cats and dogs, which are stated to have been very numerous when the blockade began, were now all consumed; rats had been hunted with such perseverance that the race appeared to be exterminated in Recife; the horses also had all been eaten, and the negroes dug up the rotten bones of such as had been buried, and *Famine in Recife.*

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

gnawed them with miserable avidity. Slaves of course suffered even more than their masters; their faces and bodies were as of living skeletons; their legs swelled, and many died of inanition. No courage, no cunning, no enterprize could relieve them: to venture beyond the protection of the works in search of food was almost certain death. Henrique Diaz and his Negroes occupied the nearest station, and carried on the war with the vindictive and unweariable spirit of savages. Wading through mud and water till they were girdle-deep, they hid themselves among the mangoes, so near the walls that none could stir without being perceived: they gave no quarter; and it was long before the Camp-Masters and their own leader could suppress a ferocious custom which they had established, of carrying about the heads of the Dutchmen from house to house, as religious mendicants go with a saint in a glass case, and extorting money as a remuneration for the spectacle.

Nieuhoff, p. 108. Cast. Lus. 9, § 50.

The city relieved by a fleet from Holland.

Month after month had elapsed since the danger of the city and the pressing necessities of the Council had been known to the Home-Council, and still no reinforcements arrived. It is said that a capitulation would have been proposed if the Jews had not used all their influence and entreaties to induce the Governors to hold out. Their condition was desperate; and they had rightly resolved rather to die sword in hand than surrender themselves to the discretion of a people whom superstition rendered merciless toward them. In this hopeless state of things it was proposed in the Council that they should sally, and break their way through the blockade, or perish at once in the attempt: the soldiers were to lead the van, the women, children, and invalids to keep in the middle, and the Members of the Council and the armed inhabitants bring up the rear. That such a proposal was seriously made cannot be doubted, for it is affirmed by Nieuhoff, who was in the city at the time, and who

was perfectly informed of all the measures and councils of the government: it proves that they were reduced to despair, and almost to madness ... for whither were they to go, or what could they propose to themselves from breaking their way through the blockade, into the midst of a country possessed by a superior and inexorable enemy? There was only rood enough in the city for the allowance of two days more, when two ships with Dutch colours were seen making all sail toward the port: they cast anchor, and by saluting with three guns gave the welcome signal that they were from Holland. "You might have read in all our faces," says Nieuhoff, "the sudden joy we conceived at this relief in our last extremity." Crowds who could scarcely stand crawled to the shore, that they might gaze upon the vessels which brought them life and deliverance; and they were heard, not shouting, but weeping for joy. A golden medal was given to each of the Captains, with this inscription: "The Falcon and Elizabeth relieved Recife." They brought news that a convoy with powerful reinforcements might hourly be expected. Salutes were fired from all the forts, and repeated vollies of musquetry; and at night the same demonstrations of joy were renewed. Like demonstrations were made from the Camp, but from a different cause. It was the festival of St. John the Baptist, which Joam Fernandes was celebrating with peculiar solemnities, because the King's name was John, because his own name was the same, and because he had chosen St. John the Baptist to be his patron in this enterprize for the deliverance of Pernambuco; and lastly, because of the miraculous invention of the image of this very saint upon the shore at Tamandare. For these manifold reasons he confessed and communicated on that day, and feasted all his officers, while the forts of the Camp fired salutes in honour of the Patron Saint. But the rejoicings in the city marred the mirth of the feast, for

June 22.

Nieuhoff, p. 109. Val. Luc. p. 351.

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

Joam Fernandes apprehended but too rightly the cause, and saw that his own hopes, which had been on the very point of fulfilment, would now be indefinitely delayed.

Negociations between Portugal and the States.

Francisco de Sousa had exerted all the resources of the most subtle and unscrupulous diplomatic art to delay this armament. He had been bred up in the belief that the end justifies the means, and upon that opinion he acted resolutely. In his own age he was thought worthy of the highest applause, and this reflection in ours may mitigate the condemnation which his conduct deserves. Respecting Brazil he had formed a right judgment, both as to the possibility and importance of recovering the ceded provinces. But the Court of Lisbon was irresolute; and such was the perilous state of Portugal, contending at that time against Castille, with no other support than the deceitful friendship of France, that some of her ablest statesmen thought it better to abandon the Pernambucans, and submit to the loss of half Brazil, than risk the whole, and even the throne of Braganza, by provoking open hostilities from Holland, to whom it was said Brazil had been offered by the Catholic King, on condition that the Dutch would assist him against Portugal. This danger was strongly prest upon the King by some of his counsellors: he listened unwillingly, and hesitated between fear and better feelings. On the one hand, as a Portugueze and a Catholic, he sympathized with the Pernambucans in their patriotism and in their devotion to the Romish faith; while as a King he could not but feel that their generous and unshaken loyalty demanded and deserved correspondent exertions on his part: but he was seated upon the insecure throne of a weak and exhausted country, and had nothing but the spirit and affection of the people to support him; these might suffice for the defence of Portugal, ... for remoter operations they were neither sufficient nor disposable. There are cases in which the

best policy is that which gains time; and in the present emergence irresolution did as much for Joam as the soundest prudence could have proposed; for neither daring openly to provoke Holland, nor resolving utterly to desert those who were adventuring every thing for his sake, he left the Governor at Bahia and the minister at the Hague to act as circumstances might induce them, trusting to time and chance, where counsel served only to perplex him. CHAP. XXII. 1646.

Artifice of the Portuguese ambassador.

Few men could so well have been trusted under such circumstances as Francisco de Sousa. But he had to deal with experienced statesmen, who, though they carried the characteristic slowness of their nation into their transactions, saw clearly that the Portugueze minister had been temporizing with them; and they now called upon him to give a full and explicit account of the intentions of his court, and that so speedily, that if their armament should be required in Brazil, it might not be delayed another season. In reply, he presented a note, stating that he had orders from his Government to treat with them respecting the affairs of Pernambuco, and affecting on his part to be as desirous of haste as they really were. He requested that he might be admitted to a conference in time to save them the expence of an armament, which he averred, from the nature of his instructions, would certainly not be needed. The Dutch refused to listen, saying that he only sought again to delay their preparations. Francisco de Sousa then offered to communicate his instructions, and having some blank papers with the royal signature, he filled up one of them to suit the emergency. The States, however capable of duplicity themselves, did not suspect the possibility of so audacious an artifice; they fell into the snare, and suspended the preparations. The ambassador informed his own court of what he had done, and begged that the King, in recompence for his services, would order him to be

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

arrested, and cut off his head if necessary to appease the States, justly offended as they would needs be when they should discover how he had deceived them. Fortunately for him, the King was at this time inclining to timid counsels; he assured the States, that the insurgents in Pernambuco disregarded his authority as much as theirs; that he had ordered them peremptorily to return to their obedience, and that those orders had been disobeyed. Things being thus, he said, the States were justified in carrying on war against them; but surely this was no reason why they should engage in hostilities with him, who in all points to which his power had extended had faithfully performed the part of an ally. This language extricated the ambassador from the difficulty in which he had so daringly placed himself; for by not disowning his conduct, it threw the whole fault on the pertinacity of the Pernambucans. The States suspected the fact, but made no complaint. Joam secretly approved of what the ambassador had done, and highly esteemed him for it: but it was thought neither decent nor right to express any approbation, nor to confer upon him any reward; for however great the advantage which had arisen, even the casuists of the Portugueze Council felt that it had been procured by direct and deliberate falsehood.

Ericeyra, 1, 638.

Schoppe returns to Brâzil as Commander in Chief.

The armament which should have sailed in the summer of 1645 was thus delayed till November; the frost setting in prematurely, locked it up in Flushing Roads till February, and then by a series of untoward chances it was not less than six months upon the passage. It took out five new Members of the Great Council, to relieve the old ones, and six thousand troops, besides seamen and volunteers. Schoppe returned in this fleet as Commander in Chief. He came with the confidence which past successes had given him, expecting to find as little concert and as little ability in the Pernambucans as he had formerly encountered; and he expressed this opinion in a manner which seemed

to reflect injuriously upon the conduct of the garrison. Most of the officers heard him in silence, contenting themselves with the belief that the first skirmish would correct his judgement, and perhaps half disposed, in the resentment of offended honour, to wish that it might be thus corrected. One of them, however, observed that the General did not appear to consider the difference which time had produced; . . . the very men who had formerly fled at hearing his name, would now attack him sword in hand. Schoppe happened at this time to call for a cup of water; they brought him such as was to be had in Recife. As soon as he had tasted it he put away the brackish draught, and said he would give them better water by enabling them to fetch it from whence they pleased. CHAP. XXII. 1646. *Nieuhoff, p. 110. Cast. Lus. 8, § 3. Aug. 2.*

Accordingly his first attempt was to regain possession of Olinda, which would have given him water, and laid the country open, access on every other side being defended by the different works of the besiegers. One of those affairs ensued in which the game of war is played upon a small scale with consummate skill: movement was met by counter-movement; each party divined the intentions of the other at every step; reinforcements came to both just when and where they were wanted; and few lives were lost on either side: but Schoppe was defeated in his object, and retired into the city with a wound in his leg. This day's experience made him acknowledge that the character of the enemy was greatly changed since he had last engaged them; and with a mixture of soldierly respect for their courage, and of national pride, he observed, that he never should have thought the Dutch cheese and butter with which he had bred up the lads of Pernambuco would have made them stout and hardy enough to face their old masters. He found also that the men who were now opposed to him were politic as well as brave. The Portugueze rightly imagined that Schoppe would avail *The Portugueze evacuate Paraiba.*

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

himself of all the advantages which the sea afforded him, and bring his force to bear upon their remotest and weakest points. To lessen, therefore, an evil which they could not prevent, they recalled Camaram from Paraiba, and gave orders that all the inhabitants who had not yet withdrawn from that Captaincy, or from Goyana and its dependencies, should remove now under protection of the troops. The moveable property which they could not carry away they concealed in the woods; and great part of what they attempted to remove they were fain to hide upon the way, for many of the slaves took advantage of this opportunity for recovering the freedom of which they had been robbed, and abandoned their owners in the wilderness. The emigrants were convoyed as far as Garassu, which was to be the frontier of the Portugueze on that side; part remained there under protection of the garrison, and contributing themselves to the defence; others found quarters in the Varzea; the remainder past on to the country about Nazareth. There was land enough for all, and as they carried with them habits of industry, and necessity quickened their exertions, all were so easily and speedily provided for, that the Benedictine historian of the war is disposed to represent it as a miracle.

Cast. Lus. 8, § 4—8.

The Dutch propose to give no quarter.

Joam Fernandes addressed at this time a letter to the Dutch, well showing [1] the determination with which he and his country-

[1] "The success," said he, "which we have met with is ample proof that God has been pleased to inflict upon our enemies the punishment of this war for the many outrages committed against this country. You are not ignorant of our strength, which far exceeds yours; and by quitting Paraiba and Goyana we are considerably increased in number, the inhabitants chusing rather to lose their possessions than to endure the indignities which were offered them. This has been the true cause of the insurrection, and not, as has falsely been asserted, because they were unable to satisfy their creditors; for they have abandoned

men had begun the insurrection, and the spirit which would CHAP. XXII. 1646.

more than would have discharged their debts. And if it should so happen that they be not able to maintain themselves, they are resolved to lay all the other Captaincies desolate in the same manner. Beside the Negroes and Tapuyas dispersed from the Potengi to the River S. Francisco, we are at least 14,000 strong: Camaram commands 600 musketeers, Henrique Diaz 800 Negroes, 200 Minas, and 700 Tapuyas: the Tapuyas of the interior are at our disposal whenever we chuse to summon them, and above all, we have God on our side. Your strength did not exceed 600 men before the coming of Schoppe; the succours which he has brought do not amount to above 1200 men, mostly boys; the rest are either sick or dead. I am well acquainted with your numbers, having killed and taken about 2600 of your best soldiers, and 500 Brazilians, besides the wounded who were carried into Recife, and this when our troops had no better arms than pointed sticks and clubs. These are blessings from heaven, and if we could do this without powder and ball, what may we not perform now when we are strengthened with good troops, and provided with sufficient arms and ammunition? Had it not been for respect to the Colonels sent from Bahia, and to the King of Portugal, I had ere this been master of Recife. But if matters are not brought to that happy issue, I will act desperately, and leave neither sugar-works, nor cattle, nor negroes in the country, rather than we will submit to your obedience. Col. Sigismundus Van Schoppe thinks to keep the field against me, as he did formerly; he is grievously mistaken! the inhabitants will not be on his side;...if I heard of one that was I would have him hanged immediately. When were any conquered people ever treated as we were, worse than the vilest slaves? Had we not waited for this opportunity, we should long before have implored help from the King of Spain or of France; or if they had failed us, have had recourse to the Turks and Moors. Let this communication serve as a warning to you; it contains the plain truth: consider what is most for your interest, in which I am ready to serve you; for though your Governors do not direct their letters to me, it is I who have the chief management of this war, the power of the Colonels from Bahia extending no farther than over the troops they brought with them. Be not deceived, for Brazil is not allotted to you. We doubt not but that God will bless our arms: if we fall we shall lose our lives in defence of our holy religion and liberty; and they who refuse to accept our offers will pay for their obstinacy with the loss of their lives, possessions, and debts." *Nieuhoff*, *p.* 112.

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

bear them through it, though it exaggerated his own force, and undervalued that of the enemy. He scattered papers also, offering a general pardon and a composition of debts, if the Dutch would evacuate Brazil; but the enemy were still too powerful and too proud for this, and being elated by their reinforcements, they on their part sent forth proclamations of pardon to the rebels. When this was found ineffectual, Van Goch, one of the new Council, proposed that no quarter should be given for the future: to this it was objected, that in fact quarter was very seldom given at present; but that if they were openly to declare that the war was to be carried on upon this principle, such of the inhabitants as had hitherto remained quiet might be expected to take arms, and join their countrymen. Nothing, indeed, was needed to exasperate the passionate enmity with which both parties were possessed, owing not only to the cause, but to the nature and character of the war; for where the numbers engaged were so few, and the leaders personally known to each other, each felt himself individually concerned, and their exertions and animosity were stimulated by personal emulation and asperity and hatred.

Nieuhoff, p. 114.

Hinderson sent to the R. S. Francisco.

Schoppe, as the Portugueze leaders had foreseen, made a descent upon the northern Captaincies. He found neither enemy nor plunder; but though the patriots upon this emigration had set fire to the sugar-canes and mandioc plantations, they had not been consumed, owing to the rains, and the Dutch, taking possession of the deserted country, began to raise produce there for Recife. Disappointed in his immediate object, and having considerably diminished his forces, and not a little dispirited them, by many attempts upon the Portugueze positions, he concerted bolder plans, which promised better success. Hinderson was sent with a considerable force to the river S. Francisco, for the double purpose of cutting off the supplies

which the Pernambucans drew from those parts, and of collecting stores there for a more important expedition. His first success was easy; the Portugueze were leisurely demolishing Fort Mauritz, and being unprepared for defence, fled across the river, where the Camp-Master Francisco Rebello was stationed by the Governor General, to protect the Captaincy of Bahia. As the country here abounded with fresh provisions, Nieuhoff was sent from Recife as Commissary, and that faithful traveller, who has preserved for us so much information respecting this portion of history, had nearly lost his life in the river. One evening as he was returning on board, the boat was whirled down by the current and overset; and good swimmer as he was, he could not have escaped if he had not providentially caught hold of a cable which was thrown out to him. Lichthart, who had made his name formidable to the Portugueze, died here suddenly, in consequence of drinking cold water when he was much heated. The Dutch soon also suffered a heavy loss of men: five companies being sent to Orambou, Rebello drew them into an ambush, and cut off an hundred and fifty; but the Pernambucans complained that in the disposal of the booty which he recovered from them he regarded pride more than compassion, for he sent the cattle to Bahia to display the fruit of his victory, instead of remembering that food was wanting in the camp before Recife. *Cast. Lus. 8, § 16. Nieuhoff, p. 114.*

Schoppe sails for the Reconcave, 1647.

The greater part of the enemy's naval force had been sent upon this expedition; Schoppe meantime fitted out the rest so secretly as to excite no suspicion in the Portugueze, and set sail early in the year, with the flower of his army. He made for the S. Francisco. Hinderson came out to join him, and the combined force proceeded to Bahia, landed upon the island of Itaparica, opposite the city, and immediately established themselves in a commanding and strong position, which they fortified with four redoubts the ships protecting it on the side of the

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

water. So bold a diversion confused the Governor General; his first thought was to secure the city, by throwing up works to oppose the Dutch on their approach; but while the Portugueze were thus misemployed, the invaders pillaged and laid waste the Reconcave. The first measure had been too timid; the second was too rash: Antonio Telles, while throwing up his useless works, had given the enemy time to complete theirs; and then he determined to attack them in their fortified position. Francisco Rebello endeavoured to dissuade him, and his judgement, because of his experience and known intrepidity, seemed to have great weight with the other officers who were summoned to the Council. The Governor, who upon this point was so opinionated that he became angry with those who differed from him, fixed his eye upon Rebello, and said, if there were any man in that Council who wished to find reasons for avoiding the dangers of the assault, he might stay at home in perfect safety. If the attempt failed the Governor alone would be responsible; if it succeeded the benefit would accrue to all:.. and he promised a reward for Schoppe's head. Rebello was a man of diminutive stature, so that he was usually called the Rebellinho, but of a most undaunted spirit; he replied, that it was not for one like him, who had so often beaten the Dutch, to stand in fear of them now; but his Excellency would do well to consider whether it were better for the State to acquire advantage without loss, or to sacrifice lives without advantage. But for himself, since his zeal and his experience were vilified as cowardice, he would let it be seen that he knew as well how to die as to deliver a just opinion. The attempt accordingly was made by twelve hundred men, with desperate intrepidity, and dreadful loss, till Rebello received a ball in his breast, and fell: his wounded spirit alone had made them thus long persist in what was manifestly hopeless, such was the strength of the works and

and is attacked by the Portugueze with fatal imprudence.

the position; and upon his death they immediately retired. Above six hundred men were killed in this ill-judged attempt; and in such attempts it is always the bravest who fall: it was the heaviest loss which the Portugueze sustained during the whole of their long contest.

Cast. Lus. 8, § 23—9. Rocha Pitta, 5, § 70—9.

Proceedings at the Camp.

But Schoppe had engaged in an enterprize beyond his strength. Had he suddenly attacked the city, it might probably, as on a former occasion, have easily been won: but the Dutch had learnt by dear experience, that it was easier to take places in Brazil than to keep them when taken; and as a diversion in favour of Recife, little more was to be effected than what the occupancy of the River S. Francisco had already produced. That measure materially distressed the Camp in the Varzea. Joam Fernandes brought the whole of his cattle from all his plantations to the slaughter, and distributed them in rations, the weight of which, says his historian, was regulated more by the necessity of the season than by ordinary usage. The other inhabitants followed his example, and the readiness with which the sacrifice was made prevented all murmurs, though it alleviated the distress only for a time. They looked to the sea also for a resource; fishermen were ordered regularly to go out in those places where they could be protected by the Portugueze fortresses, and the troops were supplied with what was thus taken, while Vidal went to collect provisions in Paraiba, and lay waste the sugar-plantations which the Dutch were raising there. He returned with three hundred head of cattle, and two hundred prisoners, who were mostly runaway slaves. Another expedition to the Potengi and to Seara Morin, a district far to the north of that river, proved more productive, and he brought back to the Camp seven hundred cattle. The Dutch endeavoured to profit by his absence, and made repeated attacks upon the besiegers. They were too weak for any decisive blow;

CHAP. XXII. 1646.

but they kept the Portugueze day and night upon the alarm. The blockading stations formed a circle of not less than six leagues; and where men were kept together by no other law than that of their own free will, many, as might be expected, requested leave of absence, or absented themselves without that formality, from a lengthened and exhausting service.

The Portugueze cannonade Recife.

Besides that confidence which the Portugueze derived from a just sense of the goodness of their cause, and an entire faith in their superstition, they were supported by the hope of effectual assistance from Portugal. Upon the arrival of the enemy's reinforcements the Camp-Masters sent Fr. Manoel do Salvador to Lisbon, to represent how nearly they had attained their great object; they fully believed that an armament was at this time preparing in the Tagus to cooperate with them, and the Dutch had the same persuasion: the Dutch believed it because they feared it, and knew how vulnerable they were; the Pernambucans thought that as they did their duty toward their natural government, it was not possible that that Government should refuse to perform its duty toward them. So strongly were Joam Fernandes and Vidal possessed with this opinion, that they concerted in what manner joint operations might best be carried on, when the fleet should arrive to make its attack by sea; and they determined to erect a land-battery in readiness. There was a sort of island, or sand-bank, called the Seca, near Mauritias; the Capivaribi was about musquet-shot wide between this place and the northern bank, and here the river at low-water was only knee-deep; the Dutch, therefore, had built a fort here, because if the besiegers were in possession of this spot, both Mauritias and Recife would be exposed to their guns. The Camp-Masters discovered a spot from whence this bulwark and the city were both commanded, and here they resolved to erect a battery. Having collected all the materials, they left Joam Soares de Al-

buquerque in charge of the Camp, and repaired to the station of Henrique Diaz, for the purpose of directing the work. The chosen spot was covered with brushwood, which concealed their operations. The Leaders set the example of working with the spade at the foundations; and this so excited both officers and men, that when the inhabitants offered slaves for the labour, the offer was refused: this was, perhaps, as much a point of prudence as of honour, secrecy being essential to the success of the undertaking. It was carried on with the most perfect silence; and when the building began to appear above the thicket they worked only by night, and covered the walls at day-break with green boughs. The Dutch had some intimation of what was going on, but no information on which they could depend; nor had they force enough in Recife to ascertain the fact in a sally, which might destroy, or at least impede, the works; for the approaches were well protected by cannon. The battery was at length completed, with a deep trench supplied from the river, and defended by all the means of art within the knowledge and power of the besiegers: the woods in front were then felled, and a fire was opened, the effect of which is described even as more dreadful by the Dutch than by the Portugueze historian. Most of the inhabitants hid themselves in vaults, for Nieuhoff says the consternation which it caused is not to be expressed; and the scenes of horror which he witnessed, and in which he narrowly escaped, justify the fear of those who were not called upon by duty to expose themselves. As he went the rounds, two men with whom he was conversing were killed by a cannon-shot, and a third, in the act of lighting his pipe, had both his hands shot off. A niece of Lichthart was paying a marriage-visit to one of her friends, near Nieuhoff's house; a dreadful scream from their apartment drew him to their assistance; the bride was lying dead, and the guest, both whose legs had been carried off, catch-

CHAP. XXII. 1647. October.

CHAP. XXII. 1647.

ing his knees, clung there with such a force of agony, that with all his strength he could scarcely pull her from her hold. This faithful writer lived in an age when the feelings of humanity were possessed by few, and there were none who pretended to them; he was familiarized not merely to the ordinary events of war, but to cruelties which harden the heart; yet these horrors came so close, and affected him so deeply, that he thought proper to record them: nor ought such things, incidental and undecisive as they are, to be always left unnoticed in history. A true sense of the evils of war can never be impressed too strongly upon mankind: woe be to those through whose guilt they are inflicted,.. and woe be to those also who shrink from enduring them when duty requires the sacrifice.

Cast. Lus. 8. § 36. Nieuhoff, p. 118.

Schoppe recalled from Bahia.

The harbour, as well as the streets, was commanded, and the Dutch were compelled to remove all their ships. By day the Portugueze continued the cannonade, and by night they harassed them with repeated assaults, in one of which they stormed and sacked Nassau's palace. The besieged had no resource but to recal Schoppe to their assistance. He on his part found his situation at Itaparica daily becoming more unpromising. The invincible patience of the Portugueze was now fully understood, and might well dishearten him: it was apparent that the individuals of the nation were prepared for every sacrifice and every endurance, and that their efforts more than counterbalanced the remissness of their government. When application was made from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro for succours, the Provincial of the Jesuits wrote to the College in that city, and that indefatigable order sent a ship with supplies. Aid also was now confidently expected from Portugal, for after this attack upon the Reconcave both parties naturally supposed that all farther temporizing would be useless. Schoppe summoned Hinderson to his assistance from the S. Francisco, whither he had returned;

Nieuhoff, 119. Cast. Lus. 8, § 38.

Vasc. Vida de Almeida, Vl. 5, § 5—6.

but even when thus strengthened he was not able to act with effect, and his recal came in time to save him from the reproach of a retreat, or perhaps from destruction. A week after his departure, the Count de Villa Pouca, Antonio Telles de Menezes, arrived as Governor General, bringing out reinforcements in twelve ships, five of which were destined to act against Angola. The Dutch squadron having landed Schoppe at Recife, returned to infest the Reconcave. The Portugueze fleet was ordered out to give them battle; three ships got under weigh, and made for the enemy, .. but the commander, finding in indiscipline an excuse for imbecility or cowardice, did not come out to support them. One was burnt, and D. Affonso de Noronha, second son of the Conde de Linhares, perished in her; .. a youth of high promise, who had given proof of his patriotism by coming from Madrid to take part in the deliverance of his country. The second ship was taken; the third put back, without having been engaged: and the heroic courage which was displayed by those who did their duty did not cover the disgrace which their more numerous comrades that day brought upon the Portugueze navy.

Misconduct of the Portugueze fleet.

Ericeyra. l. 646.

The danger to which Bahia had been exposed was foreseen, and the King of Portugal forewarned of it by Antonio Vieyra the Jesuit, a man extraordinary, not in eloquence alone, but in all things. Te Deum had been sung in the Royal Chapel at Lisbon for the capture of Dunkirk by the French, and the ministers and chief persons about the court kissed hands upon the good news in their gala suits. When this ceremony was over Vieyra told the King that he came to offer his condolence upon the occasion. The King asked him wherefore: Because, he replied, the Dutch till now have been obliged to keep a squadron off Dunkirk to secure the passage of the channel for their ships: being in alliance with France, this is no longer

Money raised for Brazil by Vieyra the Jesuit.

CHAP XXII. 1647.

necessary; the force which is thus rendered disposable will be directed against us, and Schoppe will be enabled to do what he threatened in the time of Diogo Luiz de Oliveira,... that is, make himself master of every thing without the expence of a drop of blood, merely by cutting off all supplies with his fleet. But Vieyra, in pointing out the danger, was at no loss for a remedy. A Dutchman in Amsterdam, he said, had offered to contract for fifteen thirty-gun ships, and deliver them at Lisbon by the ensuing March, at 20,000 cruzados each. An unusually rich fleet had just arrived from Brazil, bringing not less than 40,000 casks of sugar, which had been bought cheap, and was selling dear; an impost of a testoon or of six vintems the *arroba* upon this sugar would raise the whole sum required. The King desired him to state this proposal upon paper; and after a few days he told Vieyra that it had been laid before his ministers, and their reply was, that the business was very crude. Some months afterwards the King sent for Vieyra at an early hour from Carcavelos, where he was recovering from an illness, to Alcantara. "You are a prophet," said he: "News arrived from Bahia last night that Schoppe has fortified himself in Itaparica: what shall we do?" Vieyra replied, "The remedy is very easy. Your ministers said my project was crude; since they found it crude then, let them cook it now." A Council was held, and Vieyra, by the King's desire, waited on him the next day to know the result. They had all agreed upon the necessity of relieving Bahia; but it would require 300,000 cruzados, and they knew no means of raising that sum. When Joam had told him this, the Jesuit indignantly exclaimed, "A King of Portugal is told by his ministers that there are no means of raising 300,000 cruzados, to succour Brazil, which is all that we have left! I in this patched frock here trust in God that this very day I shall provide your Majesty with the whole

sum!" Immediately he hastened to Lisbon, and wrote to a merchant whom he had formerly known in Bahia, saying, the King wanted a loan to that amount, which would be repaid by a tax upon sugar. In two hours this Duarte da Sylva and another merchant promised the money. Vieyra accordingly took them to the King, and the business was managed so that the ministers had the whole credit to themselves.

Cartas de Vieyra, T. 2, C. 118.

The Portugueze minister in Holland, insincere as he himself was in transactions with the States, was fully persuaded at this time that they dealt sincerely with him, and that peace would soon be concluded. Important negociations were going on with France; the ambassadors at Paris and at the Hague differed materially in their dispatches, and the King had reason to suspect that each represented affairs more according to the wishes of his court than to the real state of things, . . . a perilous mode of flattery in times so arduous. He resolved, therefore, without imparting his design to any of his ministers, to send to both courts a man on whose judgement and perfect sincerity he could implicitly rely. Vieyra was the person. The pretext for his journey was a mission to accompany Dom Luiz de Portugal (the grandson of the Prior D. Antonio) to the Conferences at Munster: but it was arranged that he should arrive too late, and that the Jesuit should then employ himself wholly on this secret business, and return as soon as possible to make his verbal report to the King. Vieyra soon discovered that the Dutch entertained the greatest hopes from Schoppe's expedition to Bahia, and that however earnestly they might affect to negociate, no treaty would be concluded till the result of that attempt was known. He saw also that the contest was becoming unpopular in Holland. The convoy for Recife was twice compelled to put back by storms, having lost several ships, and the men dying fast by disease; so that a notion began to prevail,

Vieyra is sent to Holland.

Vieyra Cartas, T. 2, C. 118, T. 1, C. 3.

CHAP. XXII. 1647.

that Providence did not favour their designs upon Brazil. His advice therefore was, to hasten the equipment of the fleet, and cut off supplies from the enemy.

Barreto sent out to take the command in Pernambuco.

But this exertion on the part of Portugal was so long delayed that Schoppe had time to do all the mischief in his power. His recal enabled the Dutch to resume the offensive at Recife, and they in their turn began to annoy the besiegers from a mortar-battery; but their engineer was killed; one who was brought from Paraiba to succeed him was deficient in skill; and on the other hand, the Pernambucans could not continue their destructive cannonade for want of powder. Ceasing their efforts here, they directed them against distant parts, and the country about the Potengi was again laid waste by Diaz, with his usual success and his usual inhumanity; "the fire," says the Benedictine historian, "consuming whatever had value, the sword whatever had life." The ravagers themselves were shocked, after storming a fortified post in the night, at discovering in the morning, that not men alone, but women and children of their own colour had been slaughtered in their undistinguishing ferocity. Incursions of this kind occupied the ruffian part of the insurgents, to whom war was at once a profession and a pastime, and kept up the spirit of the army. The arrival of a fleet at Bahia, which brought no succours for Pernambuco, might have disgusted men whose principle of loyalty was less faithful, and have discouraged minds less resolute. Never had eyes been turned more longingly toward the sea than those of the Portugueze, expecting every hour to see the sails appear which were to bring them victory, and the reward of their long labours. When they were undeceived, they extracted from the bitter disappointment a proud and generous consolation: the work then, they said, would be wholly their own, and the merit and the fame would be also theirs exclusively. They had not, how-

Cast. Lus. 8, § 40—3.

Cast. Lus. 8. § 41.

ever, been so entirely neglected as they supposed; for Francisco Barreto de Menezes had been sent out, with the rank of Camp-Master-General, to take the command in Pernambuco, bringing with him three hundred men, arms and ammunition, in two small vessels. Small as this escort was, it ought not to have been risked without some naval force to escort it; and it was an act of worse imprudence to supersede such men as Vidal and Joam Fernandes, in a command for which they were far better qualified than the best European soldier possibly could be. The Dutch obtained information of his sailing, and intercepted the ships off Paraiba, where, after some unavailing resistance, both vessels were taken, and Barreto was carried prisoner into Recife. After remaining nine months, he escaped by the help of Franciscus de Bra, son of the officer to whom he was given in charge: the young villain ran away from his parents, turned traitor to his country, and renounced his religion. The Portugueze rewarded him, as policy required; but it is a curious indication how low their sense of honour had fallen, or how completely bigotry had perverted it, that they should have conferred upon such a subject the Order of Christ!

His capture and escape.

Cast. Lus. 8. § 45. Ericeyra. p. 667. Rocha Pitta, 5, § 86.

To men less disinterested, or of less devoted patriotism than Joam Fernandes and Vidal, Barreto, under such circumstances, would have been no welcome visitor. But the undissembled joy, the frankness and the respect with which they received him, produced the best effect upon a generous mind, and perfect confidence was established between them; so that an appointment which might so easily have proved fatal to the cause of the Portugueze in Pernambuco, displayed more fully the virtues which it put to the trial. No sooner did the Count de Villa Pouca know of Barreto's escape, than he dispatched orders to Joam Fernandes and Vidal to deliver up the command into his hands. The Pernambucans murmured loudly at this; but the

The insurgents request succours from Bahia, but in vain.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

unanimity of the three commanders, for such in reality they became, satisfied them that all was going on well. Barreto took the command in appearance, and conformed himself in every thing to the advice of the Camp-Masters. In the course of the insurrection they had overrun an hundred and eighty leagues of country, from Seara Morim to the River S. Francisco; they had taken in the different forts nearly eighty pieces of cannon, and killed and captured, according to their own account, not less than eighteen thousand persons: and when they delivered up their charge they had two months provisions for the army, twenty-four *contos* in specie, and the amount of eighteen thousand cruzados more in effects, or in sure debts. It was known at this time that fresh forces were fitting out in Holland; report said that the States furnished ships, the Company men, and the Jews money. Certain advices came from Lisbon that the expedition was against Brazil; many believed that Bahia was the point which would be attacked, but the leaders never doubted that the great object of the Dutch must be the relief of Recife, which, but for the want of ammunition on their part, would ere this have fallen. They sent Paulo da Cunha to Bahia, to represent in how critical a point the contest stood; that they had opportunity in their favour, but means of every kind were wanting. The Conde de Villa Pouca received him honourably, heard him attentively, and dismissed him with empty promises. He repaired to the Senado da Camara, and entreated the magistrates that they would use their influence with the Count, and appeal to the people also, in behalf of their Pernambucan brethren. Stores and food were abounding in Bahia, while the patriotic army was suffering severe privations for want of one, and disabled for want of the other from effecting a conquest of such unspeakable importance to Brazil and Portugal. But his application was received with silent indifference, and the brutal

insensibility of men who were equally dead to the welfare of their country and the sufferings of their countrymen, has been stigmatized by the historian of Joam Fernandes as it deserves. While Paulo da Cunha was thus vainly employed, the expected fleet arrived, and entered the port of Recife with colours flying and the joyful salutes of artillery from ships and shore. It brought out six thousand men, and the Dutch had thus once more a decided superiority of numbers.

The Dutch receive reinforcements.

Cast Lus. 8, § 46.

Once more they tried the effect of promises and proclamations. Papers were distributed offering an amnesty to all persons, Hoogstraten alone excepted, who should present themselves within ten days; but after that time neither sex nor age would be spared, for the Tapuyas and Pitagoares would then be let loose; and the Dutch protested before God and the world that the horrors which must ensue were not to be laid to their account. Joam Fernandes, who seems to have been as ready to dispute with the pen as with the sword, replied to these papers at considerable length, telling the Dutch that the time was past when Catholick simplicity had trusted in the promises of heretics, and regarded those as men who were properly designated by the church as monsters. The Portugueze, he added, were sufficient in numbers, and confident of success; nor did they require stores or ammunition, though indeed they had both in superabundance, for it was well known that they made more use of the sword than of the musquet, of iron than of lead. Camaram and Diaz also published a reply; they, they said, were too well instructed to listen to the *protestations* of *Protestants;* and the only use they should make of the Dutch proclamations would be to convert them into cartridges, and send them back with the proper answer enclosed. The leaders however perceived the necessity of contracting their limits; they called in their troops from Garassu, Pao Amarello, Juguaribe, Paratibi,

The Camp-Masters contract their operations.

Cast. Lus. 8. § 51—9.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

and Olinda, destroyed most of their stations, and confined themselves between Serinhaem and Moribeca; and they ordered all the inhabitants of the Varzea, who were capable of bearing arms, to repair to the Camp, offered a general pardon to all delinquents, and denounced severe punishment against those who in this emergency should disobey the summons. But many spirits had now yielded under the perpetual disappointment of their hopes, and upon taking a muster, the whole force was found to amount only to three thousand two hundred men; they were such men as their commanders could rely on in any difficulty: and with this force, small as it was in number, they determined to offer battle to the enemy, whenever and wherever they could meet him. The Dutch, who expected on the arrival of their last reinforcements, that the blockade must necessarily be given up, were surprized at the perseverance of the besiegers: not supposing that it could proceed from the character of the people and their leaders, they imagined that Barreto had brought them certain assurance of support, and under this apprehension they suspended their own movements.

Diminution of the Portugueze force.

But when the continued inactivity of the Portugueze made it manifest that they were not strong enough for offensive operations, the enemy resolved to take the field; and they prepared for the expedition with a public fast and prayers, which the Portugueze, as proceeding from heretics, call useless, superstitious, and diabolical. Schoppe's intention was to take possession of Moribeca, and from thence cooperate with the fleet which was to make for Nazareth. His first movement was fortunate. He attacked the Estancia da Barreta, where Bertholameu Soares Canha was stationed with a garrison of eighty men. Not aware of the numbers by which he was attacked, this officer sallied against them; more than half his men were killed, he himself was wounded and made prisoner, and the fort was taken.

Schoppe takes the field.

Meantime the Portugueze held a council of war; some were of opinion that it would be hopeless to resist so superior a force in the field; that they ought to retire to Cape St. Augustines, and then by favour of the woods weary out the enemy in protracted warfare; but the Camp-Masters protested that their cause would be ruined if they were thus to give up all the advantages they had gained; and they resolved to take post at the foot of the Guararapes, a range of hills under which the enemy must pass.

Battle of Guararapes.

The Guararapes, hitherto the most memorable scene in the military history of Brazil, are between three and four leagues south of Recife, about three leagues west of the Camp, and two leagues north west from the fort which the Dutch had just won. The skirts of this range extend to within three miles of the sea, the intervening space being flat and swampy; from thence they rise gradually to a great height, and derive their name from the roaring of their torrents. Where the range comes nearest to the sea, the only road is by a slip of firm land about a hundred paces wide, between the foot of the hills and a long swamp; a situation strikingly resembling the pass of Thermopylæ; and the entrance to this pass is between a lake which forms the swamp, and a thicket extending from the mountains. Moribeca, to which the Dutch were marching, was a league beyond, ... a small place, but of considerable importance, because of its populous neighbourhood. The Portugueze took possession of this pass, and the nature of the ground was such that the enemy could not see them as they approached. The next morning at day-break a slave arrived, who having been made prisoner at the Barreta, had escaped during the night from the Dutch camp; the centinels, hearing him in his flight, beat the alarm; in the confusion which ensued Bartholameu Soares also found means to fly: and the Camp-Masters thus obtained full information of the movements and strength of the enemy. A party

April 18.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

was sent out to skirmish with and decoy them on; and the Dutch, entering upon the pass, found the Pernambucan army ready to receive them upon ground where their numbers could be of no advantage. The Portugueze had no artillery, and little ammunition; their orders were, not to fire till every shot could take effect, and after one discharge, immediately to close, sword in hand. The battle was well contested; Vidal had two horses killed under him; and that on which Joam Fernandes rode bore away a singular mark of this memorable day, one of his ears being perforated by a musquet-ball. A Dutch soldier seized this horse by the reins, and aimed a blow at the rider, thinking, perhaps, that by that single blow the war might be concluded: Fernandes saved himself by cutting off the arm which was raised against him. The enemy were defeated, but not routed; the wreck of the army covered their retreat, and they retreated in the night, carrying off their wounded, while a tempest of rain and wind and thunder concealed their movements. The wounded were conveyed by water from the Barreta to Recife. They left twelve hundred dead upon the field, of whom an hundred and eighty were officers; Haus, who had returned to serve in Brazil, was one. Schoppe received a ball through the heel, which made him a cripple during the remainder of his life. Two pieces of artillery were taken, and the whole of the baggage, among which, it is said, there were chains for the inhabitants of the Varzea, whom the Dutch intended to carry away prisoners. The conquerors buried their dead where they fell, with such honours and ceremonies as the time and place permitted: eighty four Portugueze had fallen; somewhat more than four hundred were wounded. The loss of the Negroes and Indians is not stated. The war continued some years longer, but this victory decided the fate of Brazil. So little had it been expected by the timid government at Bahia, that the Count de Villa Pouca, believing

it impossible for the Pernambucans to resist the enemy's superior force, had ordered a detachment of five companies to the River S. Francisco to protect the fugitives. When the news arrived, and the Dutch standards, which the Camp-Masters sent as trophies, they were received with the utmost rejoicings, though these rejoicings ought to have awakened shame in the Chamber and in the Governor General, thinking how little they had contributed to the cause. In Pernambuco and all the provinces to which the war extended, the sacrament was exposed on the Sunday after the battle. *Cast. Lus. 9, § 5—40.*

The Dutch after their defeat win the Asseca battery.

Schoppe never appeared so vigorous and enterprizing at any time as now. No sooner had he reached Recife, after the severest defeat which the Dutch had yet sustained in Brazil, than he prepared to take advantage of the distance of the enemy. In the morning he entered the city, and in the evening he sent a party to occupy Olinda, where he meant to send the sick and wounded, that they might have the benefit of better air and good water. A far more important advantage was given him by the misconduct of the officer at the Asseca, that battery which had so long annoyed, and at one time so greatly endangered, Recife. A garrison had been left there, sufficient, not merely to resist a sudden assault, but to stand a siege; yet it was given up without resistance; and when the Camp-Masters, on their return to the Bom Jesus, went round to visit the stations and relieve the garrisons, they were thunderstruck at finding this, the most important of all, in the hands of the enemy. The officer's conduct was subjected to an enquiry; and the result was, that he was acquitted by his judges, but not by public opinion: indeed during the whole war not a single Portugueze was punished for misconduct, though so many and such gross instances had occurred. *Cast. Lus. 9, § 41—2. Vieyra Sermoens, T. 8, p. 395.*

Death of Camaram.

Olinda was immediately reoccupied; but the Asseca was too

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

well fortified to be taken without better means than the Portugueze at that time possessed; and the joy of the Dutch at being thus relieved from the worst horror of a siege diverted in some degree their thoughts from the defeat which they had just sustained. They had also another cause for joy, in the death of their indefatigable enemy Camaram, who died soon after the battle, .. a man of singular ability, and distinguished military talents. His Indian name was Poty, the Prawn, which the Portugueze, according to their custom, translated: Philip IV. had given him the order of Christ, the title of Dom, and the rank of Governor and Captain-General of all the Indians. He was affable to his followers, courteous with strangers, and dignified toward his superiors, so tempering his manners as to obtain equally the love and respect of all. Though he spoke Portugueze well, he always conversed with strangers and persons of rank through an interpreter, lest any defective pronunciation or impropriety of speech might seem to derogate from that dignity which it was his pride to preserve. He read and wrote well, and had some knowledge of Latin. "Well were the pains bestowed," says Fr. Manoel do Salvador, "which the Fathers of the Company and the other Religioners employed upon this Indian! every day he heard mass, and repeated the service of Our Lady; and he carried always upon his breast two images, one a Crucifix, the other of the Virgin." It is remarkable, that often as he was in action, he scarcely ever received a wound. They buried him in the Church of the Camp, with the highest funeral honours. He was succeeded in his post by his cousin D. Diogo Pinheiro Camaram, a brave man, who had obtained the Order of Santiago for his services.

Val. Luc. p. 165.

Cast. Lus. 9. § 52—3.

Schoppe lays waste the Reconcave.

The Dutch were still masters of the sea, and as soon as the fleet from Bahia had sailed for Portugal, Schoppe made a second expedition to the Bay, laid waste the Reconcave as far as

he durst venture from the shore, totally destroyed two and twenty sugar-works, and returned laden with booty. During his absence Barreto permitted the native troops to go to their own homes, where they might recover strength, and maintain themselves; .. a thing of material importance, now when the scarcity was in the Camp instead of the City: for the enemy's cruisers amply supplied Recife from the prizes which they brought in. For though the two countries were still nominally at peace, Dutch squadrons were continually cruising off the coast of Portugal, and in the latitude of the Azores, and captured all Portugueze ships. When this was complained of to the Dutch Government, it was replied that the cruisers were piratical adventurers, whom the United States did not acknowledge, and could not suppress; .. the same answer which Portugal always made respecting the Pernambucans, and with the same degree of sincerity. But south of the line there needed no dissimulation; all there was fair prize, and Recife offered a ready market, and safe means of sending either produce or remittance to Europe. Great as the evil was to Portugal, it was increased by the villany of many captains in the merchant service, who, taking up goods upon credit, and then secretly disposing of them, threw themselves in the way of the Dutch cruisers, that the loss of ship and cargo might serve as a discharge from all demands. Thus by the cruising system the Dutch were enabled to carry on the war, and the prizes which were gained in this sort of lottery made it popular.

Injury sustained by the Portuguese commerce.

Cast. Lus. 9, § 54—6.

Meantime they experienced both loss and disgrace in a quarter where they had little reason to apprehend either. Salvador Correa de Sa, a fidalgo of that family by whom the French had been expelled from Rio de Janeiro, and the city founded, projected an expedition for the recovery of Angola, and obtained the secret assent of his court. He returned, therefore, from

Expedition for the recovery of Angola.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, with the appointment of Governor there; five ships were awaiting him, in conformity to the instructions which the Conde de Villa Pouca had taken out. As soon as he landed, he convoked the magistrates and chief persons of the city, and told them he was authorized by the King to erect a fort in the Bay of Quicombo, on the Angolan coast, in order to secure a supply of Negroes for Brazil: from respect to the truce he was forbidden to make war against the Dutch: but certain it was that the King ought not to condemn him, if he could, notwithstanding the truce, recover by force those places which the Dutch, during the same truce, had by force deprived them of; and this he hoped to accomplish, if the people of Rio de Janeiro, whom it most concerned, would enable him. The proposal was well received; a donative of 55,000 *cruzados* was immediately raised, and nine hundred men enlisted: he freighted six additional ships, purchased four others at his own cost, and departed with fifteen sail, stored for six months. They reached Quicombo Bay, and anchored there. The next day there was so great a swell, without any apparent cause, that it was deemed preternatural; for boats which were fishing at the time without the bay, felt neither wind nor any unusual agitation: and during the night, it being clear moonlight, and no wind stirring, the Admiral's ship made a signal of distress, and in a moment went down; only two of her crew escaped, and thus strangely were three hundred and sixty men lost. Much as his force was weakened by this inauspicious beginning, Salvador Correa was not discouraged; he called a council, and told his officers that when the King instructed him to preserve peace with the Dutch, those instructions must have been given in the persuasion that the Dutch were contented with what they had gained, and were not attempting farther encroachments; but since his arrival he had learnt that they were

making war upon the Portugueze in the interior, and he felt it his duty to stand by his countrymen, against a people whom no treaties could bind. He was answered by a general exclamation, that they would either win Angola, or the Kingdom of Heaven in attempting it;.. they would root out the heresy which for seven years past the Dutch had been sowing in that land of true christianity. CHAP. XXII. 1648.

Salvador Correa lands and completely succeeds.

Immediately he set sail for Loanda, carrying no admiral's flag, that the enemy, seeing none, might suppose other forces were on the way to join him, which he also carefully reported. The first person whom they took informed them that a detachment of three hundred Dutch, with three thousand natives, were acting against the Portugueze at Massangano, whom they straitened so closely, that it was not possible for him to have any communication with them. This state of things, according to any interpretation of the truce, justified him in taking hostile measures; but persisting in that system of professing peace while making war, to which Portugal was induced by a sense of her weakness and of her wrongs, he sent a flag to the Governor, saying, the expedition which he commanded had been sent to erect a fort in a part of the country separated from what the Dutch possessed, for the purpose of opening and maintaining a communication with the Portugueze of the interior: but finding in what manner those Portugueze were oppressed and persecuted by the Dutch, he felt it his duty to act in their defence, though he risked his head by thus disobeying his orders. There could be no better opportunity; he knew the garrison were so weakened that they could not defend themselves, and therefore required them to spare all needless bloodshed by surrendering upon favourable terms. The Dutch were startled by this bold language, and demanded eight days to consider how they should act: he allowed them two, and instructed his messengers on

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

their return, at the expiration of that term, to keep the white flag flying if the enemy should have agreed to surrender, otherwise to hoist a red one, that not a moment might be lost. Meantime he got his force ready, consisting of six hundred and fifty troops, and two hundred and fifty seamen, giving them all new clothes, as an encouragement to the service. The Dutch also collected all the force they could muster in the fort of the Morro de S. Miguel, which commanded the town, and that of N. Senhora da Guia on the beach; and having gathered courage during the delay, they determined upon resistance. No sooner was the red flag seen, than the signal-gun was fired, and Salvador Correa, who was already in his boat, led the way, the others following. Only an hundred and eighty men were left on board the fleet, but many figures were dressed up with hats, and placed in conspicuous situations, that the Dutch might believe the ships to be well manned. They landed about two miles from the city, without opposition: their first business was to hear mass; that done, Salvador Correa mounted on horseback, and advanced to take possession of a Franciscan convent, which commanded the beach, and also the watering-place of Mayanga. The Dutch made a show of resistance, but fled at the first attack; encouraged by this success, he pursued, though it was in the burning heat of noon, entered the city, and occupied the Jesuit College and the Governor's house. He now learnt that Fort S. Antonio was evacuated; upon which he immediately occupied that also, and found there eight pieces of cannon, only two of which had been spiked. With the six, and four others which he had landed, he erected two batteries upon the church, which stood opposite the Morro de S. Miguel, upon equally high ground, the two heights being separated by a ravine. The guns did little hurt to the fort, but they contributed to dishearten the Dutch, who from the rapidity of Correa's opera-

tions judged him to be strong in numbers. He, however, was playing an anxious and a desperate game; intelligence had now reached him that the Portugueze of Masangano had been defeated, and being hopeless of relief, were resolved to surrender the place: he knew also his own weakness, but he knew that audacity alone could save him, and that by a bold stroke every thing might be gained: better, too, to die honourably, than after exceeding his orders, to retire with defeat, and bear back tidings that Angola was totally lost. At day-break, therefore, he led his nine hundred men against the Morro, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred Europeans, and as many Negroes, and bravely assaulted the place; he was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred and sixty three killed and one hundred and sixty wounded; more than a third of his force was thus lost. He ordered the drums to beat a retreat, that he might prepare for a second attempt; the Dutch imagined that this was the signal for assault, and being panic-stricken by the desperate valour which had already been manifested, they hung out the white flag. Salvador Correa, who dreaded lest the real state of his army should be discovered, would allow them only four hours to conclude the capitulation: terms were soon adjusted, not for themselves alone, but for all the Dutch in Angola, and above two thousand men laid down their arms to less than six hundred. It was too late to remedy their folly when they discovered it, and Salvador Correa, with the right spirit of a soldier, and the characteristic feelings of a Portugueze, made them embark at Cassandama, where they had landed, that heresy might be turned out of the country at the very spot where it had entered. Angola was thus recovered; and as the Dutch in passing by St. Thomas made their misfortune known to their countrymen, the city there also was evacuated in such trepidation, that all the artillery, and most of the stores, were abandoned.

Ericeyra, I, 675—83.

CHAP. XXII. 1618.

The tidings of this success, and of the battle of Guararapes, reached Portugal in good time, when the Government, prest to some immediate decision, was more than ever perplexed how to decide. The ambassador in Holland had exhausted all the arts of diplomatic chicanery; and the Court, dreading an open war, yet clinging with all the strength of honourable and religious feelings to the hope of recovering Pernambuco, as a sort of compromise between it's pride and its weakness, instructed him to turn the negociation into a bargain, and offer the Company a price for their claims upon Brazil, and their remaining possessions there. The Dutch knew the value of this long-contested territory; they presumed upon the strength of their arms, which nowhere but in Brazil had as yet suffered any humiliation; and presuming also upon the debility and helplessness of Portugal, they thought themselves entitled to dictate any terms to such an opponent. Instead, therefore, of listening to the proposal, they insisted that Portugal should cede the whole of the provinces which they had occupied when the truce was made, and the third part of Seregipe also: that the isle and fort of the Morro de S. Paulo, (which would have given them the command of Bahia,) should be put into their hands as a cautionary possession for twenty years, till the whole of the terms should be fulfilled; that, as an indemnity for the losses which they had sustained, the King of Portugal should pay 100,000 florins yearly, for twenty years, as a subsidy for the maintenance of Dutch troops in Brazil; that one thousand draft oxen, one thousand cows, four hundred horses, and one thousand sheep should be delivered yearly to the Company in Brazil for ten years, and one thousand chests of sugar, averaging twenty *arrobas* each, yearly for twenty years. All the slaves also whom the insurgents had carried off were to be replaced, according to a fair estimate of their numbers, and every thing belonging to the works which

Negociations in Holland.

Demands of the Dutch.

had been destroyed, to be restored, the Dutch having full power to reclaim and seize their property of every kind for a year after the publication of the treaty, wherever they could find it. They should also retain their conquests in Africa; and if the Portugueze broke this agreement in any part beyond the line, it should become null and void in all parts beyond the line. These extravagant demands were so far modified in the course of their conferences with Francisco de Sousa, that they ceased to require the Morro de S. Paulo, and lowered the compensation to 600,000 cruzadoes, or 10,000 chests of sugar, half white, and half of inferior quality, in annual payments, which should complete the whole sum in ten years.

Pinheiro Collection: MSS. Vol. 6, No. 3.

Cruelly as the Portugueze had suffered under a foreign government and a domestic superstition, the nation had lost neither its courage nor its pride; and the public voice was for supporting their brethren in Pernambuco at all hazards. The Government felt its poverty, its weakness, and its danger; what course to pursue in these difficulties perplexed the cabinet of Joam IV, whose crown was indeed a crown of thorns; and this business, which had so often been discussed among his ministers, was again brought into debate. He laid before his council the ultimatum of the States, and also their first extravagant project: he desired them to bear in mind that France was on the point of concluding a separate peace with Spain, and enjoined them to keep the business perfectly secret, and make no minute in the council either of the decree which thus summoned it, or of the discussions consequent thereon. But though the council were thus ordered to leave no memorial of what past, their various opinions were given in writing; these have been preserved, and they are equally curious and characteristic.

Deliberation in the Portugueze Cabinet.

The Conde de Odemira prefaced his observations upon the proposed terms by assuming it as a thing certain, that if peace

Opinion of the Conde de Odemira.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

were made, the Dutch would take the first pretext for breaking it, their only object being to get all they could into their hands: and there were no hostages, no security of princes on their part, nothing but an oath, and that the oath of heretics! Upon the article which stipulated for the reciprocal payment of debts, he observed with some reason, that as by another article the Dutch were to purchase the property of all persons who chose to remove from the ceded provinces, the consequence would be, that they would claim a set-off in every instance, and thus the emigrant would get nothing: therefore, as he said, as there were confessedly debts on both sides, the simplest method was to let the one balance the other; . . a summary mode for the individuals concerned, even if the sums owing by the Portugueze had not been in the proportion of fifty to one, which the Count seems to have overlooked. Upon the stipulation for releasing all prisoners, of whatever country or religion, Jews included, without reserve, and granting a full and general amnesty, he observed, that whatever regarded religion must be decided by theologians, and the King would accede to this article in whatever might not be a sin. His general opinion however was, that the peace must be made, and he recommended as indispensable a stipulation for excluding Spanish ships from the Dutch ports in Brazil.

Pinheiro Collection: MSS. Vol. 6, No. 6.

Opinion of the Chief Treasurer.

A longer and more extraordinary memorial was delivered by Dr. Pedro Fernandes Monteyro, the *Procurador da Fazenda Real.* Considering, he said, the great ability of the ministers employed in this negociation, it was certain that no better terms could have been obtained; but there were heavy objections on the score of religion, of honour, and of feeling. Self-preservation would make the Dutch seek all means of distressing Bahia; being masters of Seregipe they would withhold food, and possessing Angola they would withhold Negroes; and consequently push their sugars every where, to the exclusion of the Portu-

gueze. The payment of debts was impossible: these debts were perhaps the cause of the revolt; if the Pernambucans could not pay them then, much less could they now; and according to this treaty, they could neither live in Pernambuco nor out of it, if they might be followed with law-suits every where. Whither, too, were they to go? Having no capital, wherever they went they would require support, which neither Bahia, nor Rio de Janeiro, nor the other parts of Brazil could afford, so that they would only distress the resident population. The first thing to be done was to act as if these negociations would not terminate in peace, and therefore to send out instant supplies. They must remember, also, how great a difference was made by the late victory. It was apparent that the Pernambucans thought themselves forsaken by Portugal, and looked to themselves for deliverance: so much the worse for the Dutch. They would perhaps apply to Castille, and Castille would gladly espouse their cause. That country had repeatedly sent emissaries to Angola, to corrupt the Portugueze there, because the possession of Angola would give her Negroes for her own mines, and make her eventually mistress of Brazil, which could not subsist without Negroes. The Spaniards were now by treaty admitted into the Dutch ports of Angola and of Brazil: thus the means were easy, and zeal for religion alone would induce the Pernambucans to that measure: if they were refused here they would apply to England, or to any other power. This should be represented to the States, and also the unfitness of the King's promising what he might not be able to perform: for it was in vain to promise obedience for the Pernambucans. They were not like subjects who depended upon him for protection; and were he to attempt to reduce them by force, the people of Portugal, rather than suffer it, would abandon him, and put themselves again under the dominion of Castille. If, however, it

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

should prove that the terms must be either accepted as they stood, or refused altogether, war was indeed the more perilous alternative, the United States, with their two Companies, being the strongest power in Europe; whereas the strength of Portugal lay in her foreign possessions: without these she would be reduced to the greatest distress, and a war with Holland would expose her commerce, which was her chief support, to ruin. The Dutch might at once attack Bahia and the Rio, and blockade the Tagus. The fleet which had been fitted out with such exertions for Bahia, lay there at this time, imploring reinforcements, to enable it to meet the enemy. Except Bahia and the Rio, all the other places in Brazil were open to an attack; so was Maranham, so was India. Succours could not be sent out at a time when Castille, at peace with the States and with France, was ready to attack not the frontiers alone, but the Bar also, as knowing that he who was not master of Lisbon could not be master of Portugal. The last year's fleet for Brazil was not raised without taking troops from the frontiers, obtaining contributions from the merchants, and granting great bounties to the men; these exertions could not be repeated, and therefore, in case of war, humanly speaking, all must be lost. All minor inconveniencies merged in this consideration, and religion, honour, and the love which he bore his people, required the King to accept the terms of peace. The people of the ceded provinces might then slacken their cultivation, so as to disappoint the Dutch of their expected profits from sugar for some years, till Portugal should have made her peace with Castille; and then the States might be induced by this method to restore the provinces: or at all events Portugal would stand upon firm ground when she came to treat again upon this quarrel.

This, the Procurador pursued, was the dark side of the argument; it was on the other that the just weight of reason prepon-

derated. Look at the situation of the Company! they who embarked in it were glad to sell for twenty-eight thousand *cruzados*, the shares which had cost a hundred thousand. They could not raise the last armament without assistance from the East India Company and from the States; and that armament was at this time subsisting upon what prizes it could take,.. a resource which would fail, when Portugal should cease to employ its miserable *caravelas* in this navigation, and adopt wiser measures. The enemy would then, cut off as they were from supplies by land, be compelled to draw their very food from Europe, the aggravated expence of its first cost, freight, delay, and risk falling upon an impoverished concern. They could not send out another expedition, for since the battle of Guararapes, the next armament must need be greater than the last, success having given confidence and vigour to the Pernambucans. Men could not be raised in Holland for a service which had become unpopular, because it was known to be unfortunate. Even for the last effort, two thousand five hundred of the men were pressed; and some of the States already violently opposed these measures. With this opposition at home, and such conduct on the part of Portugal as would prevent the Company from supplying itself by naval captures, the Company going to ruin as it needs must, would gladly listen to terms, and rid itself of a burthen which it could not support. But would the States take up the cause? Here it must be remembered that the Dutch were above all things addicted to mercantile pursuits; gain was their prime object, reputation the last thing which they took into the account. They warred upon us in India, in Angola, in Brazil, because it was their interest: at the same time they traded with us at home because they wanted our salt, and other commodities, which if they had not taken the English and

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

other nations would. Say then that the Company in despair should transfer its pretensions to the States; Portugal offers money for those pretensions; and could it be doubted whether such a government would not prefer a good sum, which was so much sure gain, to the risk of contending for distant possessions, held against the will of the inhabitants, and bringing neither profit nor popularity at home? Be it however admitted that they take upon themselves the quarrel, still such terms of peace as are proffered were the worse alternative. Holland cannot and will not observe them: she must for her own security extend her conquests. A single slave sent from Bahia, is able by firing the canes to destroy a whole year's harvest; would the Dutch then suffer an enemy so near? and if they expected that through their war with us Castille would effect the conquest of Portugal, an event of all others the most dangerous to Holland, to strengthen themselves against that contingency they must endeavour to spread their conquests, and thus the remainder of Brazil would be doubly endangered. The Company was now poor, and on the verge of ruin. These terms gave them all they could wish for without risk, expence, or exertion on their part. The sugars which they were to receive, and the recovery of their debts, would make them at once rich and flourishing: their plantations would be in full activity, their numerous ships would convey their produce to all markets, while they would be enabled so to undersell us that none would go to fetch our sugar. Yet sugar was at this time the main sinew of the kingdom, the main spring of that trade on which Portugal depended, and by which she subsisted; that failing, the revenue fails; the army can no longer be paid, and all must go to ruin. Besides, the soldiers would be disgusted at seeing all that they had won restored by a stroke of the pen; their spirits and hearts would be

broken, and poverty, ruin, and dejection would prepare an easy conquest for the Dutch in the remaining provinces of Brazil and in Maranham. CHAP. XXII. 1648.

But what, he continued, could Holland do against us? Send one expedition against Brazil, and another against our own coasts. Should they attack Bahia or the Rio, they could not take those places, being timely provided, as they might be,... or they could not hold them. They cannot prey upon our commerce if our ships sail in convoy; and if that resource fail them but for one year, they cannot support an expedition for a second. Upon the home coast they cannot make themselves masters of any strong place, from whence to infest the seas; our ships would come in secure strength; and if in their disappointment they pirate upon English, French, or other vessels, the injury to themselves would only be greater. Maranham indeed was defenceless, but the recovery of Angola left them without Negroes to cultivate it, and the hostility of the inhabitants would prevent them from making any profit by the conquest. In India hurt might certainly be done: could it be supposed that peace would prevent it? The Dutch regarded no laws but those of their own interest... how had they regarded the truce in India? and peace would only enable them to pursue the same system with more facility. The Procurador then proceeded to consider the means by which Portugal might carry on war. The establishment of a Brazil Company was the first and most obvious; the merchants who traded with Brazil were rich, and would embark in it; and his Majesty might engage in it, not as a King, but as a sharer, to the amount of 200,000 *cruzados*. English ships, of which enough would offer, might be taken up to protect the convoy: there would be an especial fitness in this, for in case of being attacked by the Dutch, they would for their own sakes fight with their usual courage, and this might bring

CHAP. XXII. 1648. upon Holland disquieting causes of dispute with England. Scattered pirates could do nothing against a convoyed fleet: if the Dutch attempted anything, it must be by fitting out a squadron; if it should not fall in with the fleet, the expence is lost; if it should, there is the risk of battle: the expence of delay also would be ruinous, and the experiment once failing, would never be repeated. This single measure would suffice: a naval force and flourishing commerce would render all secure; but if Pernambuco were yielded, the shipping and the trade would fall to decay, and every thing be endangered. Your Majesty, he continued, thus having means which in all human probability will suffice to defend your conquests, with security of your crown, extension of the faith, and the applause of your vassals, it seems as if you would offend Divine Providence by not availing yourself of them. For if your royal forefathers, in defending the faith against infidels, alway experienced the favor of heaven, and conquered mighty armies with forces so unequal that victory appeared impossible to human foresight; now that God hath not shown himself less propitious, but rather with fuller spring-tides of his mercy flowing towards your Majesty and your vassals, giving as well in Pernambuco as on the frontiers admirable victories, helping you in the greatest need, and by means the most unimagined, bringing from beginnings which appeared most untoward, results the most desirable, a heavy offence would it be against that Divine Providence if you did not feel a lively faith and an assured hope of greater and more signal favours in this war, the object of which is to defend the patrimony of Christ. After this religious strain, a worldly and weighty argument was adduced. Your Majesty's ministers may reject this reasoning, and determine upon peace; but the people have pronounced their opinion. The whole kingdom has broken out in rejoicings for the victories in Pernambuco; and if they see that the Per-

nambucans, after obeying the commands of your government, risking their lives and properties, and making such progress in effecting their own deliverance, should not only be deserted, but against their own consent given over to their enemies, they may consider this as a wretched example, when they look at the King of Castille, with his power and his armies.

Pinheiro Coll. MSS. Vol. 6, No. 7.

The Council laid this Memorial before the King, saying, that although nothing was of so much importance as a stable peace with the United States, yet religion and honour must be saved; and by God's help, with time and opportunity, things might mend. With regard to offering money or produce, they reminded him that this was incurring a certain loss, whereas it was by no means certain that the Dutch could reconquer Pernambuco; and indeed the Portugueze ought to confide in God that he would not permit such a reconquest, for they were defending his cause as well as their own. There were men who said that it was not compatible with the dignity and reputation of the United States to submit to lose what they had once possessed: but they had no just claim to those possessions; and how much more strongly did that argument apply to the King of Portugal! The Council therefore agreed with the Procurador in opinion, that war was better than restitution. The King was bound to support a cause so just, and God himself bound to defend it with his infinite power; human means, therefore, could not be wanting.

The Council approve his opinion, and prefer war to restitution.

Do. No. 5.

The opinion of the Board of Conscience was to the same effect. They assumed as the ground of their reasoning, that the Dutch having neither faith nor law to bind them, would not be bound by their word, and therefore they thought it very desirable that some cautionary towns should be given to Portugal. The number of Christians in the disputed provinces was to be well considered, and the danger of salvation to which they would be exposed, and the offences which would result from ceding so

The Board of Conscience agree in this determination.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

many churches to be profaned by heretics. These were weighty points for consideration, lest they should offend Divine Justice, or seem in the slightest degree to distrust Divine Mercy. But upon all these points the Board advised that the King should consult the Inquisition. On the whole they thought the proposed terms insecure, unstable, and injurious; and advised that more money and more sugar should be offered, so as to buy the enemy's claims, for by this means the King would more easily become Lord of the World. But it was at all events convenient to dissemble, and send an experieneed minister to Holland for that purpose; as much delay as possible there, and as little in secretly sending out the greatest possible succours to Brazil.

Pinheiro Coll. MSS. Vol. 6, No. 10.

Vieyra opposes it,

The strange hope which the Board of Conscience expressed, of seeing the King become Lord of the World, came from men who, having been Sebastianists, were now persuaded that the prophecies of that sect referred to the reigning sovereign, under whom the fifth monarchy was to be established. The pride, the contempt of their enemy, the political ignorance, the bigotry, and the blind presumption which characterized these councils, would be almost inconceivable, if the authentic documents had not been preserved. Yet Portugal was not without consummate statesmen at this time, and to Vieyra, the most able among them, the King referred these papers. The answer which he drew up was deemed so convincing, that it obtained the name of O *Papel Forte*, the Strong Memorial. Vieyra was a man of too comprehensive a mind to look exclusively at Brazil; intimately conversant with the whole concerns of Portugal, he contemplated all her possessions and political relations in one wide view, and saw the imminent danger to which all were exposed. The religious objections to the proposed terms he set aside by the conclusive answer, that all persons might remove from Pernambuco who thought proper, and that they who

should not would enjoy a full toleration: the point of conscience lay on the other side, and the King might well scruple whether he could conscientiously delay the cession, the very existence of Portugal itself being at stake. As little difficulty did he find on the score of what was due from the Government to the people of Pernambuco, who had taken up arms. A part only of the people had risen in arms, against the wish of the majority; nor was it for the sake of the Catholic faith that they had done this, but because they either could not or would not pay their debts. As for the argument that it would be impious and cruel toward them if the cession were made, he affirmed that it would be unreasonable to carry on war for their sake. Pernambuco was but a member of Portugal, and the impiety and cruelty would be if the King should endanger the whole body rather than cut off so small a part, and that part so corrupt, and so difficult to preserve. To judge rightly of the terms, they should be compared with those which Castille had made with Holland, and the Empire with Sweden; and then it would appear how infinitely more advantageous they were, though made by Portugal, which lay almost surrounded by such an enemy as Castille, with a republic the most flourishing, the most powerful, and the most haughty in the world. The situation of Brazil also was to be considered: it was easy to say that the Dutch were now cooped up in Recife, and that the terms would give them Brazil. The Captaincies which they required were in extent about a tenth part of that country; but in point of value and cultivation they might, before the war, have been computed at a third: half was now laid waste. The Dutch possessed many and strong posts, that at the Potengi being indeed the best which the Portugueze had in Brazil; and if they seized and fortified any of the posts between Cape S. Augustines and the River S. Francisco, the insurgents would be cut off from Bahia,

and exposes the weakness and the danger of Portugal.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

and placed between two fires,... the evil of which they were most in fear. In reality the contest could not be and ought not to be continued. By removing the inhabitants they would remove Pernambuco, for it was men of which Portugal was in want, not extent of territory. The whole rental of these Captaincies would not amount to a tenth part of what it would cost to defend them; and who would affirm that they were worth such a price at such a time? There is security enough for the good faith of the Dutch; now that Angola was recovered they must look to Portugal for their supply of slaves; their canes might easily be destroyed by a few slaves from Bahia; and the States were now treating for a salt-contract, which of itself would effectually bind them. They offered to pay the duties beforehand in military stores, at the Government price; they would employ four or five hundred ships in the trade, and all the persons engaged in it would be so many hostages, and all their families so many securities.

The advice to purchase Pernambuco would be good if the Dutch would sell it; but they choose rather to believe our example, said Vieyra, than our language. They have the same reason for wishing to keep their acquisitions that we have for desiring to recover them; their reputation also is concerned, as much, or more, than ours; and when we talk of offering a price to be paid by instalments in six years, it should be remembered they perhaps may think Portugal will be in such a state at the end of the first, that no farther payment can be expected from her. It is we who sell Pernambuco; we sell it for interests of greater magnitude, and shall reclaim it whenever fortune favours us; all that is now said against the conduct of the Dutch will be good in its proper season, and it is well that we should write in brass the wrongs which we have received at their hands, till that season arrive. But now Brazil is at their mercy. We

could perhaps be able to fit out one armament; Holland can afford to lose many. The West India Company may be poor; the East India one is rich, and will deprive us of all we have in India. All persons doubted our success at the Acclamation; but upon the insurrection in Pernambuco no one doubted of our ruin, and for this reason no power in Europe will form an alliance with us. Castille makes a dishonourable peace with Holland, rather than be involved in war at once with Holland and France. France suffers injuries from Holland rather than expose herself to war at once with Holland and Castille; and we, who never measure our own strength, we would make war with them! France, the richest, the most powerful, the most compact, the least exposed state in Europe... Portugal, the poorest, the weakest, the most divided, the most exposed! Beyond all doubt Spain and Holland, had they remained united, would have subdued the world,... and we think to resist them both! Where are our men? upon every alarm in Alentejo it is necessary to take students from the university, tradesmen from their shops, labourers from the plough! Where is our money? the expences and losses which already have been incurred amount to five millions! Sixty ships have been captured during the present year. The last armament might have undeceived us; to raise seamen we were obliged to wait for the Rio de Janeiro fleet; to raise troops we took them from the frontiers; to provide artillery we stript the fortresses; to make up thirteen ships we left Portugal without one! Eight years have elapsed since our emancipation, and the frontiers are not yet fortified, nor is Lisbon yet put in that state of defence which we all agree is necessary; and why?... because the means are wanting. Compare our resources with those of the enemy! In Holland they have fourteen thousand vessels; in Portugal we have not an hundred and fifty. In India they have more than an hundred

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

ships of war, of from twenty-four to fifty guns; we have not one. In Brazil they have more than sixty ships, some of great force; we have seven, if indeed we have them still. They are free from the power of Spain; we have the whole power of Spain to contend with. They have no enemy in Europe; we have no friend. They have more than two hundred thousand seamen; we have only four thousand. They have abundant stores; we none but what we buy from them, or what must pass by their doors. They have excellent engineers, excellent officers, excellent soldiers; we have, it is true, some good soldiers in Brazil, but no commanders. Finally, the Dutch have their industry, their diligence, their desire of gain, their unanimity, and their love of the common weal; we have our disunion, our envy, our presumption, our negligence, and our perpetual attention to individual interests. The more miraculous the late success appeared, the more should it make us feel the inequality of our strength. Yet persons who advised peace a few days ago have changed their opinion in consequence of this news! Ought we to trust in such things? It is better to deserve miracles than to expect them; but to rely upon them, even when we deserve them, is tempting God.

But Vieyra rested his main argument upon the state of India, and the certain loss of all their possessions there if the contest with Holland were persisted in. As a proof of the impossibility of succouring those distant conquests, he reminded the King, that at this time, when they were not at open war with the Dutch, the recovery of Angola had been known two months, and no troops had been sent to secure so important a place. For the love of God, said he, and for the love of your Majesty, and for the love of our country, I beseech all those who read this paper to consider how impossible it is to guard all our possessions with only one fleet; I beseech them to weigh the diffi-

culties, the consequences, the impossibilities! Only two blows are required to deprive us of India and of Brazil; one which should take Goa, one which should take Bahia; .. both so practicable, so easy, so certain! The bulwark of peace would secure both. Your Majesty's predecessors knew this, and by keeping peace with all the world they were masters of three parts of it. Let us keep all our resources for the struggle with Castille, in which alone we have sufficient need of the favour of God, and even of the miracles which we expect from his mercy. Finally summing up the whole, he recommended that if the terms could not be modified they should be accepted as they were. The clause which concerned the Jews might be made a secret article, and the business managed easily; for if there were no subjects of Holland in the Inquisition, the matter was at an end; and if there were, their cases might be dispatched forthwith, before any discussion. He advised that plenty of money should be sent to their ambassador at the Hague; for money was the most effectual and cheapest means of overcoming all difficulties, and in Holland every thing was venal: and to indemnify themselves for the loss of Pernambuco, they might easily take the Plata, and to their great advantage. Thus doing, they might leave the war with Holland till a fitter opportunity, when they could recover from her all that should now be ceded, and all that she had taken in all their conquests; but it was in another war, and not in this, that God had reserved for the King the Empire of the World. *O Papel Forte*, MSS.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

The more the subject was discussed the greater was the King's perplexity: he could neither resolve to sacrifice his feelings by submitting to the cessions which were required, nor on the other hand dared he provoke a danger which he saw clearly in its whole extent. Unable to make up his mind to either determination, he still continued to deliberate and procrastinate; every

A Brazil Company established at Vieyra's suggestion.

CHAP. XXII. 1648.

thing was left to the course of events, and time and chance at length justified almost equally the foresight of his cautious advisers and the confidence of his presumptuous ones. India, as Vieyra had foreseen, was lost; but, through circumstances which could not be foreseen, Brazil was saved, and Portugal in consequence was enabled to carry on the arduous struggle for its independance to a successful termination. But though Vieyra thus strenuously argued for the cession, no man contributed more effectually to the prosecution of the war. He had long represented to the King, that the only means for preserving Brazil and India, and recovering what had been lost in both countries, was to follow the example of the Dutch, and establish two Companies for the East and West: capital, he said, would readily be forthcoming; that spirit of exertion and enterprize would appear which individual interest, when well understood, never fails to produce; and foreigners as well as natives would engage in so promising and certain an adventure: one thing only was indispensable, that the property thus embarked must be exempt from confiscation. Here was the stumbling-block. Never had any country suffered so dreadfully in its vital interests from the spirit of intolerance as Portugal at this time. Vieyra, who had most ably and most eloquently exposed the atrocious practices of the Inquisition, perceived the whole political evil, as well as the whole moral iniquity of this accursed tribunal. The exemption which he required, and without which it was impossible that these Companies could be formed, was for the sake of the New Christians, a denomination under which probably the greater part of the Portugueze merchants were liable to be included, ... for in fact no man was secure. The Holy Office took the alarm; the mixture, not of suspected persons, but, as he says, of suspected money, was denounced as an abomination; and it was not till the losses of eight successive years had nearly ruined the

Vieyra Cartas, T. 2, C. 118.

Vieyra Sermoens, T. 12, Serm. de S. Roque, § 54.

trade of Portugal, and laid the Government almost at the mercy of its enemies, that this obstacle was overcome. Even then only half his project was adopted; that, however, was for the nearest and most important object: a Brazil Company was established. This country had been so long and obstinately contended for, that the mere contest had made the Portugueze feel its value, and take a pride in its possession: and the King, with this feeling, gave his eldest son Theodosio the title of Prince of Brazil.

Rocha Pitta, 5, § 97—9. Do. § 84.

Second battle of Guararapes.

While the new Company was forming, the Dutch made a second attempt to recover their ascendancy in the field, contrary to Schoppe's judgement, whose opinion was overruled by a majority in the council of war: they were perhaps misled by the report of two Italian deserters, who exaggerated the want of men and of ammunition in the Camp, and represented that the army was mutinous for want of pay. Brink, who commanded, because Schoppe was still disabled by his wound, increased his numbers by drafting men from the ships, and armed some of his strongest soldiers with partisans and halberts, having trained them with these weapons, which it was thought would counterbalance the advantage that the Portugueze derived from their superior use of the sword. These preparations were known in the Camp; the Portugueze leaders therefore recalled their troops to quarters, and did not neglect those religious practices themselves which they stigmatized in the Dutch as superstitious and diabolical. The wafer was exposed in their churches, and the men were exhorted to confess and communicate before the expected battle. Brink sallied with the greatest force he could collect, stated by the Portugueze at five thousand men, and took possession of the ground at the Guararapes, which was still covered with the bones of his countrymen. Here the Portugueze attacked him, and though the order of the battle upon this spot was reversed, the result was the same. The action soon became

Nieuhoff, p. 119. Feb. 18.

CHAP. XXII. 1649.

so close that the enemy could not use with effect the halberts and partisans, in which they trusted; for when the first stroke was spent, the Portugueze allowed them neither room nor leisure for a second. After a struggle which lasted from two in the afternoon till eight at night, the Dutch fled, leaving above eleven hundred men upon the field, nineteen stand of colours, with all their artillery and ammunition. Brink and the commander of the marine forces both fell, and Poty, the Chief of the Indians, was taken: he was kept a close prisoner in irons nearly three years, and then embarked for Portugal; but he died upon the voyage. Joam Fernandes twice in this action narrowly escaped death; a spent ball left its mark upon his body, and his horse plunged with him into a quagmire, from which the animal could not be extricated. Of the conquerors forty-seven only are said to have fallen; among them were Paulo da Cunha, Manoel de Araujo, and Cosme do Rego, men whose names often occur in the annals of this war. Henrique Diaz and more than two hundred were wounded. The disparity of loss may be exaggerated, but was doubtless very great, for the Portugueze pursued their advantage with an insatiable appetite for vengeance, and the Dutchmen who feigned to be slain were more fortunate than those who cried for mercy. During many subsequent days the Indians and Negroes hunted the woods, and put to the word all the stragglers whom they could find. The victory [2] was celebrated as its importance deserved; the Vicar General, who was

[2] Nieuhoff's account of the battles at Guararapes is quite inexplicable: he relates only one action, which by the date should be the first, and yet refers to a former, of which he has given no intimation elsewhere. Perhaps something has been omitted by the translator, whom I am compelled to trust, for want of the original.

CHAP. XXII. 1649.

with the army, ordered a public thanksgiving for the ensuing Sunday in all the churches under his jurisdiction, with the wafer exposed: and the religious orders vied with each other in sermons and processions. The Dutch solicited permission to bury their dead; they found the bodies mutilated as well as stript, and this sight was not wanted to exasperate the inveterate feelings of hatred with which the war was carried on.

Ericeyra, 712. Cast. Lus. 9, § 58—84.

A few days before this battle, the Brazil Company sent out its first fleet, with all the success which had been anticipated from such a measure. The Dutch could make no attempt upon it, and their cruisers kept within harbour as long as it remained in those seas. The Conde de Castello Melhor went out in it as governor, and Pedro Jaques de Magalhaens was admiral. Fourscore merchant ships sailed for Portugal under the protection of the returning fleet. The two preceding Governors embarked in this convoy, Antonio Telles da Silva having waited thus long, partly[3] perhaps to avoid that outward manifestation of displeasure, which while any negociations were continued with Holland, the King must be constrained to show; and partly because he was particularly desirous of going in a ship called

The Company sends out its first fleet.

[3] A manuscript memoir, *(Pinheiro Collection, Vol. 2, No. 18,)* which gives a summary view of the disputes between Holland and Portugal, says, that although Antonio Telles had taken every precaution not to break the truce, he could not avoid the displeasure of the King, who, after having been fully informed of his conduct, ordered him home as a prisoner: but he perished by shipwreck on the way. I can discover no hint of this displeasure in any of the printed accounts. Ericeyra draws from the shipwreck an argument, which in his age was not unnecessary, against the astrologers. Such, he says, was the fate of these ships, *com discredito dos matematicos, porque parece que huma só constelaçam nam pode conduzir tantas criaturas a hum mesmo naufragio, e vem a ser só infalliveys os juizos divinos.*

CHAP. XXII. 1649.

Our Lady of the Conception, which he thought the best in the fleet. The voyage proved unfortunate; one galleon was lost with all on board; two others were wrecked upon St. Michaels; the vessel which Antonio Telles had chosen, reached Portugal, only to suffer shipwreck on the coast of Buarcos, and to be lost with all her crew.

Ericeyra. p. 125.

Feeble state of both parties in Brasil.

The great measure of establishing a Company having thus been taken, the Portugueze Government relapsed into its characteristic inactivity; the Pernambucans were left to themselves, and they carried on the war with that unwearіable perseverance which nothing could subdue, and which therefore could not fail at length to overcome all obstacles. Schoppe was too weak to attempt much; his boldest effort was an expedition at the end of
1650. the ensuing year to the River S. Francisco; the Portugueze troops derived from thence the greater part of their subsistence, and Cardozo being immediately sent there with five hundred men, the Dutch as soon as they were apprized of his approach retired without effecting their object. Two following years were spent
1652. in the same slow but vigilant warfare. The Portugueze once more laid waste the plantations upon the Potengi, and burnt large quantities of Brazil wood which had been collected there. Schoppe, who found himself now equally crippled by land and by sea, reconnoitred the entrenched posts of the camp, but experienced loss enough to deter him from any serious attempt. A second expedition to the S. Francisco was not more fortunate than the first: the supplies which his cruisers used to bring in had now failed him, and his only hope was, that some effort would be made from home to reestablish that naval superiority, without which it would be impossible to maintain Recife.

State of the negociations.

These hopes were frustrated by the address of the Portugueze diplomatists, and the course of political events in Europe. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho continued as Ambassador to the States,

although the government, clearly understanding his duplicity, manifested towards him the most marked dislike; and though the popular resentment against him was so strong, that the Zeelanders publicly declared their intention of throwing him overboard, if they could intercept him on his voyage home. At length after the full discussion in the Portugueze cabinet which ended in leaving the business as they found it, the States desired him to take his departure, saying, They had endeavoured by all means to have the treaty of 1641 observed, but having been so repeatedly deceived, they were now determined to right themselves by force of arms. A man of his stamp was not so easily to be dismist: he would set out, he replied, as soon as he received instructions from his Court; but with regard to breach of treaty, the States, he contended, were not so much sinned against as sinning, and their complaints were only designed as a pretext for farther acts of wrong. He then made out a strong case of the various infractions on their part, and concluded by saying, that the sum of their alleged grievances amounted only to this, that the King had not subdued for them the insurgents in Pernambuco, .. a thing which they might know was not lightly to be effected, since they with all their efforts had failed in it. But shortly afterwards when he informed the States that another minister had been appointed to succeed him, they desired him to obtain fresh credentials, saying, that circumstances had occurred which rendered it necessary to confer with him upon matters of great importance. Upon learning this, the Portugueze government ordered the new minister to hasten his departure, expecting that one who was not personally obnoxious to the States might treat with them to more advantage. He was prevented by death, and Francisco de Sousa thus remained upon his mission. The delay proved singularly fortunate. The Dutch ministers employed a Frenchman to bribe one of his countrymen,

Ericeyra. p. 700.

CHAP. XXII. 1649.

who was the Ambassador's Secretary, and this probably was the reason why they wished for no immediate change; the secretary listened to the offer, and undertook by means of false keys to get possession of the King's dispatches, that the Dutch Government might satisfy themselves concerning the real contents; having made this promise, he communicated what had past to his master, who, being provided with the King's blank signatures, immediately filled them up with such instructions as would best deceive the States. At this time the States had resolved to assist the West India Company with two hundred thousand florins for the relief of Recife, and orders had been given to prepare twelve ships and two thousand eight hundred men for the same destination, and a fleet of twenty-five sail to act against Portugal; but so well did the wily Portugueze turn the arts of the Dutch against themselves, that the preparations were stopt, and the relief so essential for the preservation of their conquests in Brazil was delayed, till events occurred, which rendered it no longer disposable for that service.

Ericeyra, 700—35.

Holland engaged in war with England.

Ere long, Antonio de Sousa de Macedo arrived to succeed the Ambassador. The States thought proper to show their displeasure by letting him wait some months before he obtained an audience; and he, who desired nothing more than procrastination, waited patiently. When it was at length granted, he represented, that the violent measures which they had pursued in Brazil, rendered restitution, which had before been difficult, impossible now. He dwelt upon the inconvenience and expence of merely maintaining the few posts which were still in their power, and proposed a pecuniary indemnification as the best and only means of final settlement. They replied only by threats; to which he answered, that, if nothing would content them but what was impossible, arms of course must be the resort. Procrastination had now been carried to its utmost length,

CHAP. XXII. 1640.

for the whole ten years of the treaty were expired: the Ambassador left Holland, and the parties without any necessity of declaring hostilities on either side were at war by the mere expiration of the truce. It did not however suit either party to avow this: the Dutch merchants proposed to the Ambassador, to purchase licences for trading with Portugal, as had been done even under the Philips by those in the salt trade: and the Portugueze Government, even without these forms, suffered the commerce to continue in its usual course, so that the two nations were at peace with each other in Europe, where peace was for their mutual convenience, and at war wherever either power found itself strong enough for offensive operations. Possibly the Dutch might have indulged a more vindictive spirit, if, at a time when Portugal by an act of the highest honour had exposed itself to a war with the English Commonwealth, for refusing to deliver up Prince Rupert, Cromwell had not regarded that conduct with his usual magnanimity, and listening easily to a proffered accommodation, engaged in war with Holland. This event delivered Portugal from a danger under which the throne of the Braganzas might otherwise have fallen. The Dutch being attacked by so formidable an enemy in their own seas, left the West India Company to provide for Brazil as it could; but the means of the Company were exhausted, and the naval force which they had in Recife, fell to decay for want of stores and supplies from Europe. Schoppe made an effort to intercept the homeward bound fleet of 1652, off Cape St. Augustines; he was beaten off with considerable loss, and the safe entrance of the convoy into Lisbon afforded a triumphant proof of the wisdom of Vieyra's counsels.

Pinheiro Collection. MSS. Vol. 2, No. 10. Ericeyra, 778.

In this state of weakness and embarassment on both sides, the struggle might have continued for an indefinite time, if means had not been devised for bringing it to a close without compro-

The Camp-Masters resolve to solicit the aid of the Brazil Company's fleet.

CHAP. XXII. 1653.

mising the Portugueze Government farther than it was already compromised. The experience of many years had convinced Joam Fernandes, that while the sea was open, Recife could not be conquered by any land forces which would ever be brought against it. He knew that there was no hope of obtaining any direct succour from Portugal; but the Company's fleet might perhaps be induced to suspend their own business for a short time, and assist in compleating this great and long protracted work. Barreto entered into these views, and under pretence of a *Romeria*, or religious visit, assembled the Camp Masters (to whom Francisco de Figueiroa had been added) at S. Gonzalo's chapel, a place chosen for its solitariness, seven leagues from Recife, and some distance from Nazareth. They dismissed their attendants, and held their council in the chapel, Barreto declaring he had appointed that place in full confidence that the Portugueze Saint, in whose house they were consulting, would befriend them with his miraculous assistance. Figueiroa, to whom the scheme had not been previously imparted, saw only the obvious difficulties, and represented them as insuperable. The enemy, he said, were well disciplined and well provided: their fortifications strong, and their numbers perfectly adequate to the defence: but on their part, artillery, engineers, magazines, men, and money, were wanting. Vidal, as was to be expected, agreed with Fernandes, and Barreto confined his objections to the want of stores. Joam Fernandes asked him if this was the only inconvenience which he apprehended, and upon his reply that this was all, immediately replied that he took that charge upon himself.

Cast. Lus. 10, § 6, 10.

Operations concerted with the Brasil fleet.

The annual fleet sailed from Lisbon early in October, with Pedro Jaques de Magalhaens for general, and Brito Freire for admiral, a man then known as a brave soldier and skilful seaman, and now remembered as a faithful historian. A dispatch

was forwarded to Barreto, desiring that the ships in the ports of Pernambuco might be ready to join the fleet as it past by on the way to Bahia, at which time that part of the convoy which was bound for these parts would run in; and the commander was desired to take proper measures for protecting them. On the seventh of December this advice was received, and on the twentieth the convoy came in sight of Recife. Some Dutch frigates, which attempted to harass them, were beaten off, and Barreto sent a boat off, as if with a message of congratulation; in reply to which both Pedro Jaques and Brito Freire landed at the Rio Doce. It may be suspected that the business had been preconcerted. The Camp-Masters requested that the fleet would block up the harbour to exclude succours, while they completed their long and arduous enterprize of the deliverance of Pernambuco: but if this were refused, they besought their countrymen at least to be spectators of a last and desperate attempt, that if it failed, and the patriots were seen to perish in assaulting the enemy's walls, they might not perish without witnesses, who should proclaim to the world their heroism and their undeserved fate. Pedro Jaques represented that his hands were tied; that his instructions from the King did not authorize him to commit the slightest act of hostility, nor those from the Company to divert the fleet from its destination; that he was sworn to take all means for preserving that fleet, and carrying it with all speed to its port; and that if he were to involve his country in war with Holland, his head might pay the penalty of his disobedience. Joam Fernandes replied, that if his Excellency should fail to accede to their just intreaties, God would not fail to exact account of the number of souls whom he left exposed to prevarication of faith; in such a cause the fear of losing his head would not be admitted as a sufficient reason for withholding his assistance, one soul being of more value than many thousand

CHAP. XXII. 1653.

lives. It is said that Pedro Jaques yielded to this argument, and that he and Brito Freire intimated their sense of an inward and overruling influence which determined them. A Council was held at Olinda on Christmas Day, when the plan of operations was finally settled.

Cast. Lus. 10. § 11—13.

D. Francisco Manoel Epanaphoras, p. 601.

The Dutch fleet, too weak to engage the enemy, had intended to hover about the skirts of the convoy; but perceiving the intent of the Portugueze, they stood out to sea while they could. Their disappearance set at liberty the merchant ships in the ports of Serinhaem, Rio Fermozo, Tamandare, and Camaragibe, which were laden for Portugal, and they entered the harbour of Nazareth, where Barreto employed them in conveying the stores which had been collected in those parts for the siege, and transporting also a number of troops, whom he wished to arrive fresh for the fatigue which they were to undergo. Proclamations in different languages were addressed to the men in the Dutch service, inviting them to desert, and threatening them with the vengeance of a victorious and exasperated enemy if they adhered to a ruined cause. To make a display of their own force, the boats of the fleet were employed all day in landing men, who were carried back by night, that the same artifice might be repeated the following day: all who could be spared from the ships were finally landed under Brito Freire's orders. The smaller merchantmen were sent on with a sufficient convoy to the southern ports for which they were bound; the larger ones, being of some strength, were detained to join in the blockade, and a line was drawn across the harbour. The small craft rowed guard day and night, and the shores on both sides were lined by companies of infantry, so that no relief could reach the besieged either by sea or land. On the night of the twenty-sixth, Joam Fernandes, with two engineers and a few chosen men, reconnoitred the whole works, approaching so near, that they were

Recife blockaded by sea.

D. Fr. Manoel Epanaphoras, p. 607.

Cast. Lus. 10, § 14—17.

sometimes fain to lie upon the ground, while the balls whistled over them. CHAP. XXII. 1653.

The besieging force consisted of three thousand five hundred men, of whom one thousand were employed in garrisoning the Camp, Olinda, and some of the adjoining forts. Their first attempt was against the fort of the Salinas, which commanded the passage of the river, and from whence the city and the bar were within reach of artillery. Fernandes, who led this enterprize, encouraged his followers by promising a separate mass for the soul of every man who should fall, exclusive of those which he had founded for all who fell in the war collectively; and he made the men repeat with him the Pater Noster and Ave Maria on their knees, before they set out in the darkness. The undertaking was conducted with consummate skill, and at day-break the garrison, to their utter astonishment, received the good-morrow from a battery of four twenty-four pounders, within pistol-shot. It was on the fifteenth of January, a day consecrated in the Romish kalendar to St. Maurus, the disciple of Benedict, known in Portugal by the name of S. Amaro; he is believed to have a special virtue in healing broken bones, and the Portugueze pleased themselves in thinking that the saint would be neither less able nor less willing to break the bones of the heretics than to mend those of his believers. The fort surrendered in the course of the ensuing night; the conquerors continued to fire, hoping to entrap some reinforcements which were coming from Recife, but the artifice was discovered. Schoppe was now well aware of his danger, and gave orders to abandon the Barreta and the Buraco de Santiago, that the garrisons might aid in the defence of the city: they were instructed to destroy the works, but the younger Camaram was speedy enough in his movements to win the first before it could be injured. Fort Altena was stronger, and could receive supplies from the river. A

Siege and capture of Recife.

CHAP. XXII. 1654.

French engineer, who had deserted to the conquering side with many of his men, was of great service in the operations against this place: Henrique Diaz also distinguished himself here, and the fear which his remorseless Negroes inspired was such, that the garrison mutinied, and compelled their officers to surrender; two hundred and forty men were taken here, among whom was the chief officer of the engineers. From hence a battery was opened upon the Cinco-Pontas. Fort dos Affogados was abandoned to the besiegers, and they carried by storm a new redoubt, an achievement in which Joam Barboza Pinto, who had often distinguished himself in this long contest, lost his life. This was a post of so much importance that Schoppe marched out of the city to recover it: but he re-entered without daring to make the attempt. By this time the inhabitants were clamorous for a capitulation, more especially the Jews, who knew that unless a capitulation were made no mercy would be shown unto them. The people feared also that the garrison would mutiny, as they had done at Altena, sack the town, and then surrender it. Against the general despondency and general outcry the efforts of the commander could avail nothing; he saw that the troops were equally disheartened, and perceived that men who evidently dreaded an assault were little likely to resist it with success. Yielding therefore to necessity, he opened a conference on the twenty-third. The Dutch would fain have referred every thing to the pending discussions in Europe; the Portugueze, who had the sword in their hands, insisted upon treating only for the immediate objects of the Pernambucan war, and terms were soon settled, where the one party had no alternative but to submit. The first article stipulated in curious phrase, that all acts of hostility committed by the subjects of the United Provinces and by the West India Company against the Portugueze, should be regarded as if they had never been committed: it

promised also an amnesty to the Portugueze who had followed the Dutch cause, and to the Jews, in all wherein they could promise it:.. words which left an ominous latitude for Catholic intolerance. Moveable property was secured to the owners, and of the ships which were in the harbour as many were to be given to the Dutch as would suffice for the transport of all who chose to remove; ships arriving from Holland within four months should be permitted to return, and those which were now off the coast were allowed to come into port, persons and property being secured. The Dutch who had married Portugueze or Pernambucan women might take their wives to Holland, if their wives chose to accompany them; or they might remain in Brazil upon the same footing with regard to religion as foreigners were at that time in Portugal. The Dutch, having surrendered their arms, might remain three months in Recife to settle their affairs, and when they departed they might assign their property, whether moveable or fixed, to persons who should act for them; all the provisions in the magazines were at their use during their stay and for the voyage. They were to surrender Recife and Mauritias, with the adjacent forts, the Potengi, Paraiba, Itamaraca, Seara, and the Isle of Fernam de Noronha, all which they possessed in Brazil or on the coast thereof, with all their artillery and stores, excepting such iron guns as were necessary for the protection of the transports, and twenty pieces of brass artillery, from four to eighteen-pounders, for the ship in which the General should embark. The amnesty was extended to all the Indians in the Dutch service; one Antonio Mendes, who must have been particularly obnoxious, was included by name: the Mulattos, Negroes, and Mamalucos were included also, but they were not, like the Dutch, to march out with the honours of war. These terms having been concluded, Fernandes entered the city and received the keys of the magazines,

CHAP. XXII. 1654.

CHAP. XXII. 1654.

forts, &c. seventy-three in number, which he delivered to Barreto: and well, says his historian, may it be said, that from the hands of Joam Fernandes Vieira, Francisco Barreto received that city, and the Crown of Portugal its empire of Brazil.

Vidal goes to Portugal with the tidings.

There were twelve hundred regular troops in Recife, one hundred and three brass guns, one hundred and seventy iron; eight hundred and fifty Indians had retired toward Seara. A Dutch colonel, by name Nicolaas, saved some of the distant garrisons; he got out of Recife upon a raft, and carried the news to Itamaraca, Paraiba, and the Potengi: at the first of these places four hundred men surrendered; but when the Portugueze arrived at Paraiba, they found that the enemy had embarked, with all their artillery and stores. Pedro Jaques and Brito Freire now proceeded with the convoy to Bahia, bearing with them the tidings of the complete expulsion of the enemy from Brazil, and giving to that city, says Raphael de Jesus, the happiest day which it had known since its foundation;.. a happiness however, it ought to be added, which the inhabitants had but ill deserved. Vidal went to Portugal with the tidings, and to plead in defence of the Pernambucans, who, in disobedience of the King's commands, had reconquered their country for him. F. Joam de Resurreiçam, a Benedictine, who had served through the whole war, embarked in a smaller vessel, and sailed out of Recife in his wake. They steered different courses, but reached the Bar of Lisbon on the same evening. Vidal anchored in the river, meaning not to land till he could proceed immediately to the palace; the monk knew his ship, and passed it, thinking he was gone on shore, and that they should meet at court; but finding that he was not there, he thought it did not become him to delay the communication of so important an event. It was on the eve of St. Joseph's Day, when the King's birth-day was to be celebrated; and the King is said to have received the news as an act of St. Joseph's favour.

Ericeyra, 824—40. D. Fr. Manoel Epanaphoras, 616. Cast. Lus. 10, § 19—48.

The recovery of Pernambuco had thus been happily effected, but the litigated points between the two cabinets were yet undecided, and Portugal did not obtain this advantage without a heavy counterbalance of loss and humiliation. Irritated as the Dutch were, they were not in a condition to take immediate revenge in Europe, for it was about this time that they received that signal defeat from the English in which Tromp was killed, and which reduced them to the necessity of submitting to such terms as Cromwell thought proper to impose. But they prosecuted their successes in the East, and, as Vieyra had foreseen, succeeded in expelling the Portugueze from Ceylon, the most lucrative and the most tenable of all their Indian possessions. In the scale of profit this acquisition far outweighed the loss of the Brazilian provinces, and the Government, consoling itself with this knowledge, and embarrassed by its nearer disputes with England, forebore awhile from pressing its demand of restitution. A Portugueze agent still remained at the Hague, and the two nations continued their contest in India and their intercourse in Europe. Things were in this state, when Joam IV. died, at the close of the year 1656. He died at an age when he might have hoped for many years of life, and at a time when Portugal could ill bear his loss; and he had been unhappy enough to survive his eldest son Theodosio, a youth who for his hopeful spirit, and for his patronage of all that deserves to be patronized by princes, as well as for his early death, may be compared to our own Prince Henry. The Queen, a woman of manly mind and courage, was left regent during the minority of her son Affonso VI. The Spaniards were now more than ever in hope of crushing what they termed the rebellion of the Portugueze; and the Dutch, being delivered by peace from the formidable enmity of Cromwell, renewed their demands upon a helpless country, and prepared to enforce them. It was at this

CHAP. XXII.

1654.

Death of Joam IV.

Ericeyra, p. 895.

CHAP. XXII. 1657.

time the policy of France to prevent the ruin of Portugal; Louis XIV. offered to act as mediator, and was accepted on both sides: accordingly a Portugueze ambassador was named to treat under these auspices; but the Dutch, who during a late dispute with France had made some naval preparations, having that force disposable, thought the best mode of accelerating the business would be to send it to the Tagus. The fleet accordingly sailed under Admiral Wassenaar, with Tenhoven and De Wit as commissioners; and Ruyter was recalled from the Mediterranean to rejoin them on the coast of Portugal, and take the command. They were instructed to intercept, if possible, the Brazil fleet, to take as many good prizes as they could, by way of quickening the negociations, and to declare war, if the terms which they proposed were not admitted.

The Dutch send a fleet to the Tagus to dictate terms.

The fleet, consisting of fourteen sail, anchored off the bar as friends, and as friends the Court sent them the customary refreshments. While they were waiting for Ruyter the commissioners landed, and were received by the Queen in council, to whom they presented a Latin memorial. It began with condoling upon the loss of the King her husband, proceeded to wish all prosperity to the King her son, and then passed to the subject in dispute: an answer was insisted upon within fourteen days, and this, it is said, was required in language which might have provoked some unpleasant acts of resentment, if the presence and the prudence of the Queen had not restrained her counsellors. She received the memorial courteously with her own hand, and another paper also, which contained these demands: that all the country between the River S. Francisco and Seara, inclusively, should be restored; all the artillery and stores which had been taken in the different forts; and all the private property of which the Dutch had been dispossessed in those provinces; that the Brazilian Portugueze should give

the Company one thousand draft oxen, one thousand cows, three hundred horses, and six hundred sheep, annually, for six years; that six hundred thousand florins should be paid the Company in six months, and thirteen thousand chests of sugar in thirteen years. Debts should be mutually paid; the Portugueze who chose to quit the ceded Captaincies might sell their property, but not remove it. The island of S. Thomas should be restored to the Dutch, with Angola, and all that had been taken from them upon that coast. The commissioners were asked if they came with powers to modify these terms,... otherwise it would be useless to discuss them: they replied, they had power to do whatever was just. Persons were then appointed to confer with them. The Portugueze observed, that it was very strange the States should negociate in this manner, after they had accepted the mediation of France, whose ambassador the Portugueze minister was gone to meet at the Hague. It was replied, that the mediation of France was not superseded by this step, for that the French ambassador at Lisbon might act. The restitution of Pernambuco was then said to be contrary to the religion of the Portugueze; to be impossible, considering the temper both of the Pernambucans and the people of Portugal; and to be against the laws of Portugal, which prohibited any such alienation during the minority of the sovereign. The Dutch instanced cases wherein catholic princes had made cessions of territory to protestant powers. It was replied, that in these cases the countries so ceded had been bordering states, liable to war, and accustomed to liberty of religion; therefore the precedent was not applicable to countries in which liberty of conscience had never been admitted. The King, it was added, had no means of controlling subjects so remote; and were he to recal his garrisons, as the Company required, the only effect would be that the Brazilians would deliver themselves to some other

CHAP. XXII. 1657.

CHAP. XXII. 1657.

crown; for they were a resolute people, and never would submit to the dominion of the States, from whom they had received such injuries in their properties, lives, and honours.

Conferences at Lisbon.

The commissioners then extended their term another week, and proposed a modified project, in which they receded from the demand of S. Thomas and Angola, requiring only a free trade with both places, and the right of erecting a fortress either in the Enseada de Soto, or on the rivers Coanza or Lucala. They still required the restitution of the provinces in Brazil, but lowered the amount of indemnification to three millions of florins, in money and sugar, payable in the course of eight years. To this the Portugueze made answer, that if the impossible demand of restitution were laid aside, her Majesty would instruct them to treat upon the rest, at whatever cost. The French ambassador now proposed, that if the commissioners had power so to do, they should offer a project, not including the restitution: that if they had no such power, an ambassador should be sent to Holland, who might there conclude a solid peace, under the mediation of the King of France and the Protector of England; or that if this were inconvenient, the place of meeting should be in France. The Queen declared herself willing to accede to either of these methods: the commissioners protested they could do nothing unless Pernambuco were restored; the Frenchman argued, that this was renouncing the mediation of his sovereign, for the use of a mediator was to moderate rigorous terms; but the Dutch persisted that the restitution of Pernambuco must be the *sine quâ non*. The Queen then laid the state of affairs before all her different councils and tribunals, thus appealing, as far as is possible in such a government, to the people. They unanimously replied, that there was no instance in their history wherein the patrimony of the crown had been diminished under a minority, and that the Portugueze were ready to die in de-

fending the territory which their ancestors had won. Persons who were conversant with Brazil were consulted, and they protested that the restitution was impossible. The Dutch negociators then declared that force must be the alternative; and the Portugueze called upon their countrymen to say, like the Maccabees, "We have not taken the land of another, neither do we keep that which is not our own." When the negociation was approaching this point, the Queen laid an embargo upon the Dutch ships at Lisbon and Setubal; and the commissioners, who came out with instructions to intercept the Brazil fleet, and seize all Portugueze ships which might be worth taking, made the most earnest representations through their Consul against this measure, and requested that the commerce between the two countries might have its course! Before they departed they wished to take leave of the Queen; but being informed that she was indisposed, they expressed their sorrow at being deprived of that honour, and at the occasion which deprived them; and left with the secretary of state a sealed letter, which they required him to deliver into her hand. The letter which was accompanied with this complimentary language contained a declaration of war.

CHAP. XXII. 1657.

Pinheiro Collection: MSS. Vol. 2, No. 10

Oct. 22.

Ruyter now joined the squadron, and had it not been for a seasonable fog he would have inflicted a heavy blow upon the reviving commerce of Portugal. The homeward-bound Brazil fleet of eighty-four sail, then daily expected, was separated by a storm in latitude thirty-one, and part of it fell in with the enemy; but such was the thickness of the weather, that though the Dutch squadron were for two days actually in the midst of forty sail of richly-laden merchantmen, only five were captured. After this disappointment Ruyter returned to winter in Holland, suffering much upon the way from want of water, and from tempests. In the ensuing year he was sent out with twenty-two sail, having three thousand three hundred troops on board, with

Operations of Ruyter on the coast of Portugal.

1658.

CHAP. XXII. 1658. orders to attack the Portugueze by land and by sea, and commit every kind of hostility against them. He was to be followed by reinforcements, under Wassenaar, but these were never sent: his own fleet suffered from storms upon the way, and when he arrived off the Tagus it was discovered that the ships were so ill supplied with water-casks that they could only contain enough for ten days' consumption. The enemy were too wise to come out for the purpose of giving him battle, and in a few days he found it necessary to put into Cadiz for water, and to anchor under Cape St. Vincents, for the purpose of cleaning his ships. He continued after this to cruise off the coast, with little injury to the Portugueze, till the commencement of winter, and then again returned to Holland. His appearance had seemed to accelerate the negociations; but meantime Holland became involved in the dispute between Denmark and Sweden, and the Portugueze, having experienced how little had been done by the Dutch when they had no other object in view, made no haste to conclude the pending treaty when they saw them engaged in the Baltic. Both parties, however, were weary of the contest, for there now remained little in the East of which Holland could hope to despoil the Portugueze, and nothing in the West for Portugal to recover from the Dutch. At this time D. Fernando Telles de Faro was sent ambassador to the Hague, and he, either thinking that the affairs of his country were going to ruin, or that his own private fortunes might be improved by an act of treason, absconded from his mission, deserted to the Spaniards, and revealed the secrets of his government to the Spanish court. The Spaniards assured the States, upon this traitor's authority, that the Queen of Portugal would restore Pernambuco if the demand were persisted in, and the States accordingly raised their demands; being encouraged in this also by the conduct of Charles II. then on his way to receive the

Brandt. Life of Ruyter, French translation, p. 97—108.

1659.

crown of England; for that prince, while he showed every mark of favour to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, refused to admit the visits of the Portugueze minister, the Conde de Miranda, as if it was not his intention to recognize the Braganzan dynasty. But Charles soon altered his views; and while treating for his marriage with a Portugueze princess, he intimated to the Dutch, that if they persevered in their resentment against Portugal, he should become a party in the dispute. France also now interfered more earnestly, for the purpose of delivering Portugal from one enemy, that it might be better able to resist the Spaniards. The long-protracted negociations were therefore at length concluded, Portugal consenting to pay to the amount of four millions of *cruzados*, in money, sugar, tobacco, and salt, as might be most convenient to her, in sixteen annual payments; and to restore all the artillery taken in Brazil which was marked either with the arms of the United Provinces or of the West India Company. This was the preliminary article to a long commercial treaty, at the close of which it was stipulated that all matters of litigation between the subjects of the two powers respecting property in Brazil should be amicably settled within two months; if this could not be done, three commissioners were to be mutually appointed, who should go over for the term of eighteen months, to inform themselves upon the spot of all the points in dispute, and then meet at Lisbon, there to pass sentence finally and without appeal.

Ericeyra. T. 2, 269, 310.

Interference of England,

Aug. 6.

and final settlement of peace.

Du Mont.

Thus after so many years of mutual insincerity and mutual suffering, the struggle between the Portugueze and Dutch was ended. The dishonourable aggressions of the Dutch at the commencement of the ten years truce gave the Portugueze a fair pretext for their subsequent infractions of the same agreement: though if no such pretext had been given, it cannot be doubted that the Pernambucans would have risen against a heavy and a

CHAP. XXII. 1661.

galling yoke, and it is more than probable that Portugal, from its religious principles and its national spirit, would have aided and abetted the insurgents. The motives of that insurrection were both as evil and as good as they have been represented by the writers of the different countries. Joam Fernandes Vieira would not perhaps have found encouragement in his designs, if many of the leading conspirators had not been men of desperate fortunes; but on the other hand, nothing short of the high principle of patriotism could have enabled him and his countrymen to persevere through so many difficulties, and such continual disappointments. As in the commencement of the struggle, there is much that is disgraceful on both parts, so also the termination cannot be considered as honourable to either: the Dutch were beaten out of the country in dispute, and the Portugueze consented to pay for the victory which they had obtained. But Portugal must not be reproached for this submission, at a time of the utmost internal weakness, and the greatest pressure of danger from Spain. At that time the loss of Ceylon may perhaps have been thought to outweigh the recovery of the Brazilian provinces: but Ceylon must always have fallen to a stronger maritime power, and the Portugueze, though the most amalgamating in their policy of all the European conquerors, and in that respect the wisest, would still have formed but a small part of its population. On the other hand, the recovery of Pernambuco has left Portugal in undisputed possession of one of the most extensive and highly-favoured regions of the globe; . . an empire which under every imaginable circumstance of misgovernment has continued to advance in population and in industry, which is now rapidly progressive, and which, whatever revolutions it may be destined to undergo, will remain the patrimony of a Portugueze people, speaking the language of Fernam Lopes, of Barros, of Camoens, and Vieyra.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Jesuits invited into Paraguay. They establish Reductions in Guayra, and on the Parana and Uruguay. The Portugueze of S. Paulo attack them, and they are obliged to retire to the country between the two rivers.

While the northern provinces were engaged in this long struggle against the Dutch, the Jesuits established that dominion in Paraguay, of which the rise, progress, and overthrow are inseparably connected with the history of Brazil.

The bishop of Tucuman invites Jesuits from Brazil and Peru.

A few years after the third foundation of Buenos Ayres, D. Francisco Victoria, first Bishop of Tucuman, seeing the lamentable state of religion in his diocese, wrote to the two Provincials of the Company in Brazil and in Peru, requesting they would send some of their order to his assistance: the Bishop was a Dominican, and this application shows how highly the Jesuits were at that time esteemed. From Peru the fathers Francisco Angulo and Alonso Barsena were sent with Juan de Villegas, a lay brother: they came from Potosi, and were received at Salta (which had then recently been founded) with incredible joy, say their historians, as though they had been angels from heaven: for although the Spaniards were corrupted by plenty, and by the abundance of slaves and women whom they had at command, they nevertheless regretted the want of that outward religion, the observance

CHAP. XXIII. 1586.

of which was so easily made compatible with every kind of vice. At Santiago de Estero, which was then the capital and episcopal city, triumphal arches were erected, the way was strewn with flowers, the Governor with the soldiers and chief inhabitants went out in procession to meet them, and a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated, at which the bishop chaunted the Te Deum. Anchieta was provincial of Brazil when the application arrived there: he deputed five of his flock upon this mission; Leonardo Arminio, an Italian, was the superior; the others were the fathers Juan Salonio, Thomas Filds, a Scotchman, Estevam de Grao, and Manoel de Ortega, both Portugueze. After falling into the hands of some English sea-rovers on the way, and experiencing, after the manner of Jesuits, many miraculous interpositions in their favour, they landed at Buenos Ayres, and crossed the plains to Cordoba, where they met the brethren from Peru, of whose coming they had had no previous intimation. Arminio immediately perceived that this province might more easily be supplied from Peru than from Brazil; and though Spain and Portugal were under one sovereign, yet as a distinction was still made between the Spanish and Portugueze conquests, he thought some offence might be taken if members of the two provinces, being responsible to different governments, were to act together. He and Grao therefore returned to Brazil, but he left the others, who differed from him in opinion. Ortega remained at Cordoba with Barsena, and the other two accompanied Angulo to Santiago.

Techo, p. 19—20. Charlevoix, T. 1, 172.

The Portugueze Jesuits invited to Asumpcion.

It is especially the duty of an historian at this time to relate the good and the evil of the Jesuits with strict impartiality, neither detracting from their virtues, nor concealing their impostures. They relate that Barsena and Ortega, while preaching among the Indians, marrying them by hundreds, and baptizing them by thousands, were at length in such want of food that

they were reduced to a daily allowance of twelve grains of maize. Barsena, being the elder and weaker, was almost dying of inanition, when, after saying his prayers one night, he ordered Ortega to depart at midnight, and go purchase provisions at the house of a Spaniard two hundred miles off. Impossibility is no impediment in these cases; Ortega borrowed a horse, which, as soon as he bestrode it, set off like an arrow from a bow: mountains and plains he crossed with the same portentous speed, and in less than eleven hours performed the journey. The Spaniard immediately sent a servant with a party of Indians and a convoy of stores: Ortega meantime returned as fast as he came; the convoy, which was well mounted, and made all the speed it could, was twelve days upon the road; and it is but reasonable to suppose that another miracle was wrought to support Barsena while they were upon the way, for otherwise the former would have been useless. Shortly afterwards the Brazilian Jesuits were sent to some tribes upon the Rio Vermejo, of the Toconoté race, and Barsena, who composed a grammar of that language, and was the only one of the party who could speak it, went with them; but he fell sick, and was obliged to return to Santiago, and the Portugueze had then no means of conversing with the people whom they were sent to convert. When they were at Buenos Ayres, D. Alonso Guerra, the bishop of Asumpcion, was in that city holding a visitation, and had endeavoured to persuade them to accompany him to Paraguay, where their knowledge of the Tupi tongue would enable them to be usefully employed among the Guarani tribes. Finding themselves unprofitable servants in their present situation, they obtained leave from F. Angulo, under whose orders they had been placed, and went to Asumpcion, where they were received with every mark of distinction and joy.

CHAP. XXIII. 1536.

Charlevoix, I, 178. Techo, l. I, c. 30, there quoted.

Hervas, Tr. I, c. 2, § 3.

Charlevoix, I, 180.

F. Luis de Rolanos, a Franciscan, and a disciple of St. Fran- 1588.

CHAP. XXIII. 1588.

cisco Solano, had converted some of the Guaranies, and composed a catechism in their language. He had been recalled on account of age and infirmities, and no person had succeeded to his labours; but those labours prepared a way for the Company. Salonio remained at Asumpcion, while Ortega and Filds went down the Paraguay, and entered the province of Guayra. They spent some months in reconnoitring the country, and then returning to the capital, informed Salonio that they had seen two hundred thousand Indians, who appeared proper subjects for the Kingdom of Heaven. A pestilence was at this time raging in Asumpcion and the adjacent country: pestilences, says Charlevoix, are the harvests of the ministers of God; he hints that the Jesuits were favoured on this occasion with supernatural celerity in passing from one place to another, and affirms that they baptized six thousand Indians at the point of death. The zeal and the intrepid charity with which they sought out the infected, and ministered to the dying, confirmed the good repute which they had obtained. A chapel and a dwelling-house were built for them at Villarica, being their first establishment in Paraguay, and three years afterward the magistrates and people of Asumpcion applied to the King, to the General of the Company, and to the Provincial in Peru, for permission to found a Jesuit College in their city. Without waiting for a reply, the result of which was not doubted, they purchased from the public funds ground for the building; F. Juan Romero arriving with a few brethren from Peru as Superior of the Mission, accepted it with reference to the pleasure of the King and the General; and the wealthiest of the inhabitants, women as well as men, vied with each other in working at the foundations. In the fervour of their zeal they spared no costs, and when Romero would have persuaded them to proceed upon a scale of less expence, they made answer that they were working for Christ,

A Jesuit college founded there.

1590.

1593.

Charlevoix, I. 177—97.

and consequently it was not possible to do too much. Six years afterwards a college was founded at Cordoba. CHAP. XXIII. 1599.

Ortega and Filds continued many years in Guayra, itinerating among the savages. In one of these excursions the former was caught by a sudden flood between two rivers: both overflowed, and presently the whole plain had the appearance of one boundless lake. The missionary and the party of Neophytes who accompanied him were used to inconveniences of this kind, and thought to escape, as heretofore, with marching mid-deep in water: but the flood continued to rise, and compelled them to take to the trees for safety. The storm increased, the rain continued, and the inundation augmented; and among the beasts and reptiles whom the waters had surprized, one of the huge American serpents approached the tree upon which Ortega and his catechist had taken refuge, and coiling round one of the branches, began to ascend, while they fully expected to be devoured, having neither means of escape nor of defence: the branch by which he sought to lift himself broke under his weight, and the monster swam off. But though they were thus delivered from this danger, their situation was truly dreadful: two days passed, and in the middle of the second night one of the Indians came swimming towards the tree by the lightning's light, and called to Ortega, telling him that six of his companions were at the point of death; they who had not yet been baptized intreated him to baptize them, and those who had received that sacrament requested absolution ere they died. The Jesuit fastened his catechist to the bough by which he held, then let himself down into the water, and swam to perform these offices; he had scarcely completed them before five of these poor people dropt and sunk: and when he got back to his own tree the water had reached the neck of his catechist, whom he had now to untie, and help him to gain a higher branch. The flood, however,

Adventure of Ortega.

Charlevoix, I, 202–4.

CHAP. XXIII. 1600.

now began to abate. Ortega, in swimming among the thorny boughs received a wound in his leg, which was never thoroughly healed during the two and twenty years that he survived this dreadful adventure.

Deliberations concerning itinerancy.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century father Esteban Paez was sent from Europe as Visitor, to inspect the state of the Company in Peru and its dependences, of which the Plata, then including Paraguay, was one. He convened all the Jesuits of Tucuman and of the Plata to meet him at Salta, and deliberate upon forming some system on which to proceed in the conversion of the natives. Accordingly they all assembled, and Paez laid before them his objections to the itinerating course which had been hitherto pursued. There could be little reliance, he said, upon conversions thus cursorily made, and upon converts who having been imperfectly instructed were presently left to themselves. The instability of such things was proved by the example of Solano: he had run through Tucuman and great part of the Chaco; he had baptized multitudes, and yet, though he was still living, scarcely did a trace remain of all his labours. The word was like the good seed; it sufficed not for the sower to scatter it, and then go his way, leaving it to chance; the seed that was sown must carefully be watched until the harvest. This opinion was too reasonable to be controverted. The missionaries nevertheless represented, that in what they had hitherto done they had acted in obedience to the Bishops and Vicars General, in whose jurisdiction they were placed: that their labours had not been useless, for they had acquired a knowledge of the country, and of the character of the different tribes: that God had his purposes in these cursory expeditions: that apostolical men were sometimes inspired to pass rapidly from one province to another, like those flying clouds to which they were likened by the prophet Isaiah: that they

entirely agreed with him as to the propriety of laying the foundation for something durable, and in some places indeed had made establishments; but that itinerancy ought not to be given up, having been ordained in the course of providence for the salvation of many predestined souls, which oftentimes depended upon this means; a truth exemplified in the labours of S. Francisco Solano, which God had authorized by so many miracles. In this view of the subject the visitor could not differ from his brethren; and as the best means of facilitating the work in which they were engaged, he proposed, that the whole country east of the Paraguay and north of the Plata should be left to the Jesuits of Brazil, for the obvious reasons that it was within their reach, and that they were already masters of the general language spoken throughout those provinces: Tucuman and the Chaco were to receive their missionaries from Peru. This project was so well approved in Tucuman that many towns wrote to the General of the Company, offering to establish colleges. But a different spirit was manisfested at Asumpcion. There was already in that city a party hostile to these new missionaries; when they saw them all depart to the Council at Salta they exultingly observed, that establishments in so poor a country as Paraguay were not to the taste of the Jesuits, who found more attractions in the vicinity of Peru. If zeal for souls was their ruling motive, why did they leave a province where there was abundance of work, and where they had been willingly received? But when it was said that their place was to be supplied by brethren from Brazil, this they affirmed must be a mere evasion: for could it be supposed either that the Council of the Indies would suffer Portugueze missionaries to form establishments in a Castilian province, or that the Government of Portugal would undertake to supply with spiritual succours a country which did not belong to it? *Charlevoix, 1, 206—8.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1602.

CHAP. XXIII. 1602.

While the Visitor was reflecting upon this material objection, which he seems at first to have overlooked, Ortega was summoned from Salta to deliver himself up to the Inquisition at Lima. Upon his arrival there he was cast into prison, and according to the custom of that tribunal, left in confinement without the slightest intimation of the charge against him. After he had remained five months, his superiors were so far successful in interfering for him that he was delivered over to their custody, on condition that they should produce him when required, and that he should neither be permitted to officiate at mass, nor go out of the college, nor see any person from without. In this disgraceful confinement he continued two years, when an inhabitant of Villarica, who in revenge for some real or imaginary offence had accused him of having divulged things revealed to him in confession, declared on his death-bed that the accusation had been malicious. The Inquisition then pronounced with due form that Ortega was innocent. Such an example might have taught the Jesuits the iniquity of a tribunal under whose proceedings it is impossible for any person to prove his innocence; and the innocent, even if at last absolved, suffer in the process a severer punishment than the guilty would have deserved.

Ortega thrown into the Inquisition at Lima.

Charlevoix, 1, 209.

Though the Visitor had summoned all the Jesuits of Paraguay to meet him at the Council, Filds was left at Asumpcion: his age and infirmities made him unequal to the fatigue of the journey, and he remained in possession of their premises. It was perhaps foreseen that this might be an important service. Certain members of another order, who wished to establish themselves there, had cast a covetous eye upon their neighbours' house, and presuming upon the rumour that the Company would not return, they proposed to Filds that he should sell the property. The old father resisted their importunities, referring them always to his superior Romero. Had Filds died, these other

Attempt to dispossess the Jesuits of their college at Asumpcion.

religioners would easily have obtained permission to occupy the vacant ground, and it would afterwards have been difficult to dispossess them. Romero perceived the danger, and was well pleased when he received instructions at the same time from Aquaviva the General, and from the Provincial of Peru, to send Lorenzana back to Asumpcion, with one companion. Their friends in that city had written to the General, complaining of the Visitor for having summoned away the missionaries. The Bishop of Asumpcion also wrote to Romero, requesting him to send them back as soon as possible, otherwise, he said, he would apply to the General, and, if necessary, to the Catholick King, and to his Holiness himself. This Bishop happened to be nephew of Loyola, and was therefore particularly induced to regard the Jesuits with favour.

Charlevoix, I, 214.

F. Giuseppe Cataldino, an Italian, was the man chosen to accompany Lorenzana, and destined with him to lay the foundation of one of the most remarkable institutions recorded in history. Their boat was wrecked in ascending the Paraguay, and they were in danger of perishing by hunger on its uninhabited shores, when the Bishop, on his way to Buenos Ayres, providentially relieved them, and gave them one of his own boats, well supplied, to perform the remainder of the voyage. They were joyfully received at Asumpcion. Hitherto the only opposition which they had experienced there had arisen from the envy of other orders; but ere long they provoked a more dangerous hostility. In Paraguay, as in other parts of the Spanish Indies, it was the practice to dispose of the natives in what were called *Encomiendas;* the word implying that they were put under the protection of the *Encomendero*, or Lord; but such protection differed only in the name from slavery. This system necessarily grew out of the position, that the New World and all therein belonged to the King of Spain, by virtue of the Pope's grant; the

The Encomienda system.

CHAP. XXIII. 1602.

Spaniards therefore were fully convinced that they had a clear right to conquer these countries, and dispose of the inhabitants as they pleased. A feudal principle was thus naturally adopted, and the conqueror who received a grant of land, took with it the inhabitants, as the human stock of his domain. There were, however, two kinds of *Encomiendas*. If the natives had resisted, and were actually conquered, they were then called *Yanaconas*, the appellation given to a race of slaves or helots in Peru. According to the intentions of the Council of the Indies, these persons should rather have been serfs than slaves: the *Encomendero* fed and clothed them, and was forbidden either to sell or banish them, or in any way use them ill: they were his labourers, giving their work for their maintenance; and there was a condition that he should have them taught some handicraft trade, and see that they were instructed in christianity. If the Indians had voluntarily submitted themselves, they were called *Mitayos*, a word also of Peruvian growth, signifying task-men. A settlement was then made, and municipal officers chosen among the natives, according to the forms of a Spanish town. But these settlements were also given to *Encomenderos;* here, however, only the men between the ages of eighteen and fifty were bound to labour, and only during two months in the year; the women, the *Curacas*, or chiefs, with their eldest sons, and the municipal officers, being exempt. Such *Encomiendas* were of course less coveted than those in which the natives were *Yanaconas*. In either case they were granted for two lives, after which the Indians were to become as free as the Spaniards themselves, excepting only that they were subject to the capitation tax. In the course of two lives it was thought they would be educated sufficiently to be capable of this advancement. Thus the Spanish Government reasoned in endeavouring to regulate a merciless system which it had in vain attempted to sup-

Acosta De Proc. Ind. Sal. l. 3, c. 11. Solorzano, l. 3. Techo, p. 28. Azara, t. 2, c. 12.

press[4]. The regulations were good and the reasoning was specious; but the system upon which the Spanish legislators speculated as a means of civilization was established by the Spanish conquerors as a means of oppression; in the spirit of avarice and cruelty it had been founded, and in defiance of all regulations in that same spirit it was pursued. CHAP. XXIII. 1602.

The Jesuits oppose the practice of enslaving the natives, and thereby render themselves unpopular.

Force may sometimes be the only means of civilization; the Romans succeeded in using it; the Spaniards failed in the end, but they inflicted all the evils of the process. It happened that at this time some Indians who were suffering under this system rose and massacred the Spaniards who resided among them: the commanding officer at Asumpcion set out with a troop of soldiers to chastise them; on the way he thought it more profitable to turn aside, and fall upon some unoffending and unsuspicious allies, a great number of whom he brought home in triumph and sold for slaves. Lorenzana cried aloud against this iniquity; he remonstrated with the commander first, declared to the purchasers that they could not without committing a grievous sin detain men who had been thus wrongfully enslaved; and finding all private representations ineffectual, he threatened the offenders

[4] Azara *(T. 2, C. 12,)* ascribes the invention of this system to Yrala, who, he says, devised it as a means of extending the Spanish conquests without any expence to the government. If any person can be said to have invented it, it is Columbus himself; it began under him, and he cannot be acquitted of having authorized it. And it was established in the Islands, on the Spanish Main, in Mexico, and in Peru, before Yrala entered Paraguay. Azara also attributes to Yrala the modifications which limited the term of these grants to two lives, and provided for the instruction and emancipation of the natives. *"De sorte que, selon moi,"* he says, *"il etoit impossible de mieux combiner l'aggrandisement des conquetes et la civilization et la liberté des Indiens, avec la recompense due aux particulieres qui faisaient tout a leurs depens."* But whatever merit there may be in the theory is due to the Spanish Government. The conquerors, with perhaps the single exception of Cortes, cared for nothing but enriching themselves.

CHAP. XXIII. 1602.

from the pulpit with the vengeance of heaven, if they did not restore these injured Indians to liberty. The Treasurer of the Cathedral upon this commanded him to be silent, and leave the church: Lorenzana immediately obeyed, without discovering the slightest emotion of anger. It is said that this moderation affected the Treasurer so much, that he went into the pulpit, and with a loud voice confessed his fault, for having insulted a good man who was in the discharge of his duty; that this confession, proceeding perhaps merely from fear, did not disarm offended heaven; that he fell from that moment into a state of mental agitation, which speedily terminated in convulsions, frenzy, and death; and that this event contributed more to the deliverance of the prisoners than all the preacher's eloquence had done. In ecclesiastical history it is often impossible to unravel truth from falsehood, so intricately is the machinery woven into the web of the narration. The sudden illness and death of the Treasurer would naturally be deemed miraculous by the Jesuits and by those who admired their principles and conduct, and might for a time impress others; but they themselves say, that though this affair appeared at first to terminate in their advantage, it left a feeling of dislike towards them, which from that time continued to ferment in the public mind.

Charlevoix, I. 216.

1608. *They become unpopular in Tucuman.*

Diego de Torres was now appointed Provincial of Chili and Paraguay, the two countries being united into one Jesuit-province. He set out from Peru with fifteen brethren, part of whom he sent to Chili, and conducted the others to Tucuman. About the same time eight brethren landed at Buenos Ayres; they had been selected by the General of the Order, and sent out at the King's expence. Buenos Ayres was now a flourishing port; for though foreign vessels were forbidden to put in there, they found their way under various pretexts, and had established a gainful contraband trade. But the savages, who had waged such fierce and successful war against the first inva-

ders of their territory, were still active and formidable enemies. Since the third foundation of the city, not less than two thousand persons had perished by their hands, and they still kept the inhabitants in fear. Some had been subjugated, but they had then been enslaved, and therefore only waited for opportunity to take vengeance upon their oppressors. The Jesuits were expected eagerly, because it was hoped that they would convert and so conciliate the subjected tribes. But it was too late;.. the wrong had been done; there was no disposition to redress it, and it was in vain to preach christianity to men who were oppressed and enslaved by the professors of christianity. This the Jesuits perceived, and declared that the first step must be to lighten the yoke of the Indians. The people of Buenos Ayres would not listen to this, and Torres, by preaching the same language in Tucuman, provoked such enmity, that at Cordoba and Santiago the Spaniards withheld all alms from the Company, with the avowed intention of starving them out of their newly-established colleges. They were come, they said, to trouble quiet consciences with groundless scruples: under the mask of an extravagant humanity they concealed interested views of ambition, and had no other end in depriving the settlers of the services of the Indians than that of monopolizing it for themselves. In consequence of this popular dislike the Jesuits were obliged to abandon Santiago, and remove to S. Miguel, where they were well received.

Techo, 25. Charlevoix, 1, 216–22.

They obtain powers from Madrid to act among the natives upon their own system.

Torres was now summoned to Asumpcion by the Bishop and the Governor, in consequence of an edict which they had received from Madrid, expressing the King's absolute will that the Indians of Paraguay should be subdued by the sword of the spirit alone, unless they made war upon the Spaniards and thereby rendered offensive measures justifiable and necessary; otherwise he would have none but missionaries employed to reduce them, for he wanted no subjects by compulsion, nor did he

CHAP. XXIII. 1609.

seek to deprive the people of these countries of their liberty, but to reclaim them from their savage and dissolute way of life, to make them know and adore the true God, and render them happy here and hereafter. The Court of Spain was sincere in these professions; few governments have had heavier crimes to answer for; their zeal has been literally a burning and consuming fire; but the whole tenor of their laws respecting the Indians bears witness to its sincerity, and in this instance to its benevolence. Torres was consulted how to carry these intentions into effect. The Guarani catechism which Rolaños had composed was examined by a committee of theologians, and of persons best skilled in the Guarani tongue, and having been approved by both, was ordered to be exclusively used wherever that tongue was spoken. This was all which had yet been done, except the transitory conversion of those whom Rolaños had instructed, and Ortega and Filds after him; when Cataldino and F. Simon Maceta, who was also an Italian, were commissioned to execute the King's intentions, the Governor and the Bishop giving them full powers to collect their converts into townships, to govern them independently of any town or fortress, to build churches, and in the King's name to resist all who might attempt under any pretext to subject these new christians to the burden of personal service.

Charlevoix, 1, 224—6.

Settlement in Guayra.

Guayra was the scene to which these missionaries were destined. Under this name a large track of country was comprehended, of which the Uruguay formed the southern and the Parana the western boundary; eastward it extended to the then undefined borders of Brazil, and terminated on the north in trackless woods and marshes. About the middle of the sixteenth century some of its tribes solicited aid of Yrala against the Portugueze, and more immediately against the Tupis, who found it a gainful sport to procure slaves for the southern captaincies. Yrala upon this hastened to occupy the country for the crown

of Castille, and named it after a Cacique by whom he was well received. Accustomed as he had been to wars of this kind, he found little difficulty in intimidating the Brazilian savages, and making them supplicate for peace; but in exploring a way back by water he lost above a hundred of his flotilla with great part of their crew, among the rapids, and taking then to the woods, through which they had to open a way with the axe, many more of his people perished. Upon his return from this disastrous expedition he sent Vergara to form a settlement on the Parana, high up, toward Brazil, which might serve as an inland port for ships from Spain, a project which did not appear unreasonable at a time when vessels from the mother country proceeded as far as Asumpcion. Vergara, paying little regard to this part of his instructions, fixed the site of his new town above the Great Falls, and named it Ontiveros, after the place of his birth; but Ciudad Real being founded soon after, three leagues higher up, where the Pequeri falls into the Parana, Ontiveros was then abandoned. About twenty years afterwards another settlement was founded by Melgarejo, and called Villa Rica. The people of these towns imagined at one time that they were about to become rich beyond all former adventurers; those coloured crystals which are found encased in stone, and said to explode like natural granades, are common in this province; the Spaniards persuaded themselves that they were precious stones of the greatest value, mutinied under a turbulent Englishman whose name was Nicholas Colman, and determined to set out for Spain with their treasures. The insurrection was quelled, and the heaviest punishment which the revolters endured was that of being undeceived. Ciudad Real and Villa Rica were high-sounding but fallacious appellations. Melgarejo was more distinguished by his crimes than his abilities: he divided the natives among the settlers; this system, as usual, produced an

CHAP. XXIII. 1609.

1554.

1557.

1576.

Argentina, MS. Techo, p. 30.

CHAP. XXIII. 1609.

inevitable depopulation, the evil of which recoiled upon the oppressors, and left them in distress and poverty.

The Jesuits enter Guayra, and found the first Reduction.

There were at this time but two priests in the whole province; the one a vagabond friar, who having lost the habit of his order, disgraced the clerical gown which he wore in its stead; the other so ignorant a fellow, that it was doubtful whether he possessed sufficient knowledge to render the sacraments valid which he administered. Here, therefore, as throughout the whole of this vast diocese, except in the capital, there scarcely existed the shadow of religion. Crucifixes indeed and beads were to be found, but in most places there were no forms of worship observed, and manners were in that state of depravity which characterizes all colonies wherein slavery prevails, and all countries wherein the observances of religion are utterly neglected. The people at Ciudad Real and at Villa Rica welcomed the two missionaries; little as they felt of religion, or thought of its essentials, they were glad of an opportunity of solemnizing marriages which till then had only been civil contracts, of clearing off long sin-scores, securing a right to salvation for their children, and obtaining for themselves, in case of death, the regular passports to the kingdom of heaven. But when they understood what system the Jesuits were authorized to pursue, they regarded them with evil eyes. It availed not to represent that their own interests would be best promoted by measures of humanity, that the present course produced a rapid depopulation, and that the only means of remedying this was to make civilization and conversion go hand in hand. The Spaniards turned a deaf ear to all reasonings, refused to supply them with guides, and when a chief of the tribes among whom they had resolved to make their first essay came to Villa Rica to guide them himself, they put him in irons, and threw him into prison. The fathers obtained his release by their firmness, and began their journey under his guid-

ance. They travelled by land to the Paranapane, embarked upon that river, and proceeded between the tall cedar-forests upon its shores to the spot where it receives the Pirapé. Here they found about two hundred families, whom Ortega and Filds had baptized, and with them they formed the first of those settlements to which the general appellation of Reductions was now first given. This they called Loretto, . . . a name which their successors admired, as being peculiarly appropriate for the cradle of the Christian Republic of the Guaranies. CHAP. XXIII. 1610. *Techo*, 31. *Charlevoix*, 1, 226—9.

Having formed this first establishment, they itinerated among the hordes for some fourscore leagues around, endeavouring to persuade them of the advantages which they would enjoy if they consented to gather together, and live under the new system. A man from Ciudad Real accompanied them as a volunteer interpreter: they noticed with some surprize that his baggage gradually diminished till all was gone, and that his apparel then disappeared piece by piece, so that at length he had no other clothing than a wrapper round the loins. Upon enquiring the cause of this he replied, "You fathers preach in your fashion, and I preach in mine. You have the gift of the word, which God has not given me, and I endeavour to supply it by works. I have distributed all that I had among the principal Indians of the country, in hope that when this liberality has gained the chiefs, it may be easier to win the rest." He concluded by requesting leave to return home, now that he had given away all, and was no longer necessary, they themselves being now sufficiently conversant in the Guarani tongue. He had not long taken his leave before it was discovered that his real business had been to purchase slaves, a whole herd of whom he bore away with him. The Jesuits could not without difficulty clear themselves from the suspicion of having been partners in this traffic. *Artifices of a slave-dealer.* *Charlevoix*, 1, 229.

Loretto soon became so populous that a second Reduction *Miracles.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1610.

was formed about six miles distant, and named [5] St. Ignatius, in due honour of the Patriarch of the Society. Two others were founded shortly afterwards, and the views of Cataldino and Maceta expanding with their conquests, they began to see what might be effected with the means which Providence had placed in their hands, and conceived the idea of a Christian Republic, upon their own ideal of Christian perfection. Miracles, says a Jesuit historian, were necessary for their success, and he who inspired the plan was not sparing of them. This history must not be stript of its machinery, for if the miracles were laid aside and the facts alone related, the Jesuits themselves would not be fairly represented. Of those tales, as of all such, many may be humanly explained, in others the only alternative is between miracle and falsehood: the Protestant will not hesitate which solution to prefer; the Catholic who may will have advanced one step towards reformation. The first of these divine interpositions are said to have been examples of terror: the instance which is recorded marks the spirit of the Order and of their Church. The Cacique of the Loretto Reduction had been one of the earliest converts, and his sincerity was not doubted, because he

Charlevoix.

[5] Azara (*T. 2, p. 225,*) says this was the first settlement, and that it was made by force, with the help of the inhabitants of Yaguaron, and of many detachments of Spanish soldiers: he affirms also, and endeavours to prove, that all the Reductions founded within the next twenty-five years were in like manner established by compulsion. It must not be supposed that he makes this a charge against the Jesuits, ... he thinks they did well in employing force for wise and good purposes. If the fact were thus I should be far from blaming them; but I believe him to be entirely mistaken. It is certain that the Jesuits in Paraguay pursued the system which Nobrega had begun in Brazil, and it is equally certain that their means were means of persuasion alone. That the fear of the Paulistas drove many Indians to seek shelter in the Reductions is more likely.

had begun by putting away his women; but after a while he began to cohabit with them again in secret, and at length openly returned in this respect to his former way of life. The missionaries remonstrated with him in vain, then menaced him with the vengeance of heaven, and finally cut him off from the society of the faithful. Then it was, say they, that he experienced the rigour of that justice which he had defied; for his cabin took fire when he was alone in it, and he was miserably burnt alive. CHAP. XXIII. 1610. *Charlevoix, 230.*

In consequence of the prosperity of these Reductions in Guayra, some Guaranies between the Parana and Asumpcion who had been upon friendly terms with Cabeza de Vca, having been ill-treated by the Spaniards after his arrest, had revenged themselves since that time by perpetual hostilities, applied to the Governor of Paraguay, requesting that he would send them a missionary. He referred their request to the Bishop, who was a Dominican, by name Lizarraga: this prelate made answer that none of his clergy would trust themselves among cannibals, and moreover, that in the dearth of labourers it did not become him to deprive the catholics of spiritual succours for the sake of savages. The Governor had not expected such a reply; he went in person to the Bishop, taking with him Torres the Provincial, and they jointly represented how essential it was to the well-being of the Spaniards, the King's service, and the cause of Christ, that every opportunity of reducing the natives by such means should be improved. Lizarraga in return asked if the Governor could furnish his priests with a good escort, for otherwise he protested that he would not appoint any to such a service. It being thus evident that nothing was to be hoped from this quarter, Torres was left to provide adventurers; so going forthwith to the College, he convoked the brethren, and having briefly stated the circumstances, fixed his eye upon Lorenzana the Rector, and said in the words of the Lord to *Lorenzana goes among the Guaranies.* *Ch. 6, v. 8.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1610.

Isaiah, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Lorenzana threw himself at his feet, and replied as the prophet had done, "Here am I; send me!" F. Francisco de St. Martin, who had but lately arrived, was permitted to accompany him, for the double object of relieving him in what he could, and forming himself under one who was rightly considered an accomplished missionary.

Charlevoix, 271.

First of the Parana Reductions founded.

After a year's successful exertions they were brought into danger by one of those circumstances in which it was difficult to reconcile duty and prudence. An Indian woman was exceedingly desirous of receiving baptism; her husband being attached to the old superstitions refused his consent, upon which she eloped with her daughter, and took shelter in the Jesuits' growing settlement. The man was exasperated, and found many to espouse his quarrel, for he was held in high estimation among his countrymen; but not thinking himself strong enough to attack the settlement, he fell upon a horde of the Mahomas, who were allies of the Spaniards, killed many of them, and drove away others to be eaten. Lorenzana employed the Caciques whom he had converted to interfere for their deliverance; they were answered with scorn, that the offended parties would not be satisfied till they had drank the blood of the last Mahoma out of the skull of the oldest missionary. Provoked at this, they collected their people, and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. The converts were by this time so numerous that it became necessary to look for a more commodious site, in which they might be permanently established. A church was built there, and the first of the thirteen Reductions of the Parana founded, under the name of St. Ignatius Guazu, or the Great. Before it was well formed the enemy appeared in such force that Lorenzana thought it expedient to burn such of the church furniture as he could not instantly remove, lest it should be pro-

faned, and to send off the women and children and infirm. His companion S. Martin was so affected by the danger as to lose his senses; and though he recovered to a certain degree, the fright left him in so feeble a state that it was necessary to send him back to Asumpcion, and soon afterwards to allow him to leave the Company. The evil however ended with the alarm, for the savages, not choosing to attack men who were deliberately awaiting them, retired; and the Reduction, after having suffered awhile from sickness, the usual scourge of these settlements, began to flourish. CHAP. XXIII. 1611. *Techo*, 31. *Charlevoix*, I, 273.

While these things passed on the left of the Paraguay, Torres was endeavouring to lay the foundation of a similar establishment on the western side, among the Guaycurus, in the double hope of delivering the Spaniards from their active hostility, and of opening an easier communication with Tucuman. This fierce tribe, who possessed a higher and haughtier spirit than any of the Guaranies, suspected an intention of entrapping and enslaving them, and sent spies to Asumpcion to discover what was the nature of the plot. The attempt promised little success, when D. Francisco de Alfaro arrived in Tucuman in the character of Visitor for the King, with a commission to abolish the system of personal service throughout these provinces, and to regulate the manner in which the Indians of the *Encomiendas* should be treated, so that there might be no longer cause of complaint on their part, while on the other hand the Spaniards were not to be deprived of their legitimate rights. He convoked an assembly at Santiago; a resolution was past that the system of personal service was unlawful, and the decree was signed by the Governor of Chili, the Governor and Bishop of Tucuman, and other chief persons. Proceeding from thence to Cordoba, he published this resolution, with the orders of the King, and the edicts of the Viceroy, and the decrees of the Royal Au- *A Visitor arrives from Spain,* 1612.

CHAP. XXIII. 1612.

dience of Charcas, to the same purport. But at Cordoba the people were more interested in this abuse than at Santiago, and therefore less tractable; and the Visitor, who brought with him neither the sense of duty nor the strength of character which such a charge required, departed both from the spirit and letter of his instructions, and hurried away to Asumpcion, leaving things in Tucuman nearly as he had found them. The history of his proceedings here affords a curious proof how little real authority the Court of Spain possessed over these remote colonies, and how easily it was deceived. The Visitor began by trying his strength; he prohibited all hunting the Indians for the purpose of reducing them to servitude, and declared that no *Encomiendas* should be granted. The next order was, that no Indians in those which were already established should be compelled to work for the *Encomenderos*, but only required to pay a slight tribute in produce; and that those who held *Yanaconas* should allot them lands to cultivate on their own account. This was no sooner made public than the principal inhabitants represented to him, that if they were thus deprived of the service of the Indians it would be impossible for them to pay the King his dues. It was indeed true that they were dependent upon this nefarious system, and that this decree would have deprived both clergy and laity of all their domestics. With such a man as Alfaro it was not difficult to come to a compromise. With regard to the *Mitayos*, he agreed, that in lieu of tribute they should serve the *Encomendero* for one month in the year, a term which was soon doubled, and that for the rest of the year they should receive wages for their labour. This regulation was merely nominal; and for the *Yanaconas* nothing was done. The Visitor assured the Court that his commission was executed; by this means he satisfied the Government; and by leaving things as they were he satisfied the people of Paraguay. Thus the

who contrives to nullify his instructions,

matter rested for little less than two centuries, till about the year 1780 the Council of the Indies discovered that the *Encomiendas* were still existing in Paraguay: upon this they sent orders to abolish the system there, as it already had been in all other parts of America: the people remonstrated, the abuse was allowed to continue, and the *Encomienda* Indians remain to this day a race of slaves.

Techo, 29. *Charlevoix*, 1, 276–82. *Azara*, 2, 206–16.

and introduces a new form of oppression.

The Visitor found it easier to create a grievance than to remove one. He imposed upon every free man of colour between the ages of eighteen and fifty a capitation tax of three dollars, perhaps without considering that there was neither money nor commerce in Paraguay. It was in fact instituting a new form of serfage; for under pretence of enabling them to pay the tax, they were placed under the protection, as it was called, of some ecclesiastic, or other Spaniard in good circumstances, who would settle with the Treasury for them, and for whom they were to labour in return. The Governors soon took advantage of this ordinance; they applied it without distinction of sex or age, and gave these injured people to their favourites, who, under the title of patrons or protectors, became in reality their owners, and paid nothing for them, . , so easy was it to defraud the administration. The abuse continues to this day, though probably more than half the race, having become more than half savages, escape it by living in places remote from the seat of government and from all civilized society, where the government knows nothing of them, and neither exerts nor perhaps possesses any authority.

Azara, 2, 273.

Another of his measures was an experiment to reconcile the *Encomienda* system with that which the Jesuits were beginning to establish. There were three Indian settlements near each other to the north of Asumpcion, upon the little river Guarambare, which falls from the east into the Paraguay. They were

CHAP. XXIII. 1612.

populous settlements, two of them consisting of some three hundred families each, the third of nearly a thousand; but being held in *Encomienda*, the Jesuits were unwilling to take upon themselves the task of instructing and directing persons who, they said, could not easily be persuaded that the yoke of the gospel was light, while they felt that of the Spaniards upon their necks. Alfaro prevailed over these objections by promising that the system should either be abrogated, or so mitigated as to satisfy them; his promises were not performed; the Jesuits, as well as the Indians, grew weary of expecting the performance, and after two years the hopeless attempt was abandoned.

Charlevoix, 293.

Effect of the Jesuits' preaching in Asumpcion.

Inconsistent, however, as the conduct of the Visitor had been, the Jesuits had reason to be satisfied with the most important of his measures. He decreed in the King's name that the Guaycurus and Guaranies should never be given in *Encomienda*, but be considered as immediate vassals of the crown; and that the Jesuits should have the sole and exclusive charge of instructing, civilizing, and reducing them to acknowledge the Catholic King as their Sovereign. He decreed also, that the brethren who were thus employed should receive from the Royal Chest the same honoraries as were allowed to the *Curas* or Rectors of the Indians in Peru: but Torres assured him that a fourth part of this provision would suffice. This disinterestedness was admired; but the Jesuits were believed to have suggested those intended measures which had excited such alarm; and no sooner had the Visitor departed than the popular displeasure was manifested so strongly, that they found it prudent to retire from the city to their farm. Questions of this kind can never be agitated altogether in vain, . . . never without awakening in some individuals a sense which has too long lain dormant. One of the chief inhabitants of Asumpcion went to the governor, with all the Indians belonging to his *Encomienda*, and in

his presence declared that he no longer pretended to hold them in a state of slavery as he had hitherto done; that he had rather see himself reduced to absolute beggary than continue so to be supported; and that from henceforth he would regard them as his children. This example produced some effect upon the public feeling, though not upon the general conduct, and the Jesuits were invited to return to their college. But the leaven continued to work, and a party spirit had now arisen, which never was extinguished. CHAP. XXIII. 1612. *Charlevoix, 283.*

At this time the Jesuits were prospering on all sides. They were invited back to Santiago, revenues were assigned them, and they established a seminary there for the education of youth, which was afterwards removed to Cordoba. Having arranged the affairs of the Company in Tucuman, Torres directed his attention toward Guayra, where Cataldino and Maceta required assistance; and he sent Antonio Rodriguez de Montoya to join them, a native of Lima, and the earliest historian of these missions. Four Reductions had now been formed there; but these institutions were as yet in their infancy: the Jesuits themselves perhaps hardly as yet perceived the whole extent of the system, which, growing out of their principles, developed itself with their success; nor had there yet been time to produce any deep and permanent effect upon the savages whom they had collected. The population of these first settlements was continually changing; they came for motives of curiosity, or fellowship, or hope; and they departed when they became weary of restraint, or impatient of privations; or when an inclination came upon them for returning to their old habits of wandering, or when the terrors with which the Payes had imbued them proved stronger than those which the priest could excite. The Spaniards of Villarica, believing what they wished, reported that the scheme had proved abortive, and that the Jesuits derived *State of the Reductions.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1614.

no fruit from their visionary attempts: these reports reached Asumpcion, and appeared so well founded, that the Superiors of the Province thought seriously of withdrawing the missionaries, and abandoning what had been begun. Montoya was obliged to go in person, and dissuade them by his representations from this intent.

Charlevoix, 284.

A Jesuit miracle.

Whatever motives of ambition may be imputed to the Paraguay Jesuits in the days of their prosperity, certain it is that nothing but zeal could have actuated them at this time, or supported them through the arduous labours which they underwent. They were taught to expect miracles, willing to believe, ready to attempt, and not scrupulous in inventing them; it is difficult sometimes in their accounts to distinguish the effects of credulity and imagination from deliberate falsehood; but they never scrupled at falsehood when it was to serve a pious purpose, or produce an impression favourable to their views. Montoya relates, that an Indian of good sense and character falling dangerously ill, called for his spiritual succours: he heard his confession, and administered the sacraments; having done which, and believing him to be at the point of death, he gave orders for the interment, and went about his other avocations. The man accordingly died, and preparations were made for burying him, when Montoya was again summoned by tidings that the dead man was come to life again, and calling again for him. The tale which he told was in the usual stile of such resurrections, which are frequent in monkish history. No sooner, he said, had the soul forsaken the body, and got into a corner of the hut, than a Devil laid claim to it, saying, Thou art mine: the Soul replied, that could not possibly be, for he had made a fair confession, and received the viaticum in proper form. The Devil rejoined that the confession had not been full, for the sinner had not accused himself of having twice got drunk. The Soul

protested that this had been pure forgetfulness, the Devil insisted that it vitiated the whole confession, and made the absolution null and void: upon this St. Peter appeared with two angels in his train, and the Devil took flight. Montoya here interrupted the Indian to inquire how he knew it was the Prince of the Apostles who came so opportunely to his help. The man replied he could not doubt it, and though he had never seen any image or picture of the Saint, described him as he is usually represented: he then proceeded with his story. The Saint covered him with his mantle, and away they went through the air, till they arrived at a beautiful country, with a large city full in view before them: the form of the city was circular, and there issued from it a dazzling light. Here the Apostle stopt and said, Behold the City of God, wherein we dwell with him; but the moment for thy entering it is not yet come. It behoves thy soul to return into its body, and in three days thou shalt go to the church. He then let him loose; the whole scene disappeared, and the Indian found himself restored to life, and in full health. Montoya however divined from the recital that he was to die again on the third day; without hinting at this, he asked him what he understood from the Apostle's words. The Indian replied, he had no doubt but that on the Sunday, which was the third day, his body would be borne to the church for interment, and that he had been thus restored to life only for the purpose of edifying his friends and countrymen. He ate, drank, and told his story to all the wondering spectators who flocked about him. On the Sunday he made a public confession, taking care not to forget the two sins of which the Devil had reminded him, and almost instantly afterwards he expired [6]. Charlevoix, 292.

CHAP. XXIII. 1614.

[6] The remarks of F. Charlevoix upon this legend are as characteristic as the

CHAP. XXIII. 1614.

The system and character of the Jesuits, and of the church to which they belong, would not be fairly represented if such fables as these were always rejected from history.

The Provincial accused of admitting men indiscriminately to the order.

Torres was now succeeded in the Provincialship by F. Pedro de Oñate. Seven years ago he had founded it with only seven brethren under his direction; he left it to his successor with an hundred and nineteen. Complaints were made of his administration; he was charged with having, in the dearth of subjects, accepted men as missionaries before they had gone through the previous discipline which the Institute prescribed; from whence it naturally resulted that he had found it necessary to expel some whom he had prematurely admitted. Oñate did not think there was any cause for censuring him, for the necessity of the case

---

story itself. "*Le caractere de l'Homme Apostolique, dont je viens d'abreger le récit; la réputation qu'il s'étoit faite en Espagne d'être un des plus savans hommes de son tems; les actions héroïques que nous lui verrons faire dans la suite; la haute idée qu'il a laissée dans l'Amérique de sa sainteté; et la part qu'il a eue à l'etablissement de la République Chrétienne, dont j'ai donné la description, ne permittent pas de révoquer en doute ce qu'il a publié dans un ouvrage imprimé sous ses yeux. D'ailleurs, ce qu'il a exécuté avec des travaux immenses, et un courage qu'aucun obstacle n'a jamais pu ébranler, pouvoit bien assurément engager le ciel à y cooperer par des merveilles sensibles. A quoi on peut ajoûter que ce seroit peut-être faire trop d'honneur à la sagesse de ceux, dont Dieu a bien voulu se servir pour former dans le centre de la barbarie, une Eglise si merveilleuse, que de croire que le ciel ne l'a point quelquefois sécondée par des traites sensibles de sa toute-puissance; et quiconque examinera les choses sans prévention, conviendra que toute la prudence humaine n'a pu, sans les secours des miracles, porter un si bel etablissement à une si grande perfection. Aussi s'en est-il fait plus d'un, et assez pour faire comprendre à ceux qui n'etoient que les instruments du souverain Maître des cœurs, qu'en vain ils auroient travaillé à ce bel edifice, s'il n'en avoit été le principal ouvrier, et que tout ce qu'ils peuvent apporter de soins et de vigilance pour le conserver dans l'etat où nous le voïons, seroit inutile, s'il ne veilloit lui-même à sa conservation.*" L. 6, p. 292.

and the example of Loyala himself justified what he had done. Another charge was, that he allowed the missionaries to go alone among the Indians, and remain a long time in remote parts; thus giving occasion for scandal in a country where the slightest weakness in a Jesuit was represented as a crime, and exaggerated for the purpose of discrediting the Order. To this the Provincial replied, that all which could be done was to be careful in chusing for these distant expeditions men of prudence and virtue, and to recal them the moment it was known they began to relax; that it would be carrying distrust of human nature too far if men who had abandoned all for the sake of devoting themselves to the service of God and their fellow creatures were not thought worthy to be trusted out of the sight of their Superior; that it must not be supposed the people would be so unjust as to hold the whole Order responsible for the offences of individual members; and that the honour of the Company might always be saved by cutting off the infected limb. *Charlevoix, 293.*

The governor interferes with the missions.

The Reduction of St. Ignatius Guazu was superintended at this time by F. Roque Gonzalez de Santa Cruz, a man of high family, born at Asumpcion. He formed a second settlement at Itapua, where one of the lakes or marshes of that watery country, discharging itself into the Parana, forms a kind of port. The missions through his means were patronized by the government; for his brother acted awhile as governor, upon a vacancy occasioned by death; and D. Fernando Arias, who was appointed to succeed, had recently married his sister. This new governor, in the plenitude of his favour, resolved to visit the Parana Reductions; Gonzalez endeavoured vainly to persuade him that such a measure would rather prove injurious than beneficial; he could only obtain permission to go forward, and prepare the Indians for a visit which they would not unreasonably regard

CHAP. XXIII. 1614.

with jealous eyes. Arias was accompanied by an escort of fifty men, and when he arrived at Itapua he arranged it after the form of a Spanish town, appointing such officers as his brother-in-law recommended. He was soon apprized that the savages of the adjoining country, who could not conceive that a governor and a detachment of soldiers came without some hostile design, were collecting to cut him off on his return; this intelligence made him hastily re-embark, but three hundred Indians had already taken post upon the shore below a rapid which he must pass. Gonzalez going with him as a better guard than his whole escort, assumed an air of authority, to which his influence and character among these tribes entitled him, and prevailed on them to refrain from hostilities. The governor thought to improve this favourable impression, and offered a wand, as a mark of command, to their chief, in the King of Spain's name; but the Indian made answer, that he had long commanded in that country without any such stick, and the governor might keep it for an Indian, if he could find one, who was desirous of it. Gonzalez had saved the governor from one danger, but he could not dissuade him from planning an expedition against the tribes upon the Uruguay, and ordering the militia of the provinces upon this service; they refused to go, he had no means of compelling them, and thus he incurred the discredit of having formed a project which was generally disapproved, and compromised his authority by vainly attempting to carry it into effect.

Charlevoix, 298—303.

Opposition to the Jesuits.

1617.

Though the late Provincial had been censured for admitting so many new members into the Company, the wide field wherein they were engaged required more labourers. The fair prospects which were opening, and the necessity for sending more soldiers of Christ among the heathen, were represented to Vitelleschi, the new General of the Order, and thirty-seven mis-

sionaries were speedily sent from Italy to partake in the work. Viana, who conducted this detachment, was a native of the town of the same name in Navarre, and his way lay by it: when it was known that he drew near, the chief magistrates sent a deputation to invite him thither; but the Jesuit remembered that on a like occasion his countryman Xavier had refused to visit his mother, and this he thought a happy opportunity for imitating what he regarded as an act of heroic virtue. It was represented to him that if he accepted the invitation, one of his nephews, who was then in prison upon a criminal charge, would be set at liberty: to this he replied, with equal firmness and sounder morality, that his nephew, if he were innocent, ought to expect his liberation from the justice of the judge; but if he were guilty he ought to suffer punishment as an expiation for his offence. More volunteers offered in Spain, where they received every mark of royal favour, the religion and policy of the Court being perfectly in accord upon this point; and on their arrival in the Plata professors were chosen from them to open classes in the colleges of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fe, and St. Miguel. Thus reinforced, the missions continued to flourish, notwithstanding many and formidable obstacles. Great ravages were made among the converts by diseases, consequent upon the great and sudden change from a roving to a settled life; for these losses the Jesuits consoled themselves by reflecting that such seasons of mortality were the harvest-time of heaven. They had no such consolation in the evils which were brought upon them by the wickedness of man. The Spaniards of Villarica on one side kidnapped and enslaved the Indians; it was to avoid this danger that they fixed their establishments beyond the Paranapane and the Pirape; but by removing from one enemy they placed themselves within reach of another, for there they found themselves exposed to the Portugueze of St. Paulo

CHAP. XXIII. 1617.

CHAP. XXIII. 1618.

de Piratininga. Frequently they met with opposition among the Indians themselves, and had to contend against chiefs, who, possessing the pride and the power of savage heroism, regarded the inactivity of their reclaimed countrymen with contempt, and their submission with indignation; or against Payes, who employed every artifice to support the interests of their abominable craft. Sometimes an impostor of bolder character appeared. There came an Indian from Brazil to the Reduction of Loretto, with a man and a young woman in his company; he gathered the Guaranies about him, put on a cloak of feathers, which was the Payes' robe of ceremony, and took in his hand a *maraca*, not made as usual of a gourd, but of a goat's skull. Knowing enough of what the Jesuits preached to mingle some of their doctrines with his own impudent inventions, he proclaimed that he was absolute Lord of death, and of seed and harvest, and that to him all things were subject; he could destroy them with a breath, and with a breath re-create them: that he was three in person, and yet one God, for with the splendour of his countenance he had produced his companion, and the woman proceeded from them both. This speech he accompanied with yells, and menaces of destruction to all who should oppose him, shaking his rattle at F. Cataldino, and with antic gestures threatening to destroy him and his converts. The Jesuit, however, relying upon his authority over the Guaranies, ordered them to seize the impostor, and apply the whip, which in such cases is a certain remedy. As soon as the fellow felt it lustily laid on, he roared out that he was no God; but the beadle was not allowed to hold his hand till he had given him an hundred lashes, and the prescription was repeated on the second and third days, that as he had blasphemed the Trinity he might receive triple chastisement, and remember the number three. It is a curious conclusion of the story, that this juggler became and continued

Techo, 41. *Charlevoix*, 305—10.

CHAP. XXIII. 1620.

an obedient convert, led for the remainder of his days an exemplary life, and closed it by an edifying death.

The government of Paraguay and the Plata separated.

Some Indians from the Uruguay having heard of the Parana Reductions, and the happiness which the Christian Guaranies enjoyed in their new mode of life, went to Itapue for the purpose of seeing the state of things with their own eyes. Gonzalez received them there, and was so well satisfied with the impression which seemed to be made upon them, that it was determined to extend the Jesuits' settlements to the river from whence they came. Gonzalez accordingly founded a Reduction 1620. under the name of La Concepcion at Ibitaragua, and another was formed at Yaguapua, where F. Thomas de Urvenia was left, while Romero roamed about the country, and sent new converts in. At this time a great political change was made in these provinces, the government of the Plata being separated from that of Paraguay, and the dioceses divided at the same time; the Parana[7] was the boundary. The Parana and Guayra Reductions remained under the old government; those upon the Uruguay were subjected to the new, the seat of which was fixed at Buenos Ayres. It began most inauspiciously. A few days after the governor, D. Diego Gongora, had sailed from Lisbon to take possession of his appointment, information was given to the Council of the Indies that he had taken out smuggled goods in the ship with him, to accommodate some of his friends. Smuggling is one of those offences which oppressive restrictions naturally produce, and the thing was so common that no man in office had ever before been molested for it. The

[7] The Tebiquary, Charlevoix says; but his Latin translator corrects the error. The Tebiquary was the dividing line between the Reductions and the Spaniards of Paraguay.

CHAP. XXIII. 1620.

information probably originated in malice, but it could not be overlooked, and a commissary named Melone was dispatched to Buenos Ayres, there to institute proceedings against him. Melone on his arrival found the new governor exceedingly popular; nothing indeed was more likely to make him so than the facility which he afforded to contraband trade; and the commissary, as soon as the object of his mission transpired, received a hint that measures would be taken for shipping him home again before he could execute it. He seems not to have been well fitted for an invidious charge; for having the commercial part of the people necessarily inimical to him, he quarrelled with the Jesuits also, and gave way to some sallies of anger, of which they who stood in fear of his judicial proceedings took advantage. They persuaded F. Gabriel Perlino, the Rector of the College, to exercise the privilege which his order possessed, of naming a *Juez Conservador*, who might at once protect the Jesuits against the commissary, and inhabilitate him from proceeding against the governor. Perlino, knowing little of the ways of men, was easily persuaded, and as easily led to choose one of those persons who had most reason for wishing to rid themselves of Melone; accordingly he passed a sentence against him, which compelled him to return to Spain. There he made his complaint to the Council of the Indies, and they, regarding the conduct of the *Juez Conservador* as an offence against their authority, complained to the General against Perlino. The case was flagrant: Vitelleschi immediately disapproved of what the Rector had done, deprived him of his Rectorship, declared him incapable of holding a superior's place, and ordered him to return to Peru, from whence he came. The other parties were not more fortunate. An *Oydor*, or Auditor, was sent out to take cognizance of the cause, and they were condemned in a fine of 80,000 crowns of gold.

Charlevoix, 314—20.

CHAP. XXIII. 1623.

The Guayra Reductions were at this time governed by Cataldino, and those of the Parana by Gonzalez, who had those of the Uruguay also under his orders. The governor of Buenos Ayres wished to have this latter river explored from its mouth to its source; none but a Jesuit could then make the attempt with any hope of safety, and Romero undertook it. He found savages who were naked and tattooed, whose hair hung half way down the body, and who lived by hunting and fowling. In spite of their menaces he persevered till he came to the first Guarani tribes, about an hundred leagues up; fifty more would have brought him to Concepcion, from whence he expected to get neophytes to conduct him to the source; but his people grew weary of the fatigue and danger of contending against such a stream, and they compelled him to return. The governor, D. Luiz de Cespedes, now requested that Gonzalez would come down the river to Buenos Ayres, and there concert measures for prosecuting the discovery. The Jesuit prevailed upon Niezu, the chief of the new Reduction, to accompany him with some of his countrymen, expecting that what they should see at Buenos Ayres would produce a good impression in favour of his Order. Their reception was well adapted to this effect; for when, after a voyage of twenty-five days, they arrived, the governor, with all the chief persons of the city, went out on horseback to meet them, and his two sons drew out a squadron of cavalry and a battalion of foot, and exercised them before the Indians: they were then conducted, with trumpets before them, to the house of the governor, and feasted there; after which they proceeded to the bishop's palace. The governor, to show these converts the reverence with which the Spaniards regarded the Princes of the Church, knelt on both knees before the bishop, remained speaking to him for some time in that posture, and kissed his hand. A treaty was now made with Niezu, who

A Guarani chief from the Reductions taken to Buenos Ayres.

Charlevoix.

CHAP. XXIII. 1626.

promised entire obedience to the King of Spain and his governors, on condition that his people should not be compelled to serve the Spaniards, and that the Jesuits should be the only persons commissioned to instruct them; the bishop and the governor pledged themselves to these conditions, and formally declared him first chief of all the Indians in the province of Uruguay who should be converted. The bishop then invested the Jesuits with all his authority, and the governor gave a patent to Gonzalez, empowering him and the Superiors of the Company to establish Reductions throughout the whole extent of his government: he presented him also with church furniture and sacramental vessels for the two Reductions which were already established on the Uruguay; and Diogo Vera, a Portugueze who traded with Buenos Ayres, gave a considerable sum of money for compleating the buildings which had been begun at those places. But though all due formalities were observed in these transactions, it appeared that the governor and the Jesuits did not understand each other: for Gonzalez on his return having fixed upon the site for two new establishments, the governor appointed two Spaniards to take the superintendance of them as *corregidores*, and named a third to the same paramount office at Concepcion. The Indians, ignorant as they were, perceived what would be the consequence of this policy; Niezu absented himself; many of the converts declared that the engagement into which their chief had entered was broken by the other contracting party; the unreclaimed tribes in the surrounding country took arms to expel the Spaniards; and the Provincial, F. Nicolas Durand Mastrilli, was obliged himself to hasten and allay the growing discontent, which could only be appeased by the governor's recalling the *corregidores*, and abstaining from any farther interference.

Charlevoix, 320—35.

The Jesuits enter the Tapé.

Gonzalez now entered the Serra de Tapé, a mountainous dis-

trict which bounds the province of Paraguay on the east, and extends about two hundred leagues east and west. The numerous streams that form the Ybicuy, which falls into the Uruguay, rise on the western side of this district, and on the eastward are the sources of the Yacuy, which forms the Laguna Grande de los Patos, called at it's mouth the Rio Grande de San Pedro. The Jesuits say that in this country, (which they describe as having all imaginable beauties of vale and mountain, under a genial climate,) there is an amphibious beast of prey called the Ao, in appearance somewhat resembling a sheep, but more ferocious than a tyger, and with teeth and claws not less formidable; when an Indian climbs a tree to escape from one of them, the creature either waits patiently under it till the prey drops with exhaustion, or by its cry collects others of its kind, who strive like so many beavers [8] to gnaw through the trunk. This Ao they suppose to be the Famacosio of early naturalists. They speak also of a little white bird called the Ringer [9], because its loud note resembles the sound of a bell; of a species of low palm[10], from the fibres of which is made a thread fine as silk; and of a tree called Escapu, from which after sunrise there falls a copious dew, like a shower. The Tapes, from whom the region took it's name, were of the Guarani stock, of gentle disposition, and more docile to the Jesuits than any other tribe in South America. They lived in populous villages, and were so

[8] Techo, Charlevoix, and Dobrizhoffer describe the Ao as digging at the root of the tree till the tree falls,... an impossible operation. The Latin translator of Charlevoix says, "*Non eradicat, sed grex totus truncum corrodere certat.*" This is scarcely more probable.

[9] In Brazil this bird is called *Ferreiro*, the blacksmith, its note precisely resembling the sound of a hammer on an anvil.

[10] The *Macaiba* of Brazil.

CHAP. XXIII. 1627.

numerous, that Tapé in the Reductions became, like Guarani, a generic name, under which all minor distinctions were comprehended. At this time Gonzalez only reconnoitred the country. During this journey he delivered himself with admirable presence of mind from an imminent danger. The Tapes attacked him; his Indians bravely repelled the attack, but the enemies came on with fresh numbers, and there was no longer any hope of withstanding them. The Jesuit upon this took in one hand the pruning-hook which he carried for the purpose of cutting a tree into a cross when such a standard was wanted, and his breviary in the other, . . opened the book, and advanced toward the savages reading it aloud: as he expected, they supposed him to be conjuring, and took to flight.

Techo, 84. Charlevoix, 336—8.

Enmity of Tayaoba to the Spaniards.

Upon his return the affairs of the missions prospered, new Reductions were formed, and converts multiplied. There was a Guarani chief in Guayra, by name Tayaoba, who had long been the dread of the Spaniards, bearing them a proper hatred, because of a villanous act which they had committed against him. A commissary from Asumpcion some years before had invited him with three other warriors to Villarica, and there put them in irons, in order to make them ransom themselves by furnishing a certain number of slaves. Threats and stripes were tried in vain; with a magnanimity which cannot be too highly extolled, they chose rather to die than thus minister to the avarice of their base betrayers; and the three warriors actually expired of hunger in their prison. Tayaoba escaped in his fetters, and vowed vengeance upon every Spaniard who should fall into his hands. From time to time attempts were made to conciliate him, but he suffered no Spanish messengers to approach, and when Indians were sent upon this errand he seized and devoured them. His exploits acquired him the name of Tayaoba Guazu among his tribes-men, who were some of the fiercest of their

race; their arrows were headed with the bones of those whom they had slain, and in weaning their children the first food which was substituted for the mother's milk was the flesh of an enemy. Montoya ventured to preach to these people; but when he said he was come to instruct them how to escape those eternal torments to which they must otherwise be condemned, they replied he was a liar if he said they were to be eternally tormented; and they let fly a volley of arrows upon him and his attendants. Seven of his Indians were killed, he took to flight with the rest; and the savages, having devoured those who fell, expressed their sorrow that they had not tasted priest's flesh at the feast, and had the Jesuit's skull for a cup.

Techo, 51. Charlevoix, 330.

Pindobe puts himself under the protection of the Jesuits.

A chief called Pindobe, not long before, had lain in wait for Montoya for the purpose of eating him. This man going out with a party of his allies and tribesmen to gather the leaves of the Caa, or herb of Paraguay, in the use of which they delighted, was attacked by Tayaoba on his return, and escaped with only three of his companions. Weary of the cannibal warfare in which he was engaged with his neighbours, (his mother having lately been captured and devoured, and he himself having so narrowly escaped the same fate,) he thought it advisable to seek the protection of the Jesuits, who were now becoming a formidable power among the tribes of Paraguay. Accordingly, he invited them to settle in his country, and gave them a dwelling-place, which was fortified with a trench and a palisade; the cross was planted here, several names were put into an urn, and that of The Incarnation being drawn, was given to the new Reduction, in which ere long more than a thousand families were collected. F. Christoval Mendoza was appointed to superintend it. Pindobe's enemies collected, and sent a young man to discover his strength: the spy was suspected, seized, and tortured to make him reveal the designs of his countrymen; he bore

CHAP. XXIII. 1627.

the torture[11] courageously, and denied all knowledge of any hostile purposes. The Jesuit was present at the scene, and giving up all hope of discovering any thing, took up the breviary to say his office; upon which the young savage, either believing that the book revealed all things, or that some dreadful conjuration was about to be performed, of his own accord declared for what he had been sent, and the enemies' designs were thus detected and frustrated.

Techo, 53.

Tayaoba is converted.

Even Tayaoba and his people were impressed by the character which the Jesuits had acquired, and this fierce warrior sent two of his sons secretly to the Reduction of S. Francisco Xavier, to see whether what he had heard of these establishments were true. They were discovered there, and being interrogated concerning their business with conciliatory kindness by F. Francisco Diaz Taño, they acknowledged that it was to examine what was the real manner of life of the priests and their converts; that they were well pleased with what they had seen, and that they would advise their father to receive the Jesuits. Being well clothed and dismissed, they performed their promise, and Montoya in happier hour made a second mission to the tribe by which he had formerly been so ill received. A new Reduction was marked out upon the river Guebay, and called the Seven Archangels:. Tayaoba was invested with all the forms and titles usual on such occasions, twenty-eight of his infant children were baptized, and he and the adults of his family were placed under a preparatory course of instruction. The conversion of this chief made many of his former admirers regard him with abhorrence, and his old Payes soon succeeded in stirring up against him a formidable force. Tayaoba and the other war-

[11] Charlevoix does not chuse to mention this; but says of Mendoza on this occasion, "*il se tira habilement de tous les pieges qu'on lui tendit.*" *T.* 1, *p.* 346.

riors upon their approach requested that Montoya would no longer delay their baptism, and he accordingly baptized them, as a proper precaution in such danger: they then marched out and attacked the enemy, but with ill success, so that they were fain to retreat to the place where the foundations of the new Reduction were laid, and wait for a more propitious season. CHAP. XXIII. 1627.

Villainy of the Spaniards of Villarica.

The people of Villarica took advantage of this, and under pretence of revenging Tayaoba, sent a detachment against his enemies pon a slaving party. Montoya perfectly understood their motive, and remonstrated against it, representing that the King's edicts expressly forbade them to make war upon the Indians of Guayra, and that such measures would necessarily impede the progress of the missions. He was disregarded, and could then think of no better course than to accompany the expedition himself, in the hope of preventing, or at least mitigating the evil which he apprehended. The chief force consisted of converts; they were again outnumbered, and compelled to entrench themselves; and then they were indebted for their preservation to a stratagem which implies a great want of sagacity in all these tribes. The Indians, it seems, made no great provision of arrows, but relied upon picking up those which were exchanged in action. Montoya knowing this, persuaded his people to receive the enemies' discharge without returning it; the assailants thus disarmed themselves, and then took to flight. Among the spoils of the field was a large pot of maize and meat, from which Montoya's people brought him a portion, and he ate it, believing it to be venison; but when they came to the bottom of the vessel a human head and hands were found, and recognized for those of a man who used to attend him at the altar, and who had fallen in the last battle. The enemy soon returned in great numbers, and blockaded Montoya and the Villarican soldiers; the latter proposed to force their way

CHAP. XXIII. 1627.

through, hoping to succeed by means of their fire-arms. The converts hearing this, came to Montoya and said, that when the Spaniards had opened a way they ought to take advantage of it, strike into the woods, and return home; for they had taken the field for his sake, and not for that of the Villaricans; but he persuaded them not to abandon the Spaniards, and they yielded to his advice. The consequence had nearly proved fatal: for the assailants immediately afterwards made an attack, and again exhausted their arrows against the palisade: a sally then put them to flight, and the opportunity for retreating was seized: but the commander of the Spaniards, that he might not return empty-handed, formed the execrable intention of enslaving the very Indians who had assisted him and stood by him in the hour of need; he meant to accuse them of having led Montoya and the Villaricans into this danger for the purpose of betraying them, and to begin by hanging two of their leaders. The Jesuit obtained timely intimation of this projected villany, and on the evening before it was to be executed he secretly ordered the converts to take to the woods during the night, and meet him on a certain day at a place appointed. The commandant, surprized at not seeing them in the morning, demanded of Montoya where they were, and was answered, that as the Spaniards had no farther need of them he had advised them to return: upon which the ruffian significantly replied, "You have given them very good advice, Father." After this second disappointment he returned to Villarica. The hostile tribes now directed their fury against each other. One chief, who had promised his wives to treat them with Montoya's legs, was killed; some others were found in the woods beaten to death with clubs, and others came to the *boucan* in the course of war. Meantime the Reduction of the Seven Archangels flourished in peace, and ere long, of eighty Royalets in the district not less than threescore favoured the new religion.

Techo, 84. *Charlevoix*, 341—5.

CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

A reinforcement of about forty Jesuits now arrived at Buenos Ayres, having with difficulty escaped a Dutch cruiser which was waiting for them. This Dutchman sent on shore several copies of a manifesto printed in Holland, in the Spanish tongue, and addressed to the inhabitants of Paraguay and the Plata, urging them to throw off the yoke of Spain and of the Pope, and offering them assistance for this purpose. These papers were all carried to the governor, and it was debated whether they should be circulated; for many persons were of opinion that nothing would be so likely to excite a general indignation against the Dutch. But Mastrilli the Provincial argued, that such thoughts could never be put into the multitude without danger; and therefore as the safer course the papers were destroyed. Among the brethren who now came out was F. Nicolas Henard, who had been page to Henri IV.

The Dutch land heretical papers.

Techo, 63. Charlevoix, 349.

The Jesuits were at this time very desirous of extending their settlements toward the East, for the purpose of opening a communication with the sea. It was for this reason that Gonzalez had reconnoitred the mountainous region of the Tapé, and with the same view he now entered what was called the Caro, a track of country possessed by the Caaroans, and lying about twelve leagues from the Uruguay, in a direct road toward the coast. Rodriguez accompanied him; their coming was expected; a number of the Royalets had assembled to receive them: they planted the cross, marked out the ground for a church, baptized the infants, and began to trace out a Reduction, little thinking that at this very time a combination of the natives was on the point of breaking out against them. The prime mover was a certain Potirava, who having been a member of the Reduction of Xavier, had left it with a mortal hatred toward the Jesuits for the restraints which they imposed upon him, and perhaps for the chastisements which he had undergone. Niezu, the

The Jesuits enter the Caro,

CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

chief who had been entertained with such flattery and politic distinctions at Buenos Ayres, was by this time weary of his connection with the Jesuits: he had discovered, that whatever other advantages he might derive from his new mode of life, he had exchanged a real for a nominal authority; and learning from the example of his spiritual instructors what power was attached to the priestly character among a credulous people, he began to play the impostor, and lay claim to inspiration, or divinity. He had not yet, however, openly quarrelled with the fathers, (though the change in his disposition and conduct had been noticed,) when Potirava came to make him the instrument of his revenge: he represented to him the disgrace of putting away his women, and living like a slave under the orders of the Jesuits, who, he said, would soon succeed in actually enslaving him, if he did not use vigorous measures for preventing them. An extensive combination was presently formed among those savages who preferred the old way of life to the new, and the Caaroans, among whom and with whom Gonzalez and Rodriguez were founding the Reduction of All Saints, were privy to the design. The church was nearly finished; Gonzalez had performed mass, and after this ceremony assembled the Indians to hang the church-bell. While he was stooping to affix the rope to it, one blow from a *macana* laid him lifeless upon the ground, and a second beat out his brains. The yell which the murderers set up brought out Rodriguez from an adjoining hut, and he was in like manner murdered: the bodies were mangled, dragged about in triumph, and finally burnt with the church, the church ornaments, and images. A martyrdom among catholic church-historians is incomplete without a miracle; and these being the protomartyrs of Paraguay, the miraculous accompaniments were the more to be expected, and the less to be dispensed with. F. Charlevoix, writing in France, and in the

where two of them are murdered.

middle of the eighteenth century, affirms, upon the juridical testimony of a great number of eye-witnesses, that when the Indians, after their feast, returned to the fire, they found the bodies almost uninjured, and to their greater astonishment, a voice which seemed to proceed from the heart of Gonzalez distinctly addressed them thus: "I loved you tenderly, and you have rewarded me for my tenderness with a cruel death! but you have only had power over my body, and my soul enjoys the glory of the saints in heaven. Your parricide will cost you dear, and my children will signally avenge the unworthy treatment which you have offered to the image of the Mother of God. Yet I will not abandon you, and you shall still experience my love!" It is observable, that as miracles are always related on these occasions, so they are always without effect upon those who witness them. Caarupé, the leader in the murder, instead of being moved by the prodigy, gave orders to open the Jesuit's breast and rip out the heart; holding it up, he cried, "Behold, this is the heart which has just threatened us!" He then, says the legend, twice stabbed it with an arrow, and cast it into a second fire which was kindled to consume the remains of the bodies. Two youths, who waited on the Jesuits at the altar, were spared by the murderers, and carried the tidings to Romero at Candelaria, the nearest Reduction. The people here, who were of the tribe called Caasapaminianes, cried out for vengeance; Romero told them the blood of the martyrs was not to be avenged by blood: but, he added, it would be a great testimony of their affection if they would recover the remains of the holy dead. A party of two hundred went for the purpose, and brought away the half-burnt bodies: they brought also, (say the Jesuit writers) the heart, which bore no traces of fire, and the arrow wherewith it had been pierced. In the course of a few days Caarupé attempted to surprize Candelaria, but Ro-

CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

Techo, 64. *Charlevoix*, 353—6.

CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

mero put himself on horseback at the head of the converts, and routed the invaders.

Niezu unbaptizes the converts.

As soon as Niezu knew that Gonzalez and Rodriguez had been killed, he put on a cloak of feathers, assembled the people, extinguished the fires, and then, with a *maraca* in his hand, declared that F. Juan de Castillo, a young Jesuit who had lately taken charge of a Reduction in his country called Asumpcion, must be put to death. "Tygers of these woods," he exclaimed, "sharpen your teeth, and tear to pieces a man who has wronged me. If you refuse I will return to the sky, and arm the elements against you, as well as my enemies." Immediately they set off to murder Castillo, Potirava and Quarabay, the father of one of Niezu's wives, heading them. On the way they fell in with some Indians who were in search of Gonzalez, wishing to be admitted into one of the Reductions: they offered to guide these converts, and introducing them to Castillo, asked for the present which was customary on such occasions. As soon as he had distributed his gifts they seized him; he implored them to spare his life, saying they might take all he had and keep him as their slave: but they made answer it was his life they wanted; and dragging him along, half dead, with a rope, in this manner they miserably killed him with innumerable blows. Niezu soon arrived to enjoy his triumph, and unbaptize the children of the Reduction. This curious ceremony was performed by washing the head with hot water, rubbing sand upon the tongue, and scraping it with a shell, to bring clean away any remains of the salt with which it had been touched; and that the desecration might be complete, he drest himself for the office by putting on the Paye's cloak over the sacerdotal robes of the Jesuit. He demolished the church vessels, set fire to the church, and told his people that from this day forward the land was their own again; they need no longer fear that their country

Techo, 65. Charlevoix, 359.

would be laid waste; they might now take as many wives as they liked, as their fathers had done before them; and for himself, he added, his divinity would not be disputed now. CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

From hence he proceeded to S. Nicolas upon the Piratini. The two Jesuits had retired in time to Concepcion; their house was destroyed, and it is affirmed that Niezu vainly and perseveringly attempted to set fire to the thatch of the church. While his followers were thus employed, the men of the Reduction rallied, attacked them, and put them to flight. This encouraged the people of Concepcion, but the alarm was very great. Niezu's plans had been widely extended; he was stirring up all the eastern tribes, and there was evidently a great and general struggle against the growing dominion of the Jesuits. Messengers were dispatched to all the Reductions and Spanish towns far and near, to represent the danger, and intreat assistance. Meantime F. Diego de Alfaro accompanied a converted chief called Nienguir, with eight hundred men, against this formidable enemy, rightly judging that the sooner he was attacked the less difficult it would be to subdue him. Upon coming in sight of the hostile forces, Alfaro demanded that Niezu and all who had been concerned in the murders should be delivered up to justice. A discharge of arrows was the reply; but the savages, who seem to have been taken by surprize, were easily defeated, and Niezu displayed no courage in the moment of danger, being one of the first to fly. He escaped across the Uruguay, and such was the terror which he had inspired, that the Reductions were always in dread of his reappearance, till after some years it was ascertained that he had been killed by a wandering horde. The strength of the confederacy was not yet broken, and great exertions were made over the whole country to suppress it. Manoel Cabral Alpoino, a wealthy Portugueze who was settled at Corrientes, brought a troop of Spanish horsemen

The confederacy is defeated.

CHAP. XXIII. 1628.

at his own charge; forces came from all the Reductions, and from the less fortunate Indian townships under Franciscan management, where the *Encomienda* system was established. F. Diego Boroa, the Rector at Asumpcion, who acted in the absence of the Provincial, tried in vain to obtain aid from the government; he then raised men at the Company's cost, and came with them in person. As soon as these forces were collected, they hastened under Cabral's command toward Candelaria, where Romero was now threatened by the Caaroans. Here a speedy victory was obtained by the horsemen, and it was the more joyful, because the chiefs who had been most active in the murders were made prisoners. Twelve of these were executed. Potivera escaped from the battle, but was delivered up by those from whom he expected protection, and he also suffered death. The Jesuits, as they themselves assert, would fain have prevented these executions, and it was only through their intercession that many other criminals were pardoned; they were consoled for not saving the rest by seeing that all the sufferers, except Caarupê, died like sincere penitents. Still farther were they delighted by the attestations to the miracle of Gonzalez's heart, which were now procured in order to be produced as authentic evidence before the Court of Rome, when the canonization of these martyrs should be sued for. Among other things it was deposed, that upon every hand which had been dipt in the blood of the Jesuits there had arisen pustules, from whence a stench arose intolerable even to the criminals themselves, and which they could not but acknowledge as a visible mark of divine displeasure. The conquerors returned to Concepcion with a procession, which was at once funereal and triumphal. Festal arches were erected, and bonfires kindled along the way. The coffins containing the holy remains were borne alternately by Indian chiefs and Spanish officers, Jesuits going on both sides, who came from

Honours paid to the martyrs.

all parts to assist at the solemnity. Then came the army in order of battle, and their prisoners with them; the children of the Reduction next, then the women, the men after them, and lastly the chiefs. The bodies were interred at Concepcion, but the heart of Gonzalez, and the arrow with which it had been stabbed, were sent to Rome. They were with some difficulty preserved from the people of Asumpcion on the way; for there also they would have relics of the martyrs, and were very desirous to obtain a portion of the heart. A solemn service was performed in that city in honour of these events. Gonzalez was a native of Asumpcion, and one of his brothers (a canon of the cathedral) chaunted the Te Deum in thanksgiving that the crown of martyrdom had been vouchsafed to him. The feeling which is called forth on these occasions ennobles and almost sanctifies the superstition with which it is connected.

Techo, 66. *Charlevoix*, 359—62.

These late events were highly favourable to the growing influence of the Jesuits. Savages are accustomed to the contempt of death; but for what followed upon the death of the missionaries they were unprepared, and it impressed them with astonishment. They readily believed whatever miracles were reported, and the public rejoicings for the fate of those who had been exalted to the honours of martyrdom, (rejoicings in which all classes of men partook,) and the confidence with which not only the Jesuits and the converts, but all the Spaniards, relied upon the patronage and intercession of these new saints, affected them as much by its strangeness as its sincerity. Nor could they contemplate without astonishment the conduct of the Jesuits, their disinterested enthusiasm, their indefatigable perseverance, and the privations and dangers which they endured, for no earthly reward. They who had only heard of these wonderful men became curious of seeing them; but they who once came within the influence of such superior minds, and felt the

Growing power of the Jesuits.

CHAP. XXIII. 1629.

contagion of example, were not long before they submitted to the gainful sacrifice of their old superstitions. The system, though it had hardly yet attained that perfect form which it afterwards acquired, had taken root, and was rapidly flourishing, when it was assailed by the Paulistas of Brazil, an enemy equally formidable and unexpected. From that very spot where Anchieta had devoted his days and nights to preparing the way for the conversion of the savages, the most implacable and ferocious opposition to the missionaries was to proceed.

The Paulistas.

The Paulistas have acted so memorable a part in Brazil and Paraguay that it becomes of importance to trace their history distinctly, and clear it from fables and misrepresentations. When the Portugueze first began to think seriously of occupying Brazil, both the government and the respective donatories were desirous of confining the colonists to the coast; the great object of their speculations being a return of produce, this could not be obtained from the interior of an uncleared and savage country; nor could the population of Portugal afford adventurers in sufficient number to expose them to that perpetual warfare with which in inland situations they were threatened on all sides. For this reason the donatories were empowered to found as many towns as they pleased upon the coast, or upon navigable rivers; but if they made settlements in the interior such settlements were not to be less than six leagues distant from each other, . . . a regulation which seems intended as an indirect prohibition. For the same reason it was among the instructions which the first governor-general, Thomé de Sousa, brought out, that no person should trade in the interior without a special permission. It was not possible to people the coasts and the interior at once; if the latter were preferred, the failure of that commerce, the importance of which was duly felt at Lisbon, was foreseen; and perhaps it was perceived also, that as colonists

Gaspar da Madre de Dios Memorias, I, § 118.

CHAP. XXIII

1532

are removed from intercourse with the mother country, their attachment to it is lessened, and their obedience becomes insecure.

Foundation of the city of Paulo.

But this system of colonial policy was only practicable as far as it coincided with the inclination of the colonists. Ramalho, whom Martim Affonso de Sousa had found residing in the Campo [12], or Fields of Piratininga, and who made an alliance between his countrymen and the natives, was of course permitted to remain there, and he with his family established what at that time was called a *Força*, or strong house. The advantages of this situation soon became so generally known, that Dona Anna Pimentel, the wife of Martim Affonso, acting for her husband, (who was then governor in India,) and probably yielding to the wishes of the colonists, revoked the existing prohibitions, and allowed all persons to settle there. From that time the settlements on this part of the coast began to decay; St. Vicente gradually became depopulated, and the flourishing trade of Santos with Angola and with the mother country declined, and ceased at length. But the settlers in the delightful fields of Piratininga increased so rapidly, that nine years after the prohibition had been removed, Thomé de Sousa gave permission to form a township, on condition that before the charter was granted a fortification should be made there, with a trench, and four redoubts *(baluartes)* mounted with artillery. These works, and also a church and a prison, Ramalho made at his own cost. He had allied himself with the Goayanazes by taking the daughter

Vol. 1, p. 34.

1544.

Gaspar da Madre de Dios, 1, § 119.

[12] The word does not imply, but was intended to signify an open country, in distinction from the *mato*, or woodland. The country about St. Paulo is indeed so far from being a plain country, that I have heard it described as resembling Cintra.

CHAP. XXIII. 1553.

of Tebyreça, one of their Royalets, and as she is called Isabel, it seems probable that he had married her: but his sons are spoken of as though their names were Legion, so that he had evidently conformed to the custom of the Indians, by taking as many women as suited his inclination or his interest. The fortifications, such as they were, having been completed, Antonio de Oliveira, the lieutenant of the Donatory, went up to the Serra, and planted tbe *Pellourinho* in Ramalho's settlement, thereby erecting it into a township, with all the appendant privileges, under the name of Villa de Santo André, or St. Andrew's Town, Ramalho being appointed *Alcaide Mor*: he had previously been *Guarda Mor* of the Campo.

April 8, 1553.

Gaspar da Madre de Dios, 1, § 158.

S. André stood about half a league from the Borda or edge of the Campo, on what is at present called the Fazenda de S. Bernardo, a property belonging to the convent of S. Bento in the city of St. Paulo. The river Tyete[13] flows through this region, and receives the Piratininga, a smaller stream which gives name to the Campo, and is itself so called from the number of fish which after a fresh its retiring waters leave on the shore to be parched by the sun. On the banks of this smaller stream, Tebyreça, or Martim Affonso as he was called after his baptism, had his dwelling. But when Nobrega had resolved to transfer the Jesuits' college from St. Vicente to this place, he fixed upon an eminence between the river Tamandoatey and the brook Anhamgabau, three leagues from S. André; and Tebyreça, with Cay-Uby, another converted chief, and their people, were persuaded to remove thither also, the former erecting his huts upon the spot where the convent of S. Bento stands at present. Here they erected a church, such as they could; and as the first mass

Diogo de Toledo Lara Ordonez. Notæ ad Anchietam, S. Vol. 1, p. 385.

Sim. de Vasc. C. C. § 152.

[13] Formerly called by the Portugueze Rio Grande, and Anhambi.

happened to be performed upon the day on which the church commemorates the Conversion of St. Paul, that Apostle was chosen for the patron saint of the church and the new settlement, which was thenceforth called S. Paulo. This was too near S. André for both to flourish: and Ramalho and his Mamaluco generation regarded it with an evil eye, not only because men who lived in open and habitual violation of the precepts and institutions of christianity were necessarily inimical to those who contended for the observance of these duties, but also because they felt that their own rising town lost its importance, and apprehended the consequences which soon ensued. The Jesuits possessed the favour of the Governor, and were at that time highly popular. Nobrega represented to Mem de Sa that the site of S. André was ill chosen, being on the borders of the Campo, and therefore exposed to attacks from the adjoining woods; whereas S. Paulo being in the open country, was in no danger of surprize; so he advised that the *Pellourinho* and the charter should be transferred, adding as another reason that there was no priest at S. André to administer the sacraments, and that both the political and religious inconveniences would be remedied by the proposed removal. Accordingly, as Ramalho and his family had feared, the transfer was made, and the *Pellourinho* planted in front of the Jesuits' college. He had less reason to complain than the ill-fated natives. They seeing this new influx of Portugueze, and that day after day more of their lands were appropriated by these strangers, removed their habitations. The donatory, after a few years, allotted to each of the two tribes a track of six square leagues: the allotment was sufficient in extent if it had been respected; but successive encroachments were made, though in every grant which was subsequently accorded to a Portugueze the rights of these Indians were expressly reserved;

CHAP. XXIII. 1553.

1560.

1581.

Gaspar da Madre de Dios Memorias, 1, § 164.

Diogo de Toledo, N. 1.

CHAP. XXIII. 1581.

and it is said that at present the miserable descendants of these people scarcely possess any portion of the land which had been their fathers'. In 1581 the seat of Government for the Captaincy was removed from S. Vicente to S. Paulo.

Such was the foundation of this city. The accounts of its inhabitants, given by their Jesuit enemies, and by their Portugueze apologists, may well be reconciled, widely as they differ, by admitting both; the crimes and the services of the Paulistas were both of the greatest magnitude, and it is easy to distinguish the language[14] of exaggeration and falsehood by its absurdity. The city was by it's situation[15] almost cut off from any intercourse with other towns: it had little or no communication with Portugal, no trade for want of outlets; but it had every advantage of soil and climate. To such a place adventurers, deserters, and fugitives from justice would naturally resort; they connected themselves with Indian women, and the mixture of native blood, which every where in Brazil was very great, was perhaps greater here than in any other part. This mixture improved the race, for the European spirit of enterprize developed itself in constitutions adapted to the country. But the Mamalucos grew up without any restrictions of law or of religion. Law indeed

Vol. 1, p. 262.

[14] Writers not acquainted with the history of Brazil might some years ago have been excused for saying that "St. Paulo is a kind of independant republic, composed of the banditti of several nations, who pay a tribute of gold to the King of Portugal," .. but such an error is hardly excusable now. And the assertion that "virtuous actions were carefully punished with death among the Paulistas," is so grossly and extravagantly absurd, that it is marvellous how any writer should have been unthinking enough to advance, or any reader credulous enough to believe the impossible assertion!

[15] The only road to it from the coast was described even so recently as 1797, as being "perhaps the very worst in the world." It has since been much improved.

can scarcely be said to have existed in a land where any man committed what murders he pleased with impunity; and for religion . . . its place was supplied by a gross idolatry, which had so little effect upon the conduct of its votaries, that while they were committing the most flagrant and flagitious crimes they believed themselves good catholics still, and had a lively faith in the Virgin Mary and the Saints.

Destruction of the natives in Brazil.

There were two objects which the Paulistas pursued with indefatigable activity, . . the Indian slave-trade and the search for mines. When the Jesuits first entered Brazil the natives were exceedingly numerous along the coast. Thomé de Sousa, to express their multitudes, said to the King, that if they were killed for the market there would be no end of them. But as the colonists grew stronger, and established more sugar-works, they became more tyrannical, and acted as if the natives were a race of inferior animals, created merely for their use. Many of these injured people pined away in slavery, others were consumed with hard labour and merciless usage, and those who escaped captivity fled into the interior, nor did they think themselves secure there till they were four or five hundred miles from the sea. Wherever the Portugueze were numerous this destruction of the natives had taken place. The Jesuits, still pursuing the system which Nobrega and Anchieta had begun, when they no longer found employment for their zeal upon the coast, sought out the natives in their recesses; these journeys sometimes were the work of from six to eighteen months. The character which they had obtained frequently induced the savages to listen to them, and follow them to the coast. The slave-hunters took advantage of this, disguised themselves like Jesuits, and by this worst species of sacrilege frequently decoyed the natives. It was in vain that the Court issued edict after edict in favour of the Jesuits and in behalf of the Indians; the very

CHAP. XXIII. 1581.

persons whose duty it was to see these edicts executed were often deeply engaged in the guilt which they were called upon to punish and prevent. This conduct was not less impolitic than wicked. Had the plans of Nobrega been supported by succeeding governors as they were by Thomé de Sousa and Mem de Sa, the colonists would never have been in want of free labourers; but by their tyranny they so completely dispeopled the coast, (except where the savages by fierce and continual war had acquired the command,) that had it not been for the persevering zeal of the missionaries the colonies could not, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, have maintained themselves, nor could they have been defended against the attacks of the English freebooters by the scanty European population.

Guerreiro, Rel. Ann. 1603, p. 113.

Expeditions of the Paulistas in search of slaves and of mines.

The effect of this wicked mispolicy was severely felt during the Dutch war; for if the enemy had not found allies among the tribes from Pernambuco and the Potengi, they could not so long have held their ground, nor have so greatly endangered the existence of the Portugueze in Brazil. During that war the southern provinces were not attacked, and consequently Rio de Janeiro flourished more than it could possibly have done had Bahia and Pernambuco continued in peace. But the loss of the African possessions severely affected this part of the country: the Portugueze could no longer procure slaves; the stock of natives within their reach had been consumed; there remained no resource but from the interior; and from the interior the Paulistas supplied them. Nothing can be said to justify the Paulistas, scarcely any thing to palliate their atrocious conduct: but besides the principles which are common to all slave-traders, there were some peculiar circumstances by which they were influenced. The Mamalucos, who were the germ, and indeed the bulk of the population, were bred up in the hereditary hatred

of their mother's tribe, and followed the instinct of a perverted nature in hunting down men whom they considered as their natural enemies; the Paulistas in general, when they allied themselves with the tribes whom they found in the Campo de Piratininga, naturally adopted their enmities, and became as a matter of course their allies in war: and it should be remembered that savages will always for their cruelty be regarded by a more civilized race rather as wild beasts than as men, and especially if they are cannibals, like almost all the Brazilian tribes. Their expeditions in quest of slaves sometimes lasted for years. Any resolute adventurer, like his countryman Garcia, only with more companions of his own colour, would put himself at the head of an army of confederate savages, and set out boldly to explore the country. It had never been doubted that there were mines in the interior, and Government had from time to time attempted to discover them, just with sufficient success to make it certain that mines were in existence. But the Paulistas were indefatigable in the search: with them mine-hunting and slave-hunting went together; the party that was strong enough for security was strong enough for offence; and a herd of Indians repaid them for a bootless expedition in quest of gold. They relied for sustenance on the way upon the pine-nuts, which were the common food of the savages in this part of the country, (the most fertile in Brazil,) and which Cabeza de Vaca had found so serviceable in his march. They were eaten either crude, roasted, or boiled. When these freebooters left the pine-country behind them, they were expert enough in hunting and fishing to be seldom in want of food. There grew also a species of palm here, from which they prepared a flour in the same manner as from mandioc, and which seems to have been used in these expeditions, because it is called *farinha de guerra*, or war-meal.

Vol. 1, 109.

Sim. de Vasc. Vida de Joam de Almeida, 3, 1, § 2, 3.

The Jesuits opposed the Indian slave-trade with the zeal of

CHAP. XXIII. 1581.

men who knew that they were doing their duty; never had men a better cause, and never did men engage in any cause with more heroic ardour. Hence, from the first foundation of St. Paulo, they made the Mamalucos, and indeed the greater part of the people, their implacable enemies. It was reason enough for the Paulistas to regard with a hostile feeling the Reductions in Guayra, because they were founded by this hated order; and the feeling was exasperated by another cause, which the Jesuits ought to have foreseen. When Felipe II. accomplished the usurpation of Portugal, no attempt was made toward uniting the kingdoms as well as the crowns; a short-sighted and shallow policy sought to secure to each country the exclusive advantage of its colonies. But the boundaries in South America had never been defined. This uncertainty was favourable to the Portugueze; they possessed in the Paulistas a race of men even more enterprizing than the first discoverers, while among the Spaniards of Paraguay all activity and all enterprize were extinct. After Nuflo de Chaves, scarcely an attempt was made to extend their settlements or their discoveries. But the system which Ortega and Filds introduced, after the example of their brethren in Brazil, produced an important change; the Jesuits were continually extending their establishments and their views, and unhappily for their converts and themselves, they extended them eastwards, into a country which the Paulistas considered as belonging to Portugal [16], and more

Enmity between the Paulistas and the Jesuits.

[16] Fr. Gaspar da Madre de Deos (§ 165) quotes Vaissette, (*Hist. Geograf. Ecclesiast. et Civil. T.* 12. *p.* 215, *edition* 1755) as saying, that the Captaincy of S. Vicente is bounded on the west by the Paraguay,... and argues from this that that author ought to allow that all between the sea and that river belonged of right to the Crown of Portugal, as the Paulistas maintained. I strongly suspect that Vaissette means the *Province* and not the *River*, and that his meaning cannot have been *misunderstood*.

peculiarly as their own mining and slaving ground. Certain it is, that if they had not taken the alarm, the Spaniards would have possessed themselves of the coast of Brazil south of Parnagua, and that in the interior the mines of Goyazes, Mato Grosso, and Cuyaba would have been appropriated by Spain instead of Portugal.

Gaspar da Madre de Deos, p. 120, note.

The Paulistas attack the Reductions.

The Paulistas began their war against the Reductions in 1629, at which time twenty-one had been formed. They fell upon that of the Incarnation in Guayra, but apparently in no great force, and Montoya, being upon the spot, succeeded in intimidating or persuading them to take another route. It proved only a short respite. About this time D. Luiz de Cespedes came out as governor of Paraguay. There had been an express order that all persons going to that country should proceed by way of Buenos Ayres, the passage overland from Brazil being prohibited, as likely to give occasion to quarrels with the Indians; D. Luiz however obtained permission to make the journey. The country was now better known than in Cabeza de Vaca's time, and taking a directer road, he past through S. Paulo just as a formidable expedition was preparing against the Reductions: the force is said to have consisted of nine hundred Paulistas, and about two thousand Tupim Indians, under Antonio Raposo, a distinguished leader in such enterprizes. The governor, after a few days' journey from that city, embarked upon a river which brought him to Loretto, and there he rested awhile; but though he had seen the preparations at S. Paulo, and Montoya, knowing but too surely where the blow would fall, besought him to give them troops for their protection, he refused, upon the pretext of having none to spare. On this occasion the Paulistas found a plea for their hostilities, which probably seemed satisfactory to men whose understandings had been corrupted by their hearts. A Chief, by name Tataurana,

CHAP. XXIII 1629.

having once been taken by a party of these slave-hunters, under Simam Alvarez, made his escape, and took refuge in the Reduction of S. Antonio. Alvarez, who commanded a detachment in the present expedition, learnt where he was, and demanded that he should be delivered up; but the Jesuit Mola, who presided there, replied, he could not give up to slavery a man who had escaped from it, having been born free, and who was under the King's protection. This reply was communicated to Raposo, and Mola, foreseeing that an attack upon the settlement would be the consequence, set about what in his opinion was the most urgent business of preparation, and baptized all whom he thought in a state for baptism upon such an emergency ... a work which he continued for seven hours, till he had no longer strength to raise his arm, and therefore it was lifted for him. The attack was made; the place was sacked; they who attempted to resist were butchered, even at the foot of the altar, and above five and twenty hundred Indians were driven away as slaves. The remonstrances and supplications and tears of the Jesuit were of no avail; and when he warned these ruffians of the divine justice, they replied, that as for that matter they had been baptized, and therefore were sure of going to heaven. Three other Reductions were in like manner destroyed: in vain did the Jesuits put on the dress of the altar, and go out with the Crucifix to meet the Paulistas; men of their stamp were as insensible to religion as to humanity: they carried away all on whom they could lay hands, and driving them with a barbarity which ever has and must characterize this accursed trade, the greater part perished upon the way, exhausted with fatigue, and misery, and inanition. When stripes could no longer force them forward, they were left to expire, or to be devoured by beasts and vultures, ... nor was child suffered to remain with parent, or parent with child in this dreadful extremity, ... the merciless scourge drove the survivor

on. Mansilla and Maceta had the courage to follow as close as they could, trusting to what they might find in the woods for subsistence, and administering such consolation as they could to the dying, with whom the road was tracked. The Paulistas were nine months on this expedition, and they brought home fifteen hundred head of slaves, boasting that they had never made a better booty. The two Jesuits, when they arrived at S. Paulo, made their complaint to the governor of that city, but soon found that if he had the disposition to give them redress he had not the power. They proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, and demanded an order for the deliverance of their neophytes, and for the protection of the Reductions. Here they were referred to the Governor General, as the only person who had authority for such measures; so they then went to Bahia. It was during Oliveira's government: he heard them with apparent interest, and appointed a Commissary to accompany them to S. Paulo, and see full justice done: but the Jesuits perceived that his orders could only be rendered effectual by force. In reality they required what the Governor could not at any time have performed. The unhappy Indians had already been sold and dispersed over the country: many persons high in rank, whom he dared not or would not offend, were purchasers; and he had pressing affairs which required his attention: for the Dutch had just established themselves in Pernambuco, and his whole thoughts were occupied in a war which might come, he knew not how soon, to his own door. Bad as the age and the people were, they found some instances of goodness, ... in the worst ages and among the worst people some are always to be found. At Rio de Janeiro twelve Indians were restored by persons who purchased them for the sake of setting them free. A person named Jeronymo de Vega advised Maceta to go to Spain, and make his complaint to the King in per-

Mansilla and Maceta follow them to S. Paulo.

CHAP. XXIII. 1630.

son, ... and he offered to defray the whole expence of the voyage: but Maceta had discovered that another expedition of the same kind was preparing, and therefore thought it necessary to hasten back. As soon as they arrived at S. Paulo they were seized and put in confinement. The Commissary arrived soon after them, and endeavoured to execute his commission; a musket was fired at him; and the inhabitants informed him that they would rather be unchristened than suffer him to obey his instructions. He was obliged to leave the town with all speed: as soon as he was gone, the two Jesuits, whom the Rector of the College had till then vainly reclaimed, were set at liberty, and they then returned to Guayra, with no other advantage from the journey than the consolation of having done their duty to the utmost.

Techo, 69, 73, 76. Charlevoix, 367—380.

Effect of these ravages upon the converts.

The fruit of all the Jesuits' labours in this wild country had now been nearly destroyed. The Indians conceived a suspicion that the invasion had been preconcerted between them and the Paulistas, and that the sole purpose for which they were collected in Reductions was to betray them thus to slavery. By good fortune, Maceta, when he followed the invaders, had procured by his intreaties the deliverance of a Cacique called Guiravera, with his wife and six other persons; and this chief, who had formerly been a bitter enemy of the missionaries, and afterwards returned to and persisted in his old habits of life, went among his countrymen now, and with the most zealous gratitude justified the Fathers from this imputation. But he could not counteract the impression which the late havock made upon the people; it was evident that when they were thus gathered together in large communities, more were enslaved in a single day than in many years before. The Payes failed not to take advantage of this state of mind. Certain of these jugglers acting in concert, erected their place of worship each on the top of

CHAP. XXIII. 1630.

a mountain, where they exposed for adoration the bones of some of their predecessors, and delivered oracles, and where female votaries kept up a perpetual fire. A ritual worship might easily have grown from this beginning if it had not been discovered in time. Montoya and his brethren set fire [17] to the temples, and to the huts about them; they brought away the bones in triumph, and exposed them on the green of the nearest Reduction, where after the Indians had been made to trample upon them, they were publicly burnt. There was an Indian so dreadfully mis-shapen that he is said to have been distorted in every part of his body: this wretched creature, craving after power which he could no otherwise obtain, set himself up for an object of worship, and soon found worshippers;... people even stole from the Reductions to adore this living deity! As soon as the Jesuits discovered it they laid hands upon him, and delivered him to the boys as an object for mockery;... the ill effect of teaching them to make a mock at deformity was not considered: his disciples, however, were effectually cured by seeing his utter helplessness to protect himself; and the end was that this unhappy cripple desired to be instructed in the faith, and procured all the comforts which he was capable of enjoying by becoming a convert.

Techo, 77. Charlevoix, 1, 383.

Charlevoix, 385.

Such enemies as these were suppressed as soon as detected; but against the Paulistas other arms were required, and it was in vain that the Governor of Paraguay was called upon to protect the Reductions: he was no friend to the Jesuits, and view-

The Jesuits compelled to evacuate Guayra.

[17] In the translation of Techo it is said, they went "to burn the temples, and burn the authors of the mischief." I suspect that this is not justified by the original. The fashion of *autos-da-fe*, however dearly the Jesuits might like them in Europe, was never introduced into Paraguay.

CHAP. XXIII. 1630.

son, ... and he offered to defray the whole expence of the voyage: but Maceta had discovered that another expedition of the same kind was preparing, and therefore thought it necessary to hasten back. As soon as they arrived at S. Paulo they were seized and put in confinement. The Commissary arrived soon after them, and endeavoured to execute his commission; a musket was fired at him; and the inhabitants informed him that they would rather be unchristened than suffer him to obey his instructions. He was obliged to leave the town with all speed: as soon as he was gone, the two Jesuits, whom the Rector of the College had till then vainly reclaimed, were set at liberty, and they then returned to Guayra, with no other advantage from the journey than the consolation of having done their duty to the utmost.

Techo, 69, 73, 76. Charlevoix, 367—380.

Effect of these ravages upon the converts.

The fruit of all the Jesuits' labours in this wild country had now been nearly destroyed. The Indians conceived a suspicion that the invasion had been preconcerted between them and the Paulistas, and that the sole purpose for which they were collected in Reductions was to betray them thus to slavery. By good fortune, Maceta, when he followed the invaders, had procured by his intreaties the deliverance of a Cacique called Guiravera, with his wife and six other persons; and this chief, who had formerly been a bitter enemy of the missionaries, and afterwards returned to and persisted in his old habits of life, went among his countrymen now, and with the most zealous gratitude justified the Fathers from this imputation. But he could not counteract the impression which the late havock made upon the people; it was evident that when they were thus gathered together in large communities, more were enslaved in a single day than in many years before. The Payes failed not to take advantage of this state of mind. Certain of these jugglers acting in concert, erected their place of worship each on the top of

CHAP. XXIII. 1630.

a mountain, where they exposed for adoration the bones of some of their predecessors, and delivered oracles, and where female votaries kept up a perpetual fire. A ritual worship might easily have grown from this beginning if it had not been discovered in time. Montoya and his brethren set fire [17] to the temples, and to the huts about them; they brought away the bones in triumph, and exposed them on the green of the nearest Reduction, where after the Indians had been made to trample upon them, they were publicly burnt. There was an Indian so dreadfully mis-shapen that he is said to have been distorted in every part of his body: this wretched creature, craving after power which he could no otherwise obtain, set himself up for an object of worship, and soon found worshippers;... people even stole from the Reductions to adore this living deity! As soon as the Jesuits discovered it they laid hands upon him, and delivered him to the boys as an object for mockery;... the ill effect of teaching them to make a mock at deformity was not considered: his disciples, however, were effectually cured by seeing his utter helplessness to protect himself; and the end was that this unhappy cripple desired to be instructed in the faith, and procured all the comforts which he was capable of enjoying by becoming a convert.

Techo, 77. Charlevoix, 1, 383.

Charlevoix, 385.

Such enemies as these were suppressed as soon as detected; but against the Paulistas other arms were required, and it was in vain that the Governor of Paraguay was called upon to protect the Reductions: he was no friend to the Jesuits, and view-

The Jesuits compelled to evacuate Guayra.

[17] In the translation of Techo it is said, they went "to burn the temples, and burn the authors of the mischief." I suspect that this is not justified by the original. The fashion of *autos-da-fe*, however dearly the Jesuits might like them in Europe, was never introduced into Paraguay.

CHAP. XXIII. 1631.

ing the danger with unconcern, if not with secret satisfaction, would give them no assistance. The Paulistas made another invasion; one Reduction was destroyed, a second was evacuated, and to complete the evil, the inhabitants of Villarica waylaid the fugitives, so that they who escaped from the Portugueze man-hunters fell into the hands of the Spaniards. F. Francisco Diaz Taño, after in vain applying to the magistrates of that town for redress, went to Asumpcion, and complained to the governor, who coldly replied, that the Jesuits made loud complaints with little cause, and were hated wherever they went. Taño then in the King's name made in writing a formal demand of succour for the province of Guayra; but this was treated with as much contempt as his verbal representations. D. Luiz de Cespedes did not conceal his wish to destroy the system of the Jesuits, and establish the *Encomiendas* in its stead: meantime, to distress the Reductions as much as possible, he prohibited all intercourse between the provinces of Uruguay and Guayra by way of the Parana, thus compelling those who went from one to the other to make a circuit of more than an hundred leagues, by way of Paraguay. Against this regulation, which was equally preposterous and oppressive, Taño appealed to the Royal Audience at Chuquisaca, and they immediately annulled it; but when he returned from this business, he found the Paulistas again ravaging the country. In this distress the Jesuits determined to evacuate Guayra, and remove all their Indians who could be induced to follow them beyond the Parana. It was a cruel necessity. The two oldest Reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto, which were the last that remained untouched, vied at this time with the best settlements in Paraguay; the former contained nine hundred families, the latter eight hundred; the churches were larger and better ornamented than in the capital; and the inhabitants were brought to that point of

civilization at which the system aimed; they possessed large herds of cattle; they had extensive plantations; they cultivated cotton, from which they manufactured their own clothing; and not only provided amply for their own subsistence, but assisted the new establishments from their abundance. There was now no alternative but emigration or slavery; many could not be persuaded to encounter the less but the certain evil: of these some returned to their old habits of savage life; the rest fell into the hands of the Paulistas. These ruffians, enraged that any should have escaped them, pursued the emigrants. The removal was made under all the distressing circumstances of confusion, and haste, and fear: they embarked on the Parana, .. but there were the Falls to pass.

CHAP. XXIII. 1631.

Techo, 77. Charlevoix, 390.

The Parana, where it enters the Cordillera de Maracayu, is by measurement, when at its mean height, two thousand one hundred toises wide, .. nearly a sea league, .. and very deep. The mountains contract it suddenly to a channel of thirty toises, and in these straits the whole body of water falls fifty-two French feet, at an angle of fifty degrees. The sound is heard six leagues off, and the cloud of vapour, which is visible almost as far, falls round about in a perpetual shower with such drenching force, that Azara says, they who visit the place strip themselves naked to approach it. No birds are seen near, nor any animal, except the yaguarete, the fiercest beast of South America; the fish above and below the Falls are of different species. From hence there is a succession of rapids and whirlpools for thirty-three leagues, to the mouth of the Yguazu. When the emigrants drew near this place, having no time to carry their canoes overland till they should reach a navigable part of the river, they landed, and abandoned them to the stream, where the vessels were all destroyed. The latter part of their journey, therefore, became more painful than the former, as they had to make their way

Falls of the Parana.

Azara, t. 1, 72—96.

CHAP. XXIII. 1631.

through the woods, living upon what they could find there; and when at length they reached a part of the country on the left bank, where they expected to be safe, and two Reductions were formed out of the wreck, a pestilence, the consequence of their late sufferings, broke out among them, and swept them off by hundreds. This was so fatal, that the wild beasts, made furious by having gorged upon the dead, attacked the living; and of the remains of thirteen populous Reductions, not quite four thousand [18] persons survived the first year. The Spaniards, who had so tamely beheld or so wickedly connived at their destruction, soon felt the consequences; the Paulistas, finding no other booty, turned upon them, plundered their habitations, and totally destroyed the towns of Ciudad Real and Villarica.

Techo, p. 83. Charlevoix, 392—9.

Reductions formed in the Tapé among the Itatines.

These late calamities might have disheartened men who acted from any meaner motive than religious zeal. The Jesuits continued their exertions with unabating ardour, but unfortunately still in a direction which exposed them to the same watchful enemies. They renewed their attempts in the Tapé; four Reductions were soon formed in that region, and as many among the Itatines, who wandered over the country east of the Paraguay, upon the streams which discharge themselves into that river and into the Parana, between the nineteenth and twenty-second degrees of south latitude. On the northern verge of this country there was an old Spanish settlement called Xeres, where the inhabitants wished to have a Jesuit college: it would have suited the plans of the Company, and contributed to the security of a place which was of more importance to the Spa-

[18] Charlevoix, who estimates the population of the Reductions in Guayra at 100,000, says that not 12,000 remained. But the estimate seems overrated,... as the two largest settlements consisted one of 900 and the other of 800 families: and Techo, the earlier authority, gives a more probable statement of the residue.

niards than they were aware; for had this point been strongly occupied, the progress of the Brazilians toward the mines in that direction would have been cut off. But the Paraguay Spaniards, after the first race of adventurers, seem to have lost all vigour, all enterprize, and all ability: they contented themselves with oppressing the natives in their immediate vicinity, and were only roused from habitual sloth by intestine broils, while the Paulistas became year after year more daring and more formidable. These marauders having destroyed the flourishing settlements in Guayra, performed the same work of havoc now among the Itatines, laying waste the Reductions, and kidnapping all on whom they could lay hands: Xeres upon this occasion shared the same fate as Ciudad Real and Villarica. They then directed their course toward the Parana, and passing the Falls, approached the Reduction upon the Acaray. The alarm was taken in time here, and at the settlement upon the Yguazu, and the Jesuits with their persecuted proselytes, removed from the first river to Itapua, from the second to the Uruguay. The Tapé was not long exempt from these ravages. The Portugueze of the southern Captaincies had established a regular slave-trade at the port of S. Pedro, the mouth of the Tebiquare, or Rio de Espirito Santo, which collects the eastern waters of that province. They had formed an alliance with the Tupis along the coast, who made war upon the inland tribes in order to exchange them with these traders for European commodities. But when the Indians of the Tapé were collected in Reductions, they felt their strength against an enemy who had neither the advantage of European arms nor the terror of the Portugueze name: the Jesuits Mendoza and Mola put themselves at their head; they resisted the Tupis, routed them, and rescued all who had been made prisoners. Mendoza was soon afterwards killed by some savages.

CHAP. XXIII.

1632.

Techo, 88. *Charlevoix*, 408.

Charlevoix, 412.

1635.

CHAP. XXIII. 1637.

whom he was seeking to convert: he was born at S. Cruz de la Sierra, in the centre of this continent, where his father was governor; his grandfather had been one of the conquerors of Peru; and it was his hope and faith that his life and death might atone for the offences of his ancestors against those Indians for whose salvation he devoted himself. His murder was soon revenged by the converts; but the Paulistas found their way here also: in vain the Jesuits applied for protection to Asumpcion, to Corrientes, and to Buenos Ayres. The governors[19] either were hostile to the Company, or they were careless of a danger which did not immediately affect themselves; and after some ineffectual efforts to maintain their ground, the Jesuits were compelled to fly from this country as they had done from Guayra, and collect the wreck of all their establishments between the Parana and the Uruguay, in that part where these rivers approach nearest to each other.

These also are attacked.

Second emigration.

Techo, 96, 102. Charlevoix, 420—4.

The Parana.

The remotest sources of the Parana, if measured in a direct line, are among the mountains of Goyaz, where Azara places them, between 17° 30′ and 18° 30′ south latitude; but the Portugueze derive it from the Serras de Mantequira, about an hundred miles only from the town of Paraty upon the coast. Though

Azara, 1. 69. Patriota, t. 2, No. 6, p. 39.

[19] Charlevoix (*T. 1, p. 431*) says that the Provincial addressed a memorial on this occasion to the Council of the Indies, and entrusted it to a faithful person, (as he supposed) who was going to Portugal. This person was either persuaded or compelled to throw the packet overboard, when the ship was about two hundred leagues from Lisbon; but they had not long been arrived before the Memorial came after them into the Tagus, and being cast ashore there, was found, and forwarded to the King of Spain. A bundle of papers is so ill adapted for swimming, that I fear this story may with more reason be classed among the fables of the Jesuits, than among the facts contributing to a chart of the currents.

it loses its name in the Paraguay, it is very much the larger river, and continues its course for three leagues before its waters are defiled by the muddy stream which they have joined. The greater part of its course after it becomes a considerable river is in a south-west direction, but after its junction with the Yguazu it turns westward to the Paraguay. In the former part of this course the eastern shores are generally steep; the western flat and muddy, consisting either of forests of the most gigantic growth, or rich savannahs, but scarcely habitable; for the periodical inundations extend two leagues from its banks, and if a settlement be placed beyond the reach of the floods there is no water: the streams which flow into the Parana on this side, and in the time of rain overflow the country, fail in the dry season, or are so salt and bitter that no animal will drink of them. If wells are dug, the water often proves so bad as to be useless; and it is generally lost labour, for as there is no stone within a hundred leagues wherewith to wall them, their sides fall in during the floods. The river is navigable from the Yguazu to the sea, but it is a dangerous navigation. There are whirlpools which have destroyed boats in a moment, and islands are continually formed and destroyed by the operations of the stream. Where a heap of sand and wreck has collected, the willow seeds shoot and spring up; thus in the course of years, the trees growing and the soil accreting, form a wooded island; some change in the current directs the course of the stream against this ill-compacted soil, ... the sands are washed away, the trees remain bound together by the intertexture of their roots, which form a compacted floor, and being thus set loose, the island drifts about till the roots loosen, and it is finally broken up like a wreck. All these islands are overflown in the inundations, which occur twice in the year, the greater beginning in December and continuing till February; the lesser occurs about the middle of June.

Dobrizhoffer, t. 1, 192 4. Do. 208.

CHAP. XXIII. 1637.

The sources of the Uruguay are in the Serras de S. Catharina, near the island of that name; after a course of nearly one thousand miles it joins the united streams of the Paraguay and Parana, and with them forms the Plata, an immense body of fresh water, which appears upon the map rather like an arm of the sea than a river. The Uruguay is about four miles wide at its mouth, but spreads in many places to the width of seven. The Paraguay at the point of junction is divided by numberless islands, with which the Plata is filled about seven leagues above Buenos Ayres, and neither of its channels pour down so large a stream as the Uruguay, though collectively they exceed it. These islands are covered with brushwood, chiefly consisting of willows and peach-trees, with a few palms, none of which exceed six or seven inches in diameter: they are the haunt of innumerable birds, equally remarkable for the splendour of their plumage and the sweetness of their song. The yaguarete, or leopard of South America, abounds here, and men pass the summer upon these islands in hunting them for the sake of their skins. Great courage as well as dexterity is displayed in this pursuit: the man wraps his *poncho* round his left arm, and with no other weapon than a thick club, provokes the animal, avoiding his attack, and disabling him at the same time by a blow upon the small of the back. If he fail in this, he receives the yaguarete upon his left arm, as upon a shield. Wood-cutters also pass the summer upon these islands; they make huts of reeds, and suffer a dreadful persecution from musquitoes and flies, living upon fish, and beef which they obtain occasionally from the adjacent bank of the river. The Uruguay also is full of such islands. The left bank of this river, from the Rio Negro to its mouth, is so low, that many of the willows on its banks are at high water covered half way the height of their stems. Boats ascend the stream as far as Yapeyu, where the navigation is obstructed by

The Uruguay.

Dobrizhoffer, 1, 196. Peramas de vita sex Sac. Par. p. 42. Azara, 1, 84.

a fall; but for forty leagues below this settlement it is so full of rocks, and rapids, and eddies, that it can only be navigated safely when swoln by rains: the water is highest from the end of July to the beginning of November. The Indians here use double canoes, some of which are seventy feet long, with a raised cabin covered with skins: oars are employed, .. not sails; and many rowers are necessary. CHAP. XXIII. 1638. *Patriota, t. 2, No. 6, p. 40. Travels on the N. bank of the Plata. MSS.*

The Parana and the Uruguay approach nearest each other between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees south latitude, when the former river takes a westerly direction: and here, where they were protected by the rivers, and by immense woods behind them, the Jesuits once more fixed their persecuted converts. The numbers thus removed are said to have been about twelve thousand: space was cleared for the new settlements, seed brought from a great distance, and things again began to prosper. But the Indians dreaded a renewal of these forced emigrations, and earnestly entreated that they might be provided with fire-arms, to protect themselves and their wives and children. The Jesuits were well convinced of the necessity and justice of such a measure. It was one of the principles of the Spanish government not to permit the introduction of fire-arms among the Indians whom it held in subjection; self-preservation required this obvious policy; but it ceased to be applicable when the Indians were connected with the Spaniards, not in the relation of slaves to masters, but of men enjoying the same benefits of civil and religious institutions. This business in particular was of such importance, and the state of the missions in general, (offering on the one hand such certain hope of good, and exposed on the other to such danger from the activity of the Paulistas and the supine indifference of the governors,) required so urgently the interference of higher powers, that the Provincial, Diego de Boroa, sent Montoya to Madrid, and Diaz *The Jesuits send to the Court of Spain.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1638.

Taño to Rome. The former represented to the Council of the Indies, how impossible it was that the Reductions in which the Catholic faith had been planted with such difficulty, and was now so happily flourishing, could continue to exist, unless the Indians were supplied with fire-arms, to defend themselves against the Portugueze slave-hunters, and their confederate savages. The equity and the policy of this request were alike apparent: he promised that the arms should be in the custody of the missionaries, and only delivered out in time of danger; and he engaged in the name of the Company to defray the whole expence, and form all the arrangements, so that it should cost the government neither trouble nor disbursement of any kind: they would raise alms enough to purchase the arms, and some of the brethren who had served in the army before they entered the Order, would instruct the Indians in their use. These representations were successful. The King confirmed all the former laws in favour of the Indians: he declared the conduct of the Paulistas, who had carried away more than thirty thousand slaves from Guayra, and had begun the same work of devastation in the Tapé and on the Uruguay, to be contrary to all laws, human and divine, and cognizable by the Holy Office. The enslaved Indians were ordered to be set at liberty, and directions given to punish those who should commit these crimes in future, as guilty of high treason. A more important edict, because more easily carried into effect, provided, that all Indians converted by the Jesuits in the provinces of Guayra, Tapé, Parana, and Uruguay, should be considered as immediate vassals of the Crown, and not on any pretext consigned to any individual for personal service. Their tribute was fixed, but not to commence till the year 1649, by which time it was presumed, they might be capable of discharging it. And the King not only granted permission to the Jesuits to arm

Techo, 102. Charlevoix, 447—458.

their converts, but sent out positive orders to the Governors of Paraguay and the Plata to exert themselves for the protection of the Reductions.

The Jesuit Alfaro killed by the Paulistas,

The good effects of this measure were soon perceived. A party of Paulistas, on their way toward the Parana, caught two Indian boys, who were attending some missionaries on a religious quest, and secured them, as they thought, by tying their hands; but at night, when the kidnappers were asleep, these boys resolutely held their wrists to the fire till the cord was burnt, then made their escape, and gave the alarm. The Governor of Paraguay, D. Pedro de Lugo, hastened to intercept the invaders with a good escort and with four thousand Indians, the Superior of the Missions, F. Diego de Alfaro, and some other Jesuits accompanying them. Alfaro having one day ridden forward, when they were near the enemy, was marked by a Mamaluco who knew him, and killed upon the spot by a musquet ball. Upon this the Paulistas were immediately attacked; they were probably very inferior in number: many were cut to pieces, and almost all who escaped death were made prisoners. The savages of their party were delivered over to the Jesuits; the Paulistas were conveyed to Asumpcion, which was eighty leagues from the scene of action: here it was expected that they would have been executed as banditti, but D. Pedro contented himself with reprimanding them, and warning them not to provoke the vengeance of heaven by continuing to repeat such outrages; he then sent them to Buenos Ayres; there they made interest with the Governor, and were allowed to return home.

who are defeated by the Governor of Paraguay.

Techo, 104. Charlevoix, 450.

Tribes in Lake Ybera subdued.

The death of Alfaro was not without some good effect: for there was still a suspicion among the Indians that the Jesuits collected them into settlements for the purpose of delivering them with more facility into the hands of their countrymen;

CHAP. XXIII. 1639.

and this event undeceived them. He was succeeded by F. Claude Ruier, a native of Franche Comté, who was soon called upon by the Governor of the Plata to assist with a body of his converts in an enterprize of equal utility to the missions, and to the navigation of the Paraguay. On the south of the Parana, in that part of its course where it runs almost due west, is a track of swamp and water, containing not less than a thousand square miles, called formerly the Lake of the Caracaras, but in later times, Lake Ybera. Its eastern extremity was near one of the falls of the Parana; it lies parallel to that river, and is nearly square in shape, except that at the south-east point a long branch or arm extends, which terminates in forming the Mirañay, a considerable river flowing into the Uruguay. Three rivers proceed from the south-western part, the S. Lucia, the Rio de los Bateles, (so called perhaps as being navigable for boats,) and the Rio de los Corrientes: they fall into the Paraguay, and neither of them is fordable at any season. Whence these waters should be supplied, for there are no mountains near, is a curious question. Azara affirms that it is merely by filtration from the Parana; but he adds, that no similar instance has ever been discovered. This extensive track is in some places open lake, but mostly filled with aquatic plants, and in some places trees are found; the whole, however, forms a labyrinth which it is neither possible to explore on foot, nor on horseback, nor by water. Wild tales had been told of a race of pygmies inhabiting its inmost recesses: at this time a set of ferocious savages of the Caracara, Capasaca, and Menepo tribes, had their haunts there; and being joined by runaways from the Reductions, they infested equally the land and water communication between the Spanish settlements, murdering the travellers, and carrying the booty into their lurking-places among the reeds and rushes. They had lately attacked one of the Reductions, and burnt the

church; and the evil was become so serious, that the Governor of the Plata found it necessary to make a vigorous exertion. D. Juan de Garay was sent with a detachment of Spaniards from Buenos Ayres; Romero joined him with a body of disciplined Indians, better suited for such warfare than the Spaniards: wherever the savages could fly they could follow; and they pursued them from one lurking-place to another, till all who escaped death were compelled to yield themselves. CHAP. XXIII. 1639.

Techo, 104. *Charlevoix*, 451. *Azara*, 1, 81.

Meantime Diaz Taño, having left Montoya at Madrid, proceeded to Rome, and laid the state of the missions before the General of the Order. Vitelleschi, who held that station, deeply impressed by a recital of the miseries which the Portugueze slave-hunters had caused, made him repeat the tale to Urban VIII, and that pontiff, with a just feeling of indignation, denounced the severest censures of the church against all persons who on any pretext whatsoever should enslave the Indians, whether converted or unconverted. Having returned to Madrid, Diaz Taño found that his colleague had obtained from the Government every thing which he wished, and the King promised a free passage for the missionaries whom he was about to take back with him, thirty in number. They were to embark from Lisbon. Here the slave-party was more powerful than at Madrid, and the Minister, Miguel de Vasconcellos, forbade their embarkation; but they appealed to the Dutchess of Mantua, and by her interference were allowed to proceed. The ship was compelled by storms to put into Rio de Janeiro. There Diaz Taño consulted with F. Pedro Mota, the Visitor in Brazil, and with the approbation of the other clergy read the Bull of Excommunication in the Jesuits' church. In Bahia perhaps this might have been done safely; but Rio de Janeiro was too near St. Paulo, and many of its inhabitants were connected with the Paulistas, and implicated in the guilt of their abominable pro-

Diaz Tano returns from Europe.

Tumults in Brazil against the Jesuits.

CHAP. XXIII. 1640.

ceedings. These people had the rabble on their side; they attacked the College, broke open the gates, and would have murdered the Paraguay Jesuits, if the Governor, Salvador Correa, had not invited the mob into the church, and persuaded them to appoint a meeting the next day, for discussing the matter temperately, and devising some remedy. The meeting was held in the Carmelite Church, and the Jesuits, to save their lives, which were in imminent danger, suggested or consented that the enemies of the Bull should appeal to the Pope against it, which would have the effect of suspending it till his farther decision should be known. It is said also that they were made to sign a declaration, renouncing all right of acting as advocates for the Indians, and promising never more to molest the inhabitants of the Captaincy upon that subject: if such a paper were signed, it was under circumstances of compulsion, which, without recourse to any casuistry, manifestly rendered the engagement invalid. The populace at Santos proceeded to greater extremes: they pulled down the Vicar General, who published the Bull, trampled upon him, and pointing a sword at his throat, menaced him with immediate death if he did not revoke the censures, and sign their appeal to the Pope. The Superior of the Jesuits came out to appease them, bearing the Pix in his hands; some of the rioters prostrated themselves before it; others remained erect, crying out that they worshipped with their whole souls God present in the holy sacrament, but they would not submit to be deprived of their slaves, who were their only property. The tumult was allayed by some religioners of another order, who delivered an opinion that the people were not affected by this Bull; for the Pope had directed that it should be published, provided there was no lawful impediment: now the universal objection was impediment enough. Even so poor a quibble as this sufficed to quiet apprehensions which were

July 25, 1640.

Annaes de Rio de Janeiro, c. 15. *MSS.*

founded, not upon religion and conscience, but upon a miserable superstition, that had contributed to destroy both. At St. Paulo, where the people were more immediately implicated, and knew that the excommunication was levelled against them in particular, they rose and expelled the Jesuits from the city. When this was known at Rio de Janeiro, the master of a ship in the harbour fired a salute of joy, for which he was deservedly punished by the Governor. Diaz Taño now hastened his departure from a country where the lives of himself and his companions were in danger: accordingly he sailed [19] for Buenos Ayres, having equally experienced the flagitious state of the public mind in Brazil, and the perfect sympathy of the Portugueze Jesuits.

Techo, 105. Charlevoix, 453—6.

Soon after his departure the news of the Braganzan Revolution arrived, and the Marquis of Montalvam sent orders throughout Brazil to proclaim Joam IV. Some of the Paulistas thought they should do well to seize the opportunity which this change of government afforded; and instead of perplexing themselves with doubts which party to choose, or exposing themselves to any possible inconvenience by siding with either, elect one of their fellow-citizens for King of St. Paulo, and make themselves independant of both. Every thing facilitated such a revolution. Their habits of obedience to any legitimate authority hung loose upon them, and might easily be shaken off. There was but one road whereby they could be attacked, and this, which was difficult for a single traveller, for an army would be inaccessible; they might

1641. *The Paulistas upon the Braganzan Revolution wish to elect a King for themselves.*

[19] Charlevoix errs in saying that Diaz Taño sailed from the Rio in consequence of the Revolution in Portugal. His own dates disprove this: Diaz Taño sailed at the beginning of November, and the Revolution broke out on the first of the following month. He seems to have misunderstood Techo, who is evidently in this part of the history his only guide.

CHAP. XXIII. 1641.

defend themselves merely by rolling down stones, if they were attacked; while on the other hand the whole interior was open to their enterprize. The promoters of this scheme easily induced the people to join in it with enthusiasm, and if they could have found a leader to their wish, it is more than probable that the Paulistas would have become an independent people, who would soon have made themselves the most formidable in South America. Their choice fell upon Amador Bueno de Ribeira, a man of great wealth and good extraction, and by the marriages of his nine children connected with all the best families in St. Paulo. His father was a native of Seville, his mother a Portugueze of the noble family of Pires; the Paulistas of both nations therefore agreed in the choice, and the only opposition was from Amador Bueno himself. He, notwithstanding his paternal blood, considered himself as a Portugueze; and perhaps he knew too well the turbulent nature of his countrymen, and the perilous tenure upon which such a crown would be held, to feel any ambition for royalty; so when they assembled before his house to acclaim him, he protested against their measures, and strenuously urged them to proclaim King Joam IV. His refusal exasperated the people, and they threatened to put him to death if he would not consent to be their King. Upon this, taking sword in hand to defend himself, he stole out at a garden door, and ran full speed toward the Benedictine Convent to take refuge. The people saw and pursued him, shouting "King Amador Bueno for ever!" but he cried out "King D. Joam IV!" and having the start of his pursuers in this strange race, reached the convent, and barred the gates. The abbot and monks went down and parleyed with the multitude; the other clergy of the place, and such of the principal inhabitants as had not cooperated in the scheme, then came forward; they laboured to convince the people of the justice of

Amador Bueno refuses to accept the office.

the Braganzan claims, and the day concluded with proclaiming Joam IV. Amador Bueno[20] has left numerous and prosperous descendants, in the Captaincies of St. Paulo, Goyazes, Minas Geraes, Cuyaba, and Rio de Janeiro; and the merits of their ancestor on this occasion have always been admitted by the Portugueze Government in their behalf.

Gaspar da Madre de Deos, 1. § 175—84. Annaes do Rio de Janeiro, c. 16, MSS.

The Portugueze Revolution produced a long train of evil consequences to the Jesuit establishments in Paraguay. One immediate effect was, that no missionaries were now admitted into that country unless they were natural subjects of the King of Spain: the labourers were always too few for the vineyard; and now, when a large reinforcement was about to embark from Seville, the greater part were excluded by this regulation. A mission among the formidable tribes of the Chaco, the foundation of which had been laid with the best prospect of success, was therefore necessarily abandoned. Another consequence was, that the incursions of the Paulistas became from this time lawful war, and under that name all the atrocities of these slave-hunters were thenceforth legalized. The Jesuits, however, lost

Evil effects of the Revolution in Paraguay.

[20] According to F. Gaspar da Madre de Dios, this is the origin of the often-repeated fable of the Mamaluco Commonwealth of St. Paulo;.. it was more probably founded upon the general character and insubordination of the old Paulistas. Fr. Gaspar himself, the first author by whom this curious piece of history was published, has disfigured it by supposing that some Spaniards were the prime movers in the attempt, for motives of the most recondite policy: their object, he says, being at that time to disunite St. Paulo from the Portugueze provinces of Brazil, in the belief that it would soon be attached to the Spanish possessions of Paraguay and the Plata! The *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro*, with equal absurdity, make the exiled Jesuits a party to the plot, as hoping thus to recover their lost influence. In the one case a national spirit, and in the other a party feeling, has supplied the place of authority, both assertions being groundless and gratuitous.

CHAP. XXIII. 1642.

no time in availing themselves of those means of defence which had so tardily been allowed them. A band of slave-hunters approached, consisting of four hundred Paulistas and a large body of Tupis. To resist them, four thousand converts were collected from the different Reductions, three hundred of whom carried fire-arms, the rest using slings or bows, after their ancient manner; they had also a piece of artillery. Thus equipped, they were, in F. Techo's language, ordered to prepare body and soul, when their scouts brought tidings that the enemy were at a day's distance, upon one of the rivers which fall into the Uruguay, which they were descending in a fleet of three hundred boats. They marched to meet them; the slave-hunters rejoiced at seeing so large a prey collected for their hands, and hastened to the attack; but the first cannon-shot sunk three of their canoes: their astonishment at this perhaps contributed to their defeat: they were routed, pursued, and dispersed; one hundred and twenty Paulistas perished in the battle or in the flight, many falling into the hands of the Gualaches, a cannibal tribe, by whom they were devoured: a great number of their Indians forsook them, and joined the victors, who purchased this success with the loss of about fifty killed and wounded. The Jesuits followed up their advantage, and in the course of the season rescued more than two thousand Indians, whom the Portugueze were carrying toward Brazil. One of these kidnapping bands had caught a family of wild Indians; two daughters, the eldest thirteen, the other ten years of age, escaped with a little grandson, but fell into the hands of another party. When they had been carried about four hundred miles, the eldest girl, who had been bound and severely punished for attempting to escape, was released from her cord, that she might seek food for herself in the woods, provisions being scarce. Immediately she resolved again to attempt to fly, and hesitating whether she should wait for her sister, at that moment she perceived her searching

The Paulistas defeated by the reduced Indians.

Techo, 110. *Charlevoix*, 469.

with the little boy for roots, and the three children absconded together. They hid themselves by day, and travelled by night, till at the end of about a month they reached the Uruguay, almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger. There was an old canoe lying by the shore, into which they got, and committed themselves to the stream. It was not long before they saw another canoe coming up the river, and they landed and hid themselves, being afraid of cannibals; one of the men from whom they fled, and who landed also and looked for the fugitives in vain, was their own father; he and the rest of his family had been rescued, and were now members of the nearest Reduction. A party from that Reduction fell in with the children, and conducted them thither, where a meeting ensued which affected all the beholders. *Charlevoix, 473.*

Secular year of the Company celebrated in Paraguay.

The secular year of the Company, which the Jesuits celebrated with so much solemnity in Europe, was solemnized in South America also with all the pomp which the country could afford. A carnival of eight days was held at Cordoba, and a pageant represented, wherein St. Ignatius Loyola darted fire, which consumed the hydra Heresy, and the giant Paganism. In the Reductions there were thanksgiving, dancing, feasting, illuminations, and oratorical and dramatic exhibitions. At one place six hundred triumphal arches were erected by the Indians, and decorated with all the ornaments and good things which they possessed; . . a display of the benefits which they above all men derived from that society, the centenary of whose birth they were now celebrating. At a second there was a boat-race upon the Parana by torch-light; at a third a troop of military dancers bore on their shields the letters which composed the name of Loyola, and in the evolutions of the dance frequently halted in such order that the letters displayed some anagram, a sort of trifling then in full fashion, and on such occasions aptly intro-

CHAP. XXIII. 1642.

duced. At another a play was performed, of which the subject was an irruption of the Paulistas, who were of course properly defeated and punished. At La Incarnacion the Company was personified by an old giant, followed by an hundred boys in various colours, typical of the various duties of the Jesuits, who sung his praises; presently they were joined by a herd of an hundred oxen, and thus they proceeded, passing under an hundred triumphal arches to the church, in the porch whereof an hundred loaves were offered, an hundred lights were burning on the altar, and before these were laid an hundred compositions in honour of the Company. A triumphal chariot of immense size was also drawn abroad, filled with images of saints and martyrs, the heroic children of Loyola, who had obtained their crown.

Techo, III.

Europe had no cause to rejoice in the establishment of the Jesuits; but in Brazil and Paraguay their superstition may be forgiven them, for the noble efforts which they made in behalf of the oppressed Indians, and for the good which they effected: the centenary of their institution could not be celebrated by these tribes with more gratitude and joy than were justly due.

CHAPTER XXIV.

System of the Jesuits in Paraguay. State of the Reductions. Labours of the Missionaries. State of the tribes among whom they laboured.

The system of the Jesuit Reductions was now fully matured. That system has been equally the subject of panegyric and of calumny. It will not be difficult to separate truth from falsehood, and represent this extraordinary commonwealth, without any feelings of superstition to mislead us on one hand, or of factious and interested hatred on the other.

Object of the Jesuits.

They who founded this commonwealth profited by the experience of their brethren in Brazil: they knew what had been effected by Nobrega and his successors, and how mournfully the fruit of their labours had been lost; they represented therefore to the Court of Madrid that it was in vain to pursue the same course in Paraguay. Even if the tyranny of the Europeans did not consume those whom it could enslave, and drive others into the woods, the example of their lives would counteract all the lessons of religion and morality which the most zealous instructors could inculcate. Here were innumerable tribes, addicted to the vices, prone to the superstitions, and subject to the accumulated miseries of the savage life; suffering wrongs from the

CHAP. XXIV.

Spaniards, and seeking vengeance in return; neither acknowledging King nor God; worshipping the Devil in this world, and condemned to him everlastingly in the next. These people the Jesuits undertook to reclaim with no other weapons than those of the Gospel, provided they might pursue their own plans, without the interference of any other power; and provided the Spaniards, over whose conduct they could have no control, were interdicted from coming among them. The Spanish Government, whose real concern for the salvation of the Indians within its extensive empire, however erroneous in its direction, should be remembered as well as the enormities of its first conquest, granted these conditions; and the Jesuits were thus enabled to form establishments according to their own ideas of a perfect commonwealth, and to mould the human mind, till they made a community of men after their own heart. Equally impressed with horror for the state of savage man, and for the vices by which civilized society was every where infected, they endeavoured to reclaim the Indians from the one, and preserve them from the other by bringing them to that middle state wherein they might enjoy the greatest share of personal comforts, and be subject to the fewest spiritual dangers. For this purpose, as if they understood the words of Christ in their literal meaning, they sought to keep their converts always like little children in a state of pupillage. Their object was not to advance them in civilization, but to tame them to the utmost possible docility. Hereby they involved themselves in perpetual contradictions, of which their enemies did not fail to take advantage: for on one hand they argued with irresistible truth against the slave-traders, that the Indians ought to be regarded as human, rational, and immortal beings; and on the other they justified themselves for treating them as though they were incapable of self-conduct, by endeavouring to establish, that though they were human beings,

having discourse of reason, and souls to be saved or lost, they were nevertheless of an inferior species. They did not venture thus broadly to assert a proposition which might well have been deemed heretical, but their conduct and their arguments unavoidably led to this conclusion.

They seek to form a perfect Christian Commonwealth.

Acting upon these views, they formed a Utopia of their own. The first object was to remove from their people all temptations which are not inherent in human nature; and by establishing as nearly as possible a community of goods, they excluded a large portion of the crimes and miseries which embitter the life of civilized man. For this they had the authority of sages and legislators: and if they could have found as fair a ground-work for the mythology of Popery in the scriptures as for this part of their institutions, the bible would not have been a prohibited book wherever the influence of the Jesuits extended. There was no difficulty in beginning upon this system in a wide and thinly-peopled country; men accustomed to the boundless liberty of the savage life would more readily perceive its obvious advantages, than they could be made to comprehend the more complicated relations of property, and the benefits of that inequality in society, of which the evils are apparent as well as numerous. The master of every family had a portion of land allotted him sufficient for its use, wherein he cultivated maize, mandubi, a species of potatoe, cotton, and whatever else he pleased; of this land, which was called *Abamba* [1], or the pri-

State of property in the Reductions.

[1] Azara affirms that the Jesuits compelled the Indians of both sexes and of all ages, to work for the common stock, and suffered no person to work for his own benefit. *T.* 2, *p.* 234. This is a calumny beyond all doubt; for that the Jesuits accumulated nothing from Paraguay is most certain. He says that the private field was only introduced in later times, to accustom them to the use of property, when the Court had begun to interfere, and represented that they had kept their

CHAP. XXIV.

vate possession, he was tenant as long as he was able to cultivate it; when he became too old for the labour, or in case of death, it was assigned to another occupier. Oxen for ploughing it were lent from the common stock. Two larger portions, called *Tupamba*, or God's Possession, were cultivated for the community, one part being laid out in grain and pulse, another in cotton; here the inhabitants all contributed their share of work at stated times, and the produce was deposited in the common store-house, for the food and clothing of the infirm and sick, widows, orphans, and children of both sexes. From these stores whatever was needed for the church, or for the public use, was purchased, and the Indians were supplied with seed, if, as it often happened, they had not been provident enough to lay it up for themselves: but they were required to return from their private harvest the same measure which they received. The public tribute also was discharged from this stock: this did not commence till the year 1649, when Philip IV., honouring them at the same time with the title of his most faithful vassals, and confirming their exemption from all other services, required an annual poll-tax of one *peso* of eight *reales* from all the males between the ages of twenty-two and fifty; that of all other Indian subjects was five *pesos*. There was an additional charge of an hundred *pesos* as a commutation for the tenths; but these payments produced little to the treasury; for as the kings of Spain allowed a salary of six hundred *pesos* to the two missionaries, and provided wine

Public tribute.

Muratori, 137—53. Peramas. De Administratione Guaranica, § 45—50. Charlevoix, 224.

converts long enough like rabbits in a warren: and this, he says, could be the only use of such an allotment, inasmuch as the Indians raised nothing for sale, and would have been fed by the community if they had not fed themselves. He adds, that the Jesuits actually took their produce, like that of the public fields, for the common store-house. Whatever Azara says on this subject is to be received with great suspicion.

for the sacrament and oil for the lamps, which burnt day and night before the high altar, (both articles of exceeding cost, the latter coming from Europe, and the former either from thence or from Chili,) the balance upon an annual settlement of accounts was very trifling on either side.

Municipal government.

The municipal government of every Reduction was the same in appearance as that of all Spanish towns. There was a *Corregidor* [2], two *Alcaldes*, an *Alcalde de la Hermandad*, whose jurisdiction related to affairs in the country, four *Regidores* [3], an *Alguazil Mayor* [4], a *Procurador*, and a Secretary [5]. These officers were annually elected by the community; but if the Rector did not approve the choice, he recommended other persons, so that in reality the power of appointment was vested in him; they were afterwards confirmed by the governor of the province,.. a confirmation which was as mere a formality as the election. The officers themselves were of essential use, but their authority was little more than nominal; for the system of government was an absolute Hierocracy. There were two Jesuits in every Reduction; the *Cura*, or Rector, who from his knowledge of the Indian character, his tried abilities, and his perfect acquaintance with the language, was fully competent to govern them; and a younger member, who was either newly arrived from Europe, or had lately completed his studies at Cordoba, and acted as the Rector's assistant, while he acquired the language, and

Charlevoix, 1, 239. Peramas, § 216—9.

Hierocracy.

---

[2] Called in Guarani *Poroquaitara*, qui agenda jubet.

[3] Called *Cabildoiguara*, they who belong to the Chamber, or *Cabildo*.

[4] *Ibirararuzu*, primus inter eos qui manu virgam præferunt.

[5] This officer they called *Quatiaapobara*, he who paints. Ipsi scripturam non norant, sed a pictura, quam rudi quodam modo norant, scripturæ nomen accommodarunt. *Peramas De Administratione, &c.* § 216, *note*.

CHAP. XXIV.

qualified himself for the labours of a Saint-Errant, and for the service of the Company in a higher station. One of these was to be always in the Reduction, while the other went round to visit the sick in the territory belonging to it, and attended to those who were engaged in any occupations at a distance. The Superior of the Mission was constantly employed in visiting the Reductions within his jurisdiction, and the Provincial also inspected them at stated times. There were two confraternities in each: one of St. Michael the Archangel, in which men were admitted from the age of twelve till thirty: the other of the Mother of God, to which only the most pious subjects were chosen, who made themselves over by bond to the service of the Queen of Angels; the deed was signed by the member himself, and countersigned by the Rector, and was then regarded with so much veneration that the Indian kept it in the same bag with his relics. There were also certain Indians appointed to watch over the health of the community, and attend the sick, but always under the Jesuits' direction. They seem to have been trained to this office; for when the Missionary visited the sick two boys at least always accompanied him. Their business was to go every morning through the Reduction, each having his district, and report if any disease had appeared; and they were also twice a day to report the state of the patients to the Rector, that the sacrament might always be administered in time. These officers are compared to the *Parabolani* of the primitive church, in imitation of whom they were perhaps instituted; their badge of office was a tall wand with a cross at the top, from whence they were called *Curuzuyu*, the Cross-bearers. The Missionaries had gardens of every medicinal herb [6] with

Charlevoix, I, 237.

Religious fraternities.

Muratori, 106.

Officers of health.

Dobrizhoffer, 2, 279. Peramas, § 226.

[6] Sigismund Asperger, who was a physician before he entered the Company,

whose properties they were acquainted; not only such as were indigenous, but those from Europe which would bear the climate.

Dobrizhoffer, 2, 281.

As in the Jesuits' system nothing was the result of fortuitous circumstances, but all had been preconceived and ordered, the towns were all built upon the same plan. The houses were placed on three sides of a large square. At first they were mere hovels: the frame-work was of stakes firmly set in the ground, and canes between them, well secured either with withs or thongs; these were then plastered with a mixture of mud, straw, and cow-dung Shingles of a tree called the Caranday were found the best roofing; and a strong compost, which was water proof, was made of clay and bullocks' blood. As the Reductions became more settled they improved in building; the houses were more solidly constructed, and covered with tiles. Still, by persons accustomed to the decencies of life, they would be deemed miserable habitations, . . a single room [7] of about twenty-four

Plan of the towns.

Houses.

Dobrizhoffer, 3, 305. Muratori, 148.

Charlevoix, 1, 243. Peramas, § 12.

---

and died at the age of an hundred and fourteen, after its extinction, practised forty years in Paraguay, and left a collection of prescriptions, in which only the indigenous plants were employed. Some of the *Curanderos*, or empirical practitioners of that country, have copies of this work, in which, Azara observes, some new specifics might possibly be found. The balm of aguaraibay, which he introduced, was thought so precious, that a certain quantity was sent yearly to the king of Spain It is well known that we are indebted to the Jesuits for bark.

It would have been fortunate if Dom Pernetty had met with this manuscript instead of the receipts of his Franciscan friend at Montevideo, which he repeats with equal want of sense and of decency. His Editor has written under one of these most extraordinary specimens of Franciscan medicine, or, as it may be called, the *Pharmacopœia Seraphica*, "*Observez que cette recette n'est point de Sydenham ou de Boerhaave, . . mais du Pere Roch, Franciscain.*" Never was a malicious remark more properly bestowed.

[7] The plan of N. Señora de Candelaria, which Peramas has given, represents

CHAP. XXIV.

feet square being all, and the door serving at once to admit the light and let out the smoke. The houses were protected from sun and rain by wide porticos, which formed a covered walk. They were built in rows of six or seven each; these were at regular distances, two on each of three sides of the square; and as many parallel rows were placed behind them as the population of the place required. The largest of the Guarani Reductions contained eight thousand inhabitants, the smallest twelve hundred and fifty, . . . the average was about three thousand. On the fourth side of the square was the church, having on the right the Jesuit's house, and the public workshops, each inclosed in a quadrangle, and on the left a walled burial-ground; behind this range was a large garden; and on the left of the burial-ground, but separated from it, was the Widows'-house, built in a quadrangle. The enemies of the Jesuits, as well as their friends, agree in representing their churches as the largest and most splendid in that part of the world. Their height was ill proportioned to their size, because every pillar was made of a single piece of wood, . . the trunk of a tree; but as the houses consisted only of one floor, the church was still a lofty building in relation to the town. They had usually three naves, but some had five; and there were numerous windows, which were absolutely necessary [8]; for though the church was always adorned with flowers, and sprinkled upon festivals with orange-flower and rose-water, neither these perfumes nor the incense could

Peramas.

Churches of the Reductions.

Muratori, 113.

Charlevoix, 253.

Muratori, 94.

Do. 95.

Do. 114.

---

them as each having two floors and a garret, windows and chimnies. This is more probably a blunder of the coarse artist than any misrepresentation on the author's part.

[8] "*Necessarie ancor sono, affinchè nella State, che ivi e ardentissima, possano esalare i fiati e vapori di quella grossolana gente, da cui ricevono non poca molestia i celebranti e i Predicatori.*" *Muratori, p.* 114.

prevail over the odour of an unclean congregation. Glass was scarcely known in Paraguay till the middle of the eighteenth century; paper was used in its stead, or linen, or talc from Tucuman; but this was costly, and consequently rare. When glass was introduced, it was generally used in the Reductions for the churches and the Jesuits' houses; but the southern windows of the church were filled up with a sort of alabaster, brought at great expence from Peru, which, though not transparent [9], admitted a little light: glass would not resist the tremendous gales from the south. The eggs [10] of the Emu, or American ostrich, were sometimes used to hold holy water, sometimes placed as ornaments upon the altar. The altars, which were usually five in number, were remarkable for their size and splendour: the only ambition of the Indians was to vie with each other in ornamenting their churches, which were therefore profusely enriched with pictures, sculpture, and gilding, and abundantly furnished with images. Pope Gregory the Great called these idols the books of the poor,... and the Catholic clergy have succeeded in substituting them for the bible. The splendour of their vestments and the richness of their church plate were boasted of by the Jesuits. At each corner of the square was a cross, and in the middle a column supporting an image of the Virgin, the Magna Mater of this idolatry.

Dobrishoffer, 1, 237.

Peramas, § 21—2. *Charlevoix*, 253. *Peramas*.

In the middle of the burial-ground was a little chapel, with a cross over the entrance. The area was divided into four parts, for adults and children of different sexes,.. the sexes being se-

Burial grounds.

[9] Perhaps a stone of the same kind as that which Gemelli Careri and Tavernier describe in the mosque at Tauris.

[10] The Persians and Turks suspend them among the lamps in their mosques. Hence Aladin's request of a Roc's egg, or more properly a Simorg's, which excited so much indignation in the Genius of the Lamp.

CHAP. XXIV.

parated in death as well as in life. A more natural feeling would have laid the members of a family side by side; . . except in this point the churchyard was what a christian place of burial should be, . . a sacred garden of the dead. The four divisions were subdivided into plats, containing ten or twelve graves: these were bordered with the sweetest shrubs and flowers, which the women, who were accustomed to pray there over their departed friends, kept clear of weeds. The wider walks were planted on each side alternately with palms and orange-trees. The whole was surrounded by a sort of cloister or piazza, to shelter those who attended a funeral, when shelter was required.

Funerals. It does not appear that coffins were used: the body was wrapt in a cotton cloth: children, after the catholic manner, were drest and adorned for their funeral, and accompanied to the grave with marks of joy, the bells ringing as for a festival, because it was believed that they had no purgatory through which to pass, but entered immediately into a state of beatitude. When the corpse was laid in the earth, the women began to cry aloud; this howling was called *Guaju*, and was probably one of the savage customs which they were allowed to retain: in the intervals of these outcries they bewailed the dead, reciting his praises, and proclaiming what honours he had borne, or what might have been in store for him had his mortal existence been prolonged. Persons who had particularly distinguished themselves by their public merits were buried in the church, and this the Indians esteemed above all other honours.

Peramas, § 298—302.

Early marriages. The houses were built and repaired by the community, and allotted by the magistrates as the Rector directed: every couple had a house assigned them upon their marriage. Highly as the celibate state is esteemed among Romish Christians, it was not thought prudent to recommend it here; and the Jesuits, inclining to an opposite extreme, wished that the males should

Peramas, § 61.

marry at the age of seventeen, and the girls at fifteen [11]. These immature unions they thought better than the danger of incontinence: they were less injurious than they would be in any other state of society; for an Indian under their tuition was little more advanced in intellect at seventy than at seventeen; and there were no cares and anxieties concerning future subsistence, .. no after-reckoning between passion and prudence. A hammock, a few vessels, (the larger ones of pottery, the smaller of gourds,) a chest or two, and a few benches or stools, were all their furniture, and all their worldly goods. Many couples were usually married at the same time, and generally on holidays, when the church was full, because the Jesuits wished to make the ceremony as imposing as possible, for the sake of impressing a sense of its solemnity upon the unconverted part of the spectators. It is part of the marriage ceremony in the Romish church, that the priest deliver a few pieces of silver to the bridegroom, to be by him given to the bride in pledge of dowry; but in the Reductions the money and the wedding-ring also were church property, and only used upon this occasion, because of the scarcity of metals. Some addition from the public stores was made to the marriage-feast.

Peramas, § 6.

Muratori, 103.

Dobrizhoffer, 1, 243. *Peramas*, § 65.

An Indian of the Reductions never knew, during his whole progress from the cradle to the grave, what it was to take thought for the morrow: all his duties were comprized in obedience. The strictest discipline soon becomes tolerable when it is certain and immutable; .. that of the Jesuits extended to every

Discipline.

[11] Upon this subject Azara *(T. 2, 175)* repeats a silly and indecent charge against the Jesuits, which he wishes to make the reader believe, though he evidently does not, and certainly could not believe it himself. But it came in aid of one of his theories, and therefore he would not lose it.

CHAP. XXIV.

thing, but it was neither capricious nor oppressive. The children were considered as belonging to the community; they lived with their parents, that the course of natural affection might not be interrupted; but their education was a public duty. Early in the morning the bell summoned them to church, where having prayed and been examined in the catechism, they heard mass; their breakfast was then given them at the Rector's from the public stores; after which they were led by an elder, who acted both as overseer and censor, to their daily occupations. From the earliest age the sexes were separated; they did not even enter the church by the same door, nor did woman or girl ever set foot within the Jesuit's house. The business of the young girls was to gather the cotton, and drive away birds from the field. The boys were employed in weeding, keeping the roads in order, and other tasks suited to their strength. They went to work with the music of flutes, and in procession, bearing a little image of St. Isidro the husbandman, the patron saint of Madrid, who was in high odour during the seventeenth century: this idol was placed in a conspicuous situation while the boys were at work, and borne back with the same ceremony when the morning's task was over. In the afternoon they were again summoned to church, where they went through the rosary; they had then their dinner in the same manner as their breakfast, after which they returned home to assist their mothers, or amuse themselves during the remainder of the day.

Education and employment of the children.

Peramas, § 69—72.

Choristers.

Those children who by the manner in which they repeated morning and evening their prayers and catechism, were thought to give promise [12] of a good voice, were instructed in reading,

[12] Muratori has expressed this in strong and singular language. "*Sogliono con particolar cura i saggi missionari scegliere que' fanciulli, che da' primi anni si*

writing[13], and music, and made choristers; there were usually about thirty in a Reduction: this was an honour which parents greatly coveted for their children. Except these choristers, only those children were taught to read and write who were designed for public officers, servants of the church, or for medical practice; and they were principally chosen from the families of the Caciques[14] and chief persons of the town, .. for amid this perfect equality of goods, there was an inequality of rank, as well as office. The Caciqué retained his title, and some appearance of distinction, and was exempt from tribute. One of the charges against the Jesuits was, that they carefully kept their

Guarani the language of the Reductions.

---

conoscono forniti di miglior metallo di voce." This expression could hardly have originated any where except in a country where men are considered as musical instruments.

[13] P. Florentin de Bourges, therefore, (*Lettres Edifiantes, T.* 8, *p.* 384, *ed.* 1781,) must be incorrect in stating, that from the age of seven or eight to twelve the children went to school to learn reading and writing, and be instructed in their catechism and their prayers; the girls being in separate schools, where they were taught to spin and to sew. There is nothing in the whole of the *Lettres Edifiantes* more suspicious than this Capuchin's account of the manner in which he lost himself between Santa Fe and Cordoba, and travelled alone through the woods to the Reduction of S. Francisco Xavier in Paraguay. He does not even hint at the slightest difficulty, danger, or inconvenience of any kind upon the way, .. *toute au contraire*; .. "*Tout ce que l'etude et l'industrie des hommes ont pu imaginer pour rendre un lieu agréable, n'approche point de ce que la simple nature y avoit rassemblé de beautés.*" The most edifying and audacious miracles in the book are not more extraordinary than this.

[14] If Dobrizhoffer's remark be well founded, this preference ought not to have been shown. He says, "*Experti sumus passim Caziquios plerumque plebeiis stupidiores esse, et ad publica oppidi munia minus habiles.*" *T.* 2, *p.* 117. There were fifty Caciques in the thirty Guarani Reductions. Philip V. would have made them all Knights of Santiago, but was dissuaded, being assured that they would not regard the honour as they ought. *Peramas*, § 156.

CHAP. XXIV.

Indians in ignorance of the Spanish tongue. Like many other charges against them, it was absurd as well as groundless. Throughout the Spanish settlements in Paraguay, Guarani is the language which children learn from their mothers and their nurses; and which, owing to the great mixture of native blood, and the number of Indians in slavery or in service, is almost exclusively used. Even in the city of Asumpcion, sermons were better understood in Guarani than in Spanish; and many women of Spanish name and Spanish extraction did not understand the language of their fathers. In a country, therefore, where all the Spaniards spoke Guarani, the imputed policy of keeping the Indians a distinct people could not be forwarded by preventing them from learning Spanish. It was altogether unnecessary that this language should make part of their education. The laws enjoined that it should be taught to such Indians as were desirous of learning it, and accordingly there were some in every Reduction who were able to read Spanish and Latin as well as their own tongue. Their learning, however, was of little extent... the Tree of Knowledge was not suffered to grow in a Jesuit Paradise.

Peramas, § 77.

Music.

Equal care was taken to employ and to amuse the people; and for the latter purpose, a religion which consisted so much of externals afforded excellent means. It was soon discovered that the Indians possessed a remarkable aptitude for music. This talent was cultivated for the church-service, and brought to great perfection by the skill and assiduity of F. Juan Vaz: in his youth he is said to have been one of Charles the Fifth's musicians; but having given up all his property, and entered the Company, he applied the stores of his youthful art to this purpose, and died in the Reduction of Loretto, from the fatigues which in extreme old age he underwent in attending upon the neophytes during a pestilence. You would say, says

Peramas, § 87.

Peramas, that these Indians are born, like birds, with an instinct for singing. Having also, like the Chinese, an admirable ingenuity in imitating whatever was laid before them, they made all kinds of musical instruments: the lute, guitarre, harp, violin, violincello, sackbut, cornet, oboe, spinette, and organ were found among them; and the choral part of the church service excited the admiration and astonishment of all Europeans who visited the Reductions.

Muratori, 98. *Peramas*, § 88. *Charlevoix*, 257.

In dancing according to the ordinary manner, the Jesuits saw as many dangers as the old Albigenses, or the Quakers in later times; and like them, perhaps, believed that the paces of a promiscuous dance were so many steps toward Hell. But they knew that to this also the Indians had a strong propensity, and therefore they made dancing a part of all their religious festivities. Boys and youths were the performers; the grown men and all the females assisted only as spectators, apart from each other: the great square was the place, and the Rector and his Coadjutor were seated in the church-porch to preside at the solemnity. The performances were dramatic figure-dances, for which the Catholic mythology furnished subjects in abundance. Sometimes they were in honour of the Virgin, whose flags and banners were then brought forth; each of the dancers bore a letter of her name upon a shield, and in the evolutions of the dance the whole were brought together and displayed in their just order: at intervals they stopt before her image, and bowed their heads to the ground. Sometimes they represented a battle between Christians and Moors, always to the proper discomfiture of the Misbelievers. The Three Kings of the East formed the subject of another favourite pageant; the Nativity of another; but that which perhaps gave most delight was the battle between Michael and the Dragon, with all his imps. These stories were sometimes represented in the form of *Autos*, or

Dancing.

Sacred Dramas.

CHAP XXIV.

Sacred Plays, (like the mysteries of our ancient drama) in which no female actors were admitted: the dresses and decorations were public property, and deposited among the public stores, under the Rector's care. The Jesuits, who incorporated men of all descriptions in their admirably-formed society, had at one time a famous dancing-master in Paraguay, by name Joseph Cardiel; who, whether he had formerly practised the art as a professor, or was only an amateur, took so much delight in it, that he taught the Indians no fewer than seventy different dances, all, we are assured, strictly decorous. Sometimes the two arts of music and dancing were combined, as in ancient Greece, and the performers, with different kinds of hand-instruments, danced in accordance to their own playing.

Peramas, § 91—4.

Festivals.

One great festival in every Reduction was the day of its tutelar saint, when the boys represented religious dramas; the inhabitants of the nearest Reductions were invited, and by means of these visits a chearful and friendly intercourse was maintained. But here, as in most other Catholic countries, the most splendid spectacle was that which, in the naked monstrosity of Romish superstition, is called the Procession of the Body of God! On this day the houses were hung with the best productions of the Guarani loom, interspersed with rich feather-works, garlands, and festoons of flowers. The whole line of the procession was covered with mats, and strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs. Arches were erected of branches wreathed with flowers, and birds were fastened to them by strings of such length as allowed them to fly from bough to bough, and display a plumage more gorgeous than the richest produce of the vegetable world. Wild beasts were secured beside the way, and large vessels of water placed at intervals, in which there were the finest fish, that all creatures might thus by their representatives render homage to the present Creator! The game which had been killed for the feast made a part of the spectacle. Seed

reserved for the next sowing was brought forth to receive a blessing, and the first fruits of the harvest as an offering. The flour-and-water object of Romish idolatry went first, under a canopy, which was borne by the Cacique and the chief magistrates of the town: the royal standard came next: then followed the male inhabitants in military array, horse and foot, with their banners. There was an altar at the head of every street; the sacrament stopt at each, while a *mottetto*, or anthem, was sung; and the howling of the beasts assorted strangely with these strains, and with the chaunting of the choristers. Part of the dainties which had been exposed were sent to the sick; the men dined in public upon the rest, and a portion of the feast was sent to the women at their houses. After a sermon, one of the chief inhabitants repeated a summary [15] of the discourse to the men, in the great square, or in the court before the Jesuits' house; an older man did the same to the women. Practice had made them so expert in this, that their report was sometimes almost a verbal repetition.

CHAP. XXIV.

Peramas, § 95. Do. § 120.

Dobrizhoffer, 2, 75.

Upon holidays the men amused themselves, after evening service, with mock-battles, or shooting arrows at a mark, or playing with a ball of gum-elastic, which they struck with the upper part of the foot. On working-days, if they had any leisure from public or private occupation, they went fowling, hunting, and fishing. Some were employed as shepherds and herdsmen, and in tending the horses of the community. The women had their full share of labour; they provided the houses with wood and water; they assisted their husbands in cultivating the private ground; they were the potters; and the mistress of every

Sports.

Employments of the women.

[15] A Guarani of Loretto composed a volume of these summaries, which Peramas praises, adding that he had often found it useful.

CHAP XXIV.

family received weekly a certain portion of raw cotton, to be spun for the common stores [16]. Considerable progress had been made both in the useful and ornamental arts. Besides carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths, they had turners, carvers, painters, and gilders; they cast bells and built organs. In these arts they were instructed by some of the lay-brethren, among whom artificers of every kind were found. Metal was brought from Buenos Ayres, at an enormous cost, having been imported there from Europe. They were taught enough of mechanics to construct horse-mills, enough of hydraulics to raise water for irrigating the lands, and supplying their stews, and public cisterns for washing. A Guarani, however nice the mechanism, could imitate any thing which was set before him. There were several weavers in every Reduction, who worked for the public stock; and a certain number were employed for the use of individuals, women taking their thread to the steward, and receiving an equal weight in cloth when it had past through the loom, the weavers being paid from the treasury. This was the produce of their private culture, and in this some little incitement was afforded to vanity and voluntary exertion; for they were supplied every year with a certain quantity of clothing, and what they provided themselves was so much finery. In their unreclaimed state some of these tribes were entirely naked, and the others nearly so,.. but the love of dress became almost a universal passion among them as soon as they acquired the first rudiments of civilization. "Give them any thing fine," says Do-

Muratori, 143.

[16] Azara (2, 250) says, that only the musicians, sacristans, and choristers were taught to use the needle; the women doing no needle-work except spinning. Needle-work, indeed, could little be wanted, except for the service of the church, and the dress of the Jesuits, perhaps.

brizhoffer, "and . . . *in cœlum jusseris, ibunt.*" This, therefore, was one of the ways by which his colleagues enticed them to Heaven. CHAP. XXIV.

Dobrizhoffer, 2, 141.

Dress.

The dress of the men was partly Spanish, partly Indian, consisting of shirt, doublet, breeches, and the *poncho*, called among them *aobaci*, a garment which the Spaniards in these countries have very generally adopted from the southern tribes. It is the rudest of all modes of dress, but far[17] from being the least commodious, . . a long cloth, with a slit in the middle, through which the head is put; the two halves then fall before and behind to a convenient length, and the sides being open, the arms are left unimpeded. In the Reductions these were made of cotton; the common people wore them of one colour, and each man was provided with a change; for persons in office, they were woven with red or blue stripes. The women, when they appeared at church, and other public occasions, were covered from head to foot with a cotton cloak, which left only the face and the throat visible. Their domestic and common dress was lighter[18], and better adapted for business. The hair was collected in a net, after the Spanish and Portugueze fashion; but when they went abroad it was worn loose. They used no kind of head-dress, nor any covering for the feet and legs; Peramas confesses that an alteration in this latter point would have been

---

[17] *Ridiculam dices rem; atqui nec ridicula est, et eadem commodissima ad equitandum, sive quid aliud agendum sit. Sane Hispani vel noblissimi, cum equitant vel ruri sunt, non alio utuntur illac sago, quod ipsi vocant* poncho. *Hoc unum interest, quod his multo pretio ejusmodi amictus is constet ob exquisitiorem materiam, intextosque labores.* Peramas, § 201.

[18] Azara (2, 252) says, the cloth whereof this common dress was made was so open in its texture as not to answer the purpose of decent concealment. This I have no doubt is false.

CHAP. XXIV.

desirable, for the purpose of protecting them from snakes. Brazen ear-rings were worn, and necklaces and bracelets of coloured beads: such things are so universal among women, through all gradations of society, from the lowest point to the highest degree of civilization which has yet been attained, that a love of trinketry seems almost to be characteristic of the sex. On gala-days the magistrates were drest in a full Spanish suit, with hat, and shoes, and stockings: this finery was not their own, and was only supplied from the public property for the occasion. The persons also who officiated at the altar wore shoes and stockings during the service; but when that was ended they went barefooted again, like the rest of their countrymen.

Ornaments.

Every morning, after mass, the Corregidor waited upon the Rector, told him what public business was to be done in the day, and informed him if any thing deserving reprehension had occurred since yesterday's report. In such a community there could be few subjects for litigation: if a dispute arose which the friends of the parties could not adjust, they were brought before the Rector, who heard both parties in person, and pronounced a final sentence. The punishment for criminal cases was stripes and imprisonment; the prisoner was led to mass every day in bonds: if the offence were such as would in other places have been punished with death, he was kept a year in close confinement and in chains, during which time he was sparingly dieted, and frequently disciplined with stripes; at the year's end he was banished from the Reductions, and turned out in a direction toward the Spanish settlements. The magistrates were not allowed to inflict any of these punishments without the Rector's approbation; but such cases rarely occurred. For as the aim of the Jesuits was to keep their people in a state of perpetual pupillage, the Indians were watched as carefully as children under the most vigilant system of school-discipline. All persons

Punishments.

were to be in their houses at a certain hour in the evening, after which the patrole immediately began their rounds, for the double purpose of guarding against any surprize from the savages, (a danger which was always possible,) and of seeing that no person left his home during the night, except for some valid reason. The patroles were chosen with as much care among the most docile subjects, as if they had been designed for the service of the church. Overseers also were appointed, whose business it was to go from place to place during the day, and see that none were idle, and that the cattle with which individuals were entrusted either for their own or the public use, were not neglected or abused. Man may be made either the tamest or the most ferocious of animals. The Jesuits' discipline, beginning with birth and ending only with death, ensured that implicit obedience which is the first duty of Monachism, and was the great object of their legislation. Beside the overseers who inspected the work of the Indians, there were others who acted as inspectors of their moral conduct, and when they discovered any misdemeanour, clapt upon the offender a penitential dress, and led him first to the church to make his confession in public, and then into the square to be publicly beaten. It is said that these castigations were always received without a murmur, and even as an act of grace, . . so completely were they taught to lick the hand which chastised and fed them. The children were classed according to their ages, and every class had its inspectors, whose especial business it was to watch over their behaviour; some of these censors stood always behind them at church with rods, by help of which they maintained strict silence and decorum. This system succeeded in effectually breaking down the spirit. Adults, who had eluded the constant superintendance of their inspectors, would voluntarily accuse themselves, and ask for the punishment which they had merited; but by a wise precaution

CHAP. XXIV.

System of inspection.

CHAP. XXIV.

they were not allowed to do this in public till they had obtained permission, and that permission was seldom accorded to the weaker sex. They would often enquire of the priest if what they had done were or were not a sin; the same system which rendered their understanding torpid, producing a diseased irritability of conscience, if that may be called conscience which was busied with the merest trifles, and reposed implicitly upon the priest. In consequence of their utter ignorance of true morality, and this extreme scrupulosity, one of their confessions occupied as much time as that of ten or twelve Spaniards. The Pope, in condescension to their weakness, indulged them with a jubilee every year; and on these occasions the Missionaties of the nearest Reductions went to assist each other. The Jesuits boast that years would sometimes pass away without the commission of a single deadly sin, and that it was even rare to hear a confession which made absolution necessary. Few vices, indeed, could exist in such communities. Avarice and ambition were excluded; there was little room for envy, and little to excite hatred and malice. Drunkenness, the sin which most easily besets savage and half-civilized man, was effectually prevented by the prohibition of fermented liquors: and against incontinence every precaution was taken which the spirit of Monachism could dictate. It has been seen how the sexes were separated, from the earliest age, and all the inhabitants coupled almost as early as the course of nature would permit; and lest the nightly watch and the daily vigilance of the inspectors should prove insufficient preservatives, the widows, and women whose husbands were employed at a distance, unless they had infants at the breast, were removed into a separate building adjoining the burial-ground, and inclosed from the town. Their idolatry came in aid of this precautionary system: no person who had in the slightest degree trespassed against the laws of

P. Labbe Lett. Edif. t. 8. p. 178. edit. 1781.

modesty could be worthy to be accounted among the servants of the Queen of Virgins. CHAP. XXIV.

Intercourse with the Spaniards.

The exclusion of the Spaniards from this commonwealth excited so much suspicion as well as enmity, that it could not long be maintained to that full extent which the Jesuits desired. In later times, therefore, ingress was permitted to the six towns north of the Parana, and the inhabitants of Corrientes came also to the Reduction of Candelaria, which is on the southern side. But the privilege was strictly observed in the other settlements between the Parana and the Uruguay, and in all those beyond the latter river, upon the grounds that by the water-communication they were abundantly supplied with all they wanted from Buenos Ayres; and that if the door were once opened, runaway slaves and mulattoes would fly into these parts. Where the intercourse was allowed, it was exclusively for the purpose of commerce; the inn for strangers was apart from the Indians' dwellings, and when the exchange of commodities was effected, the strangers were dismissed. Money was scarcely known in Paraguay, and the capital being the most inland part of the province, it was less in use there than in any other place. All officers at Asumpcion were paid in kind; every thing had its fixed rate of barter, and he who wanted to purchase one article gave another in payment for it. Among the Reductions there was no circulating medium of any kind. They had factors at Santa Fe and at Buenos Ayres, who received their commodities, and having paid the tribute from the products, returned the surplus in tools, colours for painting, oil and salt, neither of which the country produced, vestments of linen and silk, gold thread for church-ornaments, European wax for church-tapers, and wine for what in the Romish religion is called the sacrifice. They exported cotton and tobacco; rosaries, and little saints, articles which were in great demand in Paraguay and Tucuman,

Dobrizhoffer, I, 242.

CHAP. XXIV.

and at Buenos Ayres, were distributed gratuitously, as incitements to religion, and as means of conciliating favour; they were given especially to those Spaniards who lived remote from Spanish settlements, and who were very thankful for toys in which they had almost as much faith as a negro in his greegree.

The Caa, or Herb of Paraguay.

But the chief article of export from the Reductions was the *Matté*, or herb of Paraguay, which throughout this part of Spanish America is almost as universally in use as tea in England. The name conveys an erroneous idea of the plant; for the herb of Paraguay is prepared from a tree which the Guaranies call Caa, and which in its form and foliage resembles the orange-tree, except that the leaf is softer, and the tree itself much larger. It bears a white flower with five petals, growing in small clusters. The seed resembles American pepper in its outward appearance, but within the husk three or four small oblong kernels are contained, of a whitish colour. The mode of preparing the leaves is by laying the twigs before a slow fire, when the leaves crackle like those of the laurel; they are then suspended over the fire, and thus toasted; lastly, laid on the ground and beaten with switches till both leaf and stalk are pulverized. This preparation is called *yerva de palos*[19], implying the manner in which it is made. The Guaranies of the Reductions prepared it more delicately; they picked out the stalks and larger fibres, and having roasted the leaves slowly, beat them slightly in a wooden mortar. This was called *Caa miri*, the small, or fine Caa, and was double the price of the *yerva de palos*. It is remarkable that the Jesuits, who had thus far improved the process, should not have improved it farther, and disused

[19] This, in Dobrizhoffer's time, was sold at two florins the arroba, upon the spot: the price was doubled at Asumpcion. In the middle of the preceding century, the price in that city appears to have been two crowns the arroba.

the beating altogether, because the less the leaves were broken the finer was their flavour, and the longer it was retained. Care was taken not to parch the leaves too much, for they have a gumminess of which they ought not to be deprived. The dealers appreciate it by laying a little upon the palm of the hand, and blowing it off; if it all flies off in a dry powder they reject it; the more it sticks to the hand the better is its quality.

Manner of preparing it.

The manner of preparing the infusion and of taking it is very different from our European custom of preparing tea. Instead of a tea-pot, a bowl is used of horn, or made of a gourd, ornamented with silver, if the owner be wealthy. In this about a table-spoonful of the herb is mixed with sugar, and a little cold water, and left to stand awhile; boiling water is then added, and while it is yet frothing they suck it through a silver tube, having a globular strainer at the end. The cups out of which they take it are usually made of the *Palo Santo*, or holy wood (the *jacaranda*, or *Pao Santo* of Brazil;) cups, spoons, and tobacco-pipes of this wood are regarded as valuable utensils, and thought to possess wholesome properties. The poorer classes use a pipe of wood, or a reed; the Indians drink it; and it is said that balls of the herb, like the bezoar-stone, are frequently formed in their stomachs. Neither they nor the lower classes use sugar with it, being contented with the simple infusion. The wealthy sometimes mingle a little powder of the leaves of the *Quabiri miri*[20], or of the rind of its fruit, to heighten the flavour; bilious

Dobrizhoffer, 1, 388.

[20] Dobrizhoffer (1, 413,) describes this as a srub resembling the juniper, growing chiefly in poor ground, and preferring a sandy soil. It is very abundant he says, about St. Paulo. There is a species of ant which deposits a wax upon its boughs, delicately white, and with a balsamic odour. The women collect it with great patience to form church-tapers; but it requires a mixture of bees-wax to harden it.

CHAP. XXIV.

persons add lemon or orange juice. The infusion is thought unwholesome if it stand long in the bowl; it is then only used as an ingredient for making ink. All that is damaged by wet upon the road is sold for a black die; the colour is easily imbibed, and the gum which it contains renders it lasting. Great virtues are ascribed to this tea. It is said, especially if taken cold, to relieve hunger and thirst. The Indians who have been labouring at the oar all day feel immediately refreshed by a cup of the herb, mixed simply with the river-water. In Chili and Peru the people believe that they could not exist without it; and many persons take it every hour in the day, debauching with it as the Turks do with opium.

Its use learnt from the natives,

The Spaniards are said to have learnt the use of this tea from the natives; . . a most remarkable fact, considering in how savage a state all the tribes were found. Its use was soon adopted, and spread throughout the adjoining provinces: and it is said, that in consequence of the great demand, the herb of Paraguay became almost as fatal to the Indians in this part of America as mines and pearl-fisheries had been elsewhere. The Caa-trees grow chiefly in the woods about two hnndred leagues east of Asumpcion, in a marshy, muddy soil, such as reeds delight in. The labour of gathering and preparing the leaves was indeed neither severe nor unwholsesome; but the fatigues of the journey were excessive; they had to open thickets, to bridge rivers for the passage of the cattle, and lay fascines across the marshes; when they reached the woods, their first business was to make huts for themselves and inclosures for their beasts, and then to erect frames, like the *boucan*, whereon to dry the boughs. As soon as the day's work was done, they hastened to the nearest water and plunged in, and then picked from each other's body the ticks with which they were covered; if this were neglected, death was the consequence in a few days, from

who have been consumed in gathering it.

the inflammation and ulcers which these vermin occasioned. Many thousand men are constantly in the woods collecting and preparing the leaves, and thus it was that the *Encomienda* Indians were consumed. Many thousand oxen and mules are employed in the trade, and from the length of the journey and the nature of the roads, but still more from the little humanity which is shown toward cattle in that country, and from their little value, they are soon worn out. Hence it is affirmed that those who carry on the first branch of the trade seldom grow rich; though it is exceedingly lucrative to those who deal in the ready article. The prepared leaves are packed in square leathern trunks, holding seven *arrobas* each: two of these are a mule's load, and the mule will not carry more: if a few pounds are added, he kneels down, turns upon his back, and resolutely resists the imposition.

The Spaniards destroy the trees.

The Indians used to pick the leaves from the tree, and only lop the luxuriant branches, as if pruning them; but the Spanish traders, with the blind rapacity of men who seek only immediate gain, cut the tree down, as the shortest work. Thus they destroyed the woods, and had year after year to travel farther in search of more. The Jesuits, with their usual wisdom, attempted to cultivate the Caa: they tried to raise it from seed, but without success. They removed young plants, but though this method succeeded, it was attended with much difficulty and trouble. They then listened to a report of the natives, which, perhaps, they had at first regarded as fabulous, that the seeds of this tree would not germinate till they had been eaten by the birds: they sought for such seeds, but they reasoned also upon the fact, and discovered what purpose is answered by this process. The seeds are covered with a viscous substance, which raises a lather in water; till they are cleared of this they will not germinate: the Jesuits, therefore, washed the fresh seed in

The Jesuits cultivate them.

CHAP. XXIV.

hot water, but the cultivated trees never attain the size of those which were found in the woods, and one cause may possibly be, that a part only of the natural process is imitated by this artificial method. The earth in which they are sown is tempered to the consistence of mud, and when the young trees are transplanted, each is set in the centre of a hole made for the purpose of collecting and receiving water; a shed is also built round it, to protect it from the wind and hoar-frost, for the Caa will not bear cold, and is therefore confined to the north of Paraguay: after the fourth year the leaves were gathered. An outcry was raised against the Jesuits for introducing this tree into the Reductions, as if their purpose was to enrich the Society by rivalling Asumpcion in its only important branch of trade: in consequence of this apprehension the Reductions were not allowed to export more than 12,000 *arrobas* yearly [21]. The annual export from Asumpcion was nearly 130,000; that city serving as the depôt for what came from Villarica and from Curuguaty, the two settlements which engaged with most activity in this pursuit. The charge, therefore, that the Jesuits enriched themselves by their extensive dealings in this article, is as groundless as the other accusations which were brought against them.

Dobrizhoffer, I, 111—121. *Jolis*. 292.

The system upon which the Reductions were founded and administered was confessedly suggested by that which Nobrega and Anchieta had pursued in Brazil; the persons who matured it, and gave it its perfect form in Paraguay, were Lorenzana, Montoya, and Diaz Taño. Never was there a more absolute despotism; but never has there existed any other society in

Peramas, § 258—263.

[21] It is said by F. Rodero, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, that they never exported more than half that quantity. *T.* 9, *p.* 195.

which the welfare of the subjects, temporal and eternal, has been the sole object of the government: the governors, indeed, erred grossly in their standard of both; but, erroneous as they were, the sanctity of the end proposed, and the heroism and perseverance with which it was pursued, deserve the highest admiration. Among the numberless calumnies with which the Jesuits have been assailed, it was asserted that they lived like princes in their empire of Paraguay; and gave free scope to themselves in all those sensualities from which their converts were interdicted. The romances of Catholic hagiology are far from representing their saints as being free from temptation; but nothing in those romances is more monstrous than it would be to believe that these missionaries were influenced by any other motives than those of duty towards God and man. The men appointed to this service had given evidence of their enthusiasm by entering the Company, and requesting to be sent upon the mission: here then was proof in every individual of his inclination, and thence a probability of his fitness for the work; and in the Jesuit Order every man had that station assigned him for which he was adapted by his qualities, good or evil, ... from those who directed the councils of Catholic monarchs, or organized conspiracies in heretical countries, to the humble lay-servant of a hospital, who offered himself with all the ardour of religious love for the most loathsome offices which suffering humanity requires. In the younger brethren, who acted as assistants in the Reductions while they were learning the language, it might sometimes happen that enthusiasm would abate, and that they would yield to propensities, which the unnatural state in which they were placed, and the errors in which they were bred, made it sinful to indulge. But such instances must necessarily have been very rare. The life of a missionary, after he began his labours in seeking out the wild Indians, was spent in the most

CHAP. XXIV.

arduous toils, the severest privations, and the greatest dangers, which were frequently terminated by untimely death. By the time that he was thought competent to the charge of a Reduction, the intellectual and moral habits were fixed: there was the pride of character to support, both his own and that of the Company, and there was the more powerful control of principle and of faith. The sacrifices which he had made of worldly ambition, of all the natural affections, and of the comforts of civilized life, were then amply rewarded. From the temptation of doubting the fables which he preached, and the idolatry which he practised, there was little danger; and the season for all other temptations was then gone by. He found himself the absolute director of a whole community, who were beholden to the Order whereof he was a member for all their comforts here and all their hopes hereafter, their peace and happiness on earth, their inheritance in heaven; he believed himself to be the immediate and accredited agent between them and their Maker; their master and his servant, the faithful shepherd of a happy flock.

But if the Jesuits were placed in circumstances where even their superstition tended to purify and exalt the character, calling into action the benevolent as well as the heroic virtues, it was far otherwise with the Indians; they were kept by system in a state of moral inferiority. Whatever could make them good servants, and render them happy in servitude, was carefully taught them, but nothing beyond this, .. nothing which could tend to political and intellectual emancipation. The enemies of the Company were thus provided with fair cause of accusation: why, they said, was no attempt made to elevate the Indians into free agents? why, if they were civilized, were they not rendered capable of enjoying the privileges of civilized men? If the system were to lead to nothing better, then had

the Jesuits been labouring for no other end than to form an empire for themselves. This argument was distinct from all those which originated in the enmity of political or religious parties, and undoubtedly had its full weight in latter times. In vain did the Jesuits reply that these Indians were only full-grown children[22], and that they knew not whether their obtuseness of intellect were a defect inherent in the race, or the consequence of savage life. Such an answer was no longer relevant when generations had grown up under their tuition: they dared not insist upon the first alternative, which would have been admitting all that the *Encomenderos* and slave-dealers desired; but if there were no original and radical inferiority in the race, then was the fault in that system upon which the Reductions were established. Why, it was asked, will not the Jesuits recruit themselves from these Indians who are born and bred among them, when it is so difficult to procure missionaries from Europe, so expensive to transport them, and impossible to obtain them in sufficient numbers? Why does not the Company, which in other countries has acted with right Christian indifference toward casts and colours, admit Guaranies into its bosom? The answer was, that their superiors had determined otherwise,.. that things were well as they were; the object was accomplished; the Indians were brought to a state of Christian obedience, Christian virtue, and Christian happiness; their

CHAP. XXIV.

[22] They called them babies with beards,.. an expression which would have disconcerted Pauw, if he had chosen to remember it. Muratori's words are remarkable: "*Secondo il parere de que' Missionari, ne i Cristiani del Paraguai si truova un' intendimento assai ristretto, ed incapace di speculazione, di modo che li sogliono chiamar* Bambini colla barba. *Non è questo un picciolo requisito per poterli governare con facilita. P.* 1, 142.

CHAP. XXIV.

summum bonum was obtained; their welfare here and hereafter was secured. To those who look forward for that improvement of mankind, and that diminution of evil in the world, which human wisdom and divine religion both authorize us to expect, the reply will appear miserably insufficient: but the circumstances of the surrounding society into which it was proposed that these Indians should be incorporated, must be considered, and when the reader shall have that picture before him he will hold the Jesuits justified.

Discomforts and dangers to which the Missionaries were exposed.

Excessive were the exertions which the Jesuit missionaries made, the difficulties which they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves, in seeking out and reducing the wild tribes. The itinerant set forth with his breviary, and a cross, six feet in height, which served him for a staff: about thirty converts accompanied him as guides, interpreters, and servants, or rather fellow-labourers; they were armed, but not with fire-arms, and carried axes and bills to open a way through the woods, a stock of maize for their supply in case of need, and implements for producing fire. Hammocks might easily have been added, but the Missionaries seldom indulged themselves with any thing that could possibly be dispensed with. The danger from wild beasts [23] is not great in Paraguay and the adjoining provinces; but there are few parts of the world in which the traveller has so many plagues to molest him. The first business upon halting for the night, or

[23] The cayman, or crocodile of this country, is not dreaded. The cold stupifies these animals; they crawl out at morning into the sun, and lie in a half torpid state, so that they may be easily killed. And the yaguar, contrary to the general habit of beasts of prey, is said to prefer carrion to living food. *Dobrizhoffer*, I, 120, 283.

CHAP. XXIV.

even for a meal during the day, is to beat the ground and trample the grass for a safe distance round, in order to drive away the snakes, who are very numerous, and who are attracted by fire[24]. The torment of insects is almost insufferable. Where there is finer grass, where there are thickets or marshes, on the borders of lakes or rivers, or where there are thick woods, there says Dobrizhoffer[25] if you are to pass the night, you must not dream of sleeping. All the plagues of Egypt seem to have been transferred to the lowlands of South America. Ticks of every size are numerous enough to form a curse themselves. The open country swarms with fleas; so that he who lies down upon what he supposes to be clean turf, where there is no vestige of either man or beast, rises up black with these vermin. The *vinchuca*, or flying bug, is more formidable in houses[26] than in the open

Azara. 1, 235. *Dobrizhoffer*, 2, 231. 2, 361—70.

---

[24] The houses are very much infested with snakes, in consequence of this habit. Troublesome and dangerous as it is, it indicates an easy mode of destroying them. The traveller is liable to another danger from his own fires. Sometimes the only practicable way is through the reeds which form groves along the course of the rivers. If a gust of wind scatters the live embers, these take fire, and many persons have thus been miserably burnt alive.

[25] His language is very lively. "*Ubi gramen adultius, ubi dumeta, stagnorum amniumve ripæ, ubi paludes viciniores, ubi sylvæ quæ aerem excludant densiores, ibi serpentum, ibi culicum omnis generis colluviem patieris. Tuli in statione si pernoctandum tibi, de somno ne somniaveris tandem.*

[26] In one of his journeys Dobrizhoffer (3, 370) was lodged with a priest of high rank, and after supper the host, the guest, and the whole family went into the fields to sleep, leaving the house to these bugs,..such, it seems, being the unavoidable custom at that season! Buenos Ayres was once visited with a flight of these most noxious insects, who filled the city like one of the plagues of of Egypt, and contined there four days. (*Azara*, 1, 208.) As if they had not indigenous vermin enough, a Governor, in 1769, imported the European bug to Asumpcion in his baggage. (*Do.* 1, 207.)

CHAP. XXIV.

air. Breeze-flies and wasps torment the horses and mules. But the common fly is far the most serious plague both to man and beast in this country: it gets to the ears and noses of those who are asleep, deposits its eggs, and unless timely relief be applied, the maggots eat their way into the head, and occasion the most excruciating pain and death. This is well known in the Columbian Islands, as a danger to which the sick are exposed; but in Paraguay it occurs frequently, and Dobrizhoffer says he dreaded the fly more than all the other insects and all the venomous reptiles of the country. In addition to these evils the Missionaries had often to endure the extremes of fatigue and hunger, when making their way through swamps and woodlands: and when, having persevered through all these obstacles, they found the savages of whom they were in quest, they and their companions sometimes fell victims to the ferocity, the caprice, or the suspicion of the very persons for whose benefit they had endured so much.

Language of the Reductions. Tribes from which they were formed.

The Reductions were formed from a great variety of tribes, but as most of them were of the Guarani race, Guarani became the language of these settlements, and the converted Indians in Paraguay were generally known by that appellation. The Guarani and Tupi are cognate dialects, so nearly allied and so widely diffused as to be spoken through the whole country between the Orellana and the Plata, and between the Atlantic and the mountains of Peru: many languages which are radically different are interspersed, but a traveller who speaks either the Tupi or Guarani will be understood throughout the whole of these extensive countries. As the Guaranies were more numerous than any other race, their hordes also were more populous; yet they were so fond of herding together that one habitation frequently contained a whole clan. The distinction between the chief and the people was more strongly marked than among

The Guaranies. Azara, 1. 57.

other tribes, and a Spaniard thought it no debasement to marry the daughter of a Guarani Royalet. This rank was hereditary, but men also rose to it by their eloquence and their valour; for a good orator, if he had the reputation of courage, obtained influence enough to form an independent community, and place himself at its head, and this seems not to have been resented by the chief from whom he and his adherents withdrew: they had enemies enough to contend with without engaging in civil war, and such divisions might be convenient as the horde increased in population, .. like the departure of a swarm from the hive. The chiefs are said to have claimed the handsomest women for themselves, but easily to have given them away among their followers; this perhaps may only mean that they had the choice of wives for themselves, and the disposal of them for others. The women were always decorously clothed; some of the men wore skins from the shoulders to below the knees; others a kind of net-work, which served little either for warmth or for decency; others a short philibeg of feathers; but they more frequently disguised their nakedness than covered it, by staining the whole body with the juice[27] of plants, or laying on coloured clay, on which they engraved rude patterns; .. a fashion less durable than tattooing, and perhaps for that reason preferred, because it might be varied as often as the wearer pleased. They spent hours in thus decorating the skin, the husband ornamenting the wife, the wife the husband. *Jolis*, 127.

[27] For this purpose they cultivated the Urucu (the Roucou of the French, and Atchote of the Spaniards, or rather of the Mexicans). The seeds, when pounded and macerated, deposit a red sediment, which, according to Dobrizhoffer, is the colouring matter of rouge. The wood abounds with resin, and kindles more easily than that of any other tree, for which reason they use it to produce fire by friction. *Jolis*, 127.

CHAP. XXIV.

When a girl arrived at the age of puberty, she was delivered to one of her own sex to undergo a severe sort of training for eight days, which consisted in working her hard, feeding her ill, and allowing her no rest; among some tribes she was confined in a hammock for two or three days, fasting rigorously: according to the strength and spirit with which she sustained this trial they augured of her qualities as a wife. At the expiration of the eight days her hair was cut off, and she abstained from meat till it grew long enough to cover her ears. During this interval she was made to carry water, pound maize, and labour assiduously in all domestic business; it was a crime if she even looked at a man; and if she happened to cast eyes upon a parrot, they thought she would prove talkative for ever after. When her hair had grown to the appointed length, she was tricked out with all the ornaments in use among them, and declared marriageable. Any intrigue before these customs had been observed was held criminal. Pregnant women abstained from eating the flesh of the Anta, lest the child should have a large nose; and from small birds lest it should prove diminutive. The husband during his wife's pregnancy was not to kill any wild beast, nor to make any weapon, nor the handle of any other utensil. For fifteen days after the birth he ate no meat, unbent his bow, and laid no snares for birds; and when the child was ill, all the kindred abstained from whatever food would in their judgement have been injurious for the infant itself to eat. Some women were fond of suckling puppies, a monstrous and disgusting practice, which has not unfrequently been discovered among savages. The condition of the weaker sex was easy among the Guaranies; they indeed carried every thing when the horde moved its quarters, but they had the privilege in consequence of regulating the length of the day's journey; and as soon as any one was tired and laid down her load, all the rest stopt. The chiefs

Techo, 37, 38. *Noticias de Paraguay, MSS. Charlevoix*, 181—4.

were the only men who were allowed to have many wives at once; and the brother of a deceased Royalet might take his widow, a connection which in other cases was not permitted. CHAP. XXIV.

Some of the Guaranies used in war the thong and stone ball which the first Spaniards upon the Plata found so fatal; .. three of these balls, weighing about a pound each, were fastened to as many thongs, three or four yards in length, which were tied together: as the use of this weapon was derived from the Puelches, it was probably confined to the southern hordes. The Guarani bow is sharp at both ends, so as to serve for a lance when unstrung, very stiff, and strengthened along its whole length by being bound round with strips of *guemba* bark. The children shoot birds with a bow about three feet long, and very much curved, having two strings, which are kept an inch asunder by bits of wood, through which they are passed: in the middle of these strings is a sort of bag or net, which they charge with four or five marbles, and thus they shoot their game at forty paces. Azara [28] says, that at a distance of thirty a marble thus discharged would break a man's leg; but this instrument is never used in war. It was their inviolable practice in war to bring off their own dead, as usual among savages, for the double purpose of concealing their loss from the enemy, and honouring the remains of those who had fallen. Prisoners were killed and eaten with some particular ceremonies. The devoted victim was treated well; the time appointed for his death was kept secret from him, and women were given him, whose exclusive business was to attend to his accommodation and comfort. *Vol. 1, p. 60.*

[28] He observes that this weapon, which so curiously combines the properties of the bow and the sling, might be usefully employed in Europe by boys who are set to drive away birds from the corn. *T. 2, p. 67.*

CHAP. XXIV.

When he was judged to be in the best condition, all persons were bidden to the entertainment; the guests formed a circle, in the midst of which he who had taken the prisoner, and was therefore the founder of the feast, paraded up and down with great gravity. The captive, ornamented with feathers, was brought in by four of the stoutest youths, and delivered over to six old women; .. these beldames among all the cannibal tribes enjoying a preference upon such execrable occasions. Their appearance was as fiendish as their business: their bodies were smeared with red and yellow; they wore necklaces of human teeth, .. a perquisite which they claimed at such sacrifices; and they carried each an earthen vessel, to receive the blood and entrails of the victim, striking them, while empty, like tambourines, and dancing to the sound. The master of the feast then came forward, and laid the macana gently upon the head of his prisoner, an act of mockery which was applauded with shouts of laughter; a second and a third time in like manner he just touched the devoted head, and each time the acclamations were renewed: after this prelude the macana was lifted a fourth time, for the stroke of death. Every guest then came and touched the body; a ceremony which served as a diabolical baptismal rite, the names which children received at birth being exchanged for others upon this occasion. The flesh not being enough for so large an assembly as was usually collected, the bones were boiled, and all who were present partook of the broth; even sucklings were made to taste it: and these entertainments were remembered through life, and spoken of with pride and exultation.

Noticias de Paraguay, MSS.

The death of their own people, whether occurring in war or in the course of nature, was lamented by the women with howling and with shrieks; they tore their hair, and bruised their foreheads; widows threw themselves from high places to express their grief, and sometimes lamed themselves for life in

CHAP. XXIV.

the fall. They believed that the soul continued with the body in the grave, for which reason they were careful to leave room for it; the first converts could hardly be induced to abandon this notion, and the women would go secretly to the graves of their husbands and children, and carry away part of the earth, lest it should lie heavy upon them. For the same reason they who buried in large earthern jars, covered the face of the corpse with a concave dish, that the soul might not be stifled. Their Payes underwent a severe initiation, living in dark and remote places, alone, naked, unwashed, uncombed, and feeding only upon pepper and roasted maize, till having almost lost their senses, they came into that state in which the Jesuits believed [29] that they invoked the Devil, and that the Devil came at their call. These jugglers pretended to possess the power of killing or curing by their magic, and of divining future events from the language of birds. When they expected a visitor, they fumigated their huts with the resin of the *Ybira payé* [30]. Their bones were preserved as relics, or objects of worship. Among certain tribes the female Payes were bound to chastity, or they no longer obtained credit. The whole race, like savages in general, were strongly addicted to superstitious observances; they noted their dreams with apprehensive credulity; the touch of an owl they thought would render them inactive; and it was a received belief that the woman who should eat a double grain of millet would bring forth twins. Eclipses were held to be occasioned by a jaguar and a great dog, who pursued the sun

Dobrizhoffer, 1, 418.

[29] The Author of the Noticias de Paraguay says that scarcely one in a hundred among the Payes is a *real* sorcerer, the rest being cheats. This is like the man who did not believe above half what he had read in a book of Travels by one Captain Gulliver.

[30] Probably the *Embira preta* of Brazil, which is highly aromatic.

CHAP. XXIV.

and moon to devour them; and the Guaranies regarded these phenomena with the utmost terror, lest the beasts should effect their purpose.

Techo, 37, 38.

Charlevoix, 1, 181—4.

Some of the settled tribes reared poultry; among these the population was progressive, and they were always found more docile and less ferocious than the hordes who lived a wandering life, and depended upon chance for their whole subsistence. All, however, were mindful of their affinity; and though it did not serve for a bond of union among themselves, they were at war with all whom they did not acknowledge to be of their own stock, and designated them by the opprobrious appellation of slaves. Yet the Guaranies, notwithstanding this high pretension, were far from maintaining the same character in the interior as their kindred the Tupis had acquired upon the coast. Either they had degenerated, or some of the nations whom they thus affected to despise had greatly improved; and in latter times they are described as the least warlike[31] and the least courageous people in Paraguay. This must be accounted for by local circumstances, not by any generic[32] inferiority: the

Charlevoix.

Techo, 37.

---

[31] Azara calls them a cowardly race, saying, that ten or twelve Guaranies would hardly withstand a single Indian of any other tribe. If this were true it would distinguish them in a very remarkable manner from the Tupis.

[32] Azara would infer this, as suiting with his system. He makes their mean stature two inches shorter than that of the Spaniards. (2, 58.) Dobrizhoffer says that few are very tall or long-lived. His language is worthy of notice, because it manifestly implies that the Jesuits had not succeeded in keeping their converts so perfectly innocent as they asserted. "*In tot Guaraniorum millibus paucos insigniter proceros, aut admodum vivaces deprehendi. Ratio in promptu est; masculi* 17°, *fœminæ* 15° *ætatis anno conjugium inire solent. Quid si illo necdum inito jam lascivirent? Multa hic quæ in mentem veniunt consulto prætereo.*" (2, 214.) It may be suspected that the system of the Jesuits tended to debilitate the body as well as the mind. They are spoken of as less prolific than Europeans. Azara

different branches of this widely-extended race were in very different states of advancement, weak in some places, and therefore shrinking from war; in others numerous, confident, and warlike. The Chiriguanas, who infested Peru on the side of Tarija, and inhabit the vallies of those prodigious mountains which extend almost to the borders of S. Cruz de la Sierra, are of Guarani stock, and the Spaniards have ever found them formidable enemies. Their collective number has been estimated at forty thousand, who, though divided into many tribes, feel as one nation, and assist each other in their wars. They live in settled habitations, and rear sheep, (probably the vicuña) for the sake of the wool, many of them abstaining from the flesh, under a belief that such food would make them woolly. These people, who are supposed by the Spaniards to have been led into that country by Alexis Garcia, and to have settled there after his death, are the most improved of all the Guarani race: the Cayaguas, or Wood-Indians, who inhabited the forests between the Parana and the Uruguay, were the rudest. These people were not in a social state; one family lived at a distance from another, in a wretched hut composed of boughs: they subsisted wholly by prey, and when larger game failed, were contented with snakes, mice, pismires, worms, and any kind of reptile or vermin. One branch of them are accused of laying in wait for men, and killing them for food. Yet these lowest of the Guaranies retained some traces of a better state from which they had fallen. They prepared a good beverage from honey, and the women made a thread from nettles, with which they

The Chiriguanas.

Dobrishoffer, 1, 141. Jolis, 146. Peramas de Tredecem, p. 228.

The Cayaguas.

affirms that he found four children were the average of a marriage, and that he met with only one Indian who was the father of ten. He states the female births as in the proportion of fourteen to thirteen.

CHAP. XXIV.

netted clothing for themselves. The men wore skins, rather for ornament than use, being well case-hardened by their mode of life. The women, as they never ventured out of the deepest recesses of the woods, were almost of European complexion. With these people the Jesuits were very unsuccessful: when any of them were persuaded to enter the Reductions, the effect of a stationary life, and perhaps of the open air and light, was such, that, in Techo's[33] words, they died like plants which grow in the shade, and will not bear the sun.

Techo, 78.

The Guanas.

Next to the Guaranies, the Guanas were the most numerous[34] race in the interior, and in some respects the most improved. They were gregarious; every hut contained twelve families; and their villages, which comprised many of these human hives, were palisadoed, having four gates, which were regularly closed and

---

[33] Charlevoix repeats this. When they were reclaimed, he says, they became melancholy, this feeling settled into disease; sickness made them docile, they then listened to instruction, .. "*et ils mouroient, suivant ce qu'on pouvoit en juger, dans l'innocence de leur baptême.—Quelque soin qu'on prît pour les conserver, il ne fut pas possible d'en sauver aucun. Enfin les Missionaires se virent reduits à louer les miscricordes du Seigneur sur le petit nombre de ceux dont ils avoient assuré le salut eternel, à adorer le profondeur de ses jugemens sur tous les autres, et à se consoler par le temoignage qu'ils pouvoient se rendre d'avoir fait tout ce qui etoit possible pour rendre cette malheureuse nation participante du bienfait de la Redemption.* T. 1, 389.

[34] Azara estimates their collective number at 8,300, but some of the Missionaries compute it at 30,000, and others carry it so high as 45,000; if, indeed Cañano may be relied on when he says that the smallest settlement of the seven which the different tribes of the stock had formed contained 6,000 persons, the largest estimate would not exceed the truth, .. but this assertion seems to be unsupported. They are divided, according to Azara, into eight hordes, the Layana, Ethelenoé or Quiniquinao, Chabarana or Choroana or Tchoaladi, Caynaconoé, Nigotisibué, Yunaeno, Taiy, and Yamoco, .. by these names their neighbours knew them.

watched at night. Instead of sleeping in hammocks, or upon skins, these people raised a wooden frame-work upon four forked posts, and laid upon this a layer of small twigs, which they covered first with skins and then with straw. They bury the dead at the door of their dwellings, for the purpose of keeping fresh the memory of the deceased, instead of endeavouring, as is more usual among savages, to put them out of remembrance. At eight years old the children are led out into the country with great ceremony in silent procession, and having fasted the whole day, they are brought back at evening in the same manner; their arms are then pinched, and pierced with a sharp bone, which they endure without tears and without shrinking. Old women are the operators, the medical practice of the tribe being in female hands: it consists chiefly in sucking the stomach of the patient. The women possess peculiar influence among the Guanas; but they procure it by an atrocious practice: for having discovered that the value of an article depends upon the proportion which the supply bears to the demand, in application of this principle they destroy the greater number of female infants, by burying them as soon as born, in order to enhance the estimation of those which are spared. This is one of the most curious facts in the history of savage man. Infanticide is common among uncivilized and semi-barbarous nations, from motives of selfishness or of superstition; and wherever the practice has prevailed, female infants are peculiarly the victims, because of the difficulty with which women can provide for their own support; this being perhaps the greatest evil in the most improved state of society to which we have yet attained. Among some of the American tribes the mother frequently puts her new-born daughter to death, as an act of compassionate love, . . so miserable there is the condition of woman. But among the Guanas it was a deliberate speculation for the advantage of

CHAP. XXIV.

the sex. They who practise this abomination believe that the end is answered. Women being thus rendered scarce, are consequently objects of great competition; they are always married at the earliest age possible,.. before they are nine years old; whereas the men remain single till they are twenty or upwards,.. in fact, till they are strong enough to prevail over their rivals. The bride stipulates before marriage what part she is to bear in the agricultural and domestic business of the household, expressing what she is to do, and what she must not be expected to perform, with as much precision as European lawyers use in a marriage-settlement. It is also agreed whether the husband is to have another wife, (which rarely happens,) and if the wife is to have other husbands, and how many, and how her time is to be apportioned between them. Coquetry, intrigues, jealousy, and frequent divorce are the consequences of such a system; and the advantages which the Guana women procure for themselves by so detestable a means end in rendering them less respectable, and probably far less happy, than the women of other tribes.

Azara, T. 2, 85—100.

Jolis, 512.

The drink of the Guanas was either water, or the juice of the sugar-cane boiled and unfermented; thus being a sober people, they were united among themselves and respected by their neighbours. By a remarkable sort of compact they were under the protection of the Guaycurus; they served them on their journies, and cultivated the ground for them, in return for which the Guaycurus undertook their defence against all enemies. The service was either in itself so light, or so seldom exacted, that the subjection, though claimed on one hand and acknowledged on the other, is said to have been little more than nominal, though the advantage which the Guanas derived from it was effectual. The Guaycurus always called them their slaves; the name which they gave themselves ill accords with this appellation, Guana signifying a male,.. as if the nation who bore

Dobrizhoffer, 1, 108.

Azara, 96.

that title deserved to be distinguished by it above all others. The same temper which induced them to acknowledge the superiority of a braver but less numerous tribe, leads them to barter their personal services with the Spaniards for European articles of use or ornament; they hire themselves as labourers and as boatmen, and by this means also might civilization be introduced among them, if the habits of the Christian settlers in these countries did not rather tend to degrade the European than to elevate the American stock. Their language is said to differ from that of any other tribe, and thus to mark them as a distinct race. They were the gentlest of all the tribes of Paraguay, and no where had the Missionaries a fairer prospect of success; but when the Paulistas drove the Jesuits beyond the Parana, and destroyed their settlements in Guayra, the Guanas were left to themselves: this event, which deprived them of their religious teachers, expelled also the Paraguay settlers from their country; their defensive manner of living, and the alliance of the Guaycurus, protected them against the Brazilian slave-hunters, and of all the tribes in this extensive region they are probably the least diminished in numbers, and the least changed in their modes of life. Among many others a change was at this time beginning, in consequence of the multiplication of European cattle, which at length produced a total alteration in all their habits, and gave them the superiority in war over their degenerate invaders.

Azara, T. 2, 97.

Hervas. I. 189.

It has been already stated, that Guarani was the language of the Reductions. Montoya composed a grammar of this language; the way had been made plain for him by Anchieta, for the Tupi is said to differ less from this its radical tongue, than the Spanish from the Portugueze. But though Guarani would suffice for a traveller's use from the Plata to the Orellana, it was far from carrying the Missionary over the

Language of the Reductions.

Hervas. I. 147.

CHAP. XXIV.

same extent of country. The wants of travellers are comprized in a very brief vocabulary, which may be explained and sometimes extended by the aid of signs. Much more is required for the Missionary; and the number of dialects, and even of languages radically differing from each other was so great in Paraguay, that the Jesuits speak of their multiplicity as of a confusion like that at Babel. When the Missionary had overcome his first difficulties and dangers, when he had acquired the language of one of these tribes so as to converse with them fluently, and obtained their confidence to that degree that they would listen patiently to his instructions, there were still many and serious obstacles to surmount before the work of conversion could be accomplished. The Jesuits were not too solicitous about the inner work. Whether the understanding of the Indian were convinced, and his heart affected, was with them of little moment, provided he assented to the creed in which they tutored him; the nature of the father's belief signified little or nothing, so they might train up the children. They were wise in this, but they relied too much upon credulity alone. The radical and vital truths of revelation they themselves did but dimly comprehend, and the savage could not possibly perceive these truths through the garb of mythology in which they were invested and disguised: the fables and monstrosities of Popery did not indeed revolt his reason, because he had been accustomed to such gross diet; he received them as he did the stories of his own Payes, with wonder and implicit belief, . . but he forgot them as readily as a last night's tale. Missionaries have always complained of the fickleness of their converts, and they always must complain of it till they discover that some degree of civilization must precede conversion, or at least accompany it. But when the Jesuits had once collected their wild sheep within the pale, every thing then tended to confirm the neophytes in

Hervas, 1. 139.

submission to their spiritual teachers; the lessons were so frequently repeated that they could not possibly be forgotten, and the routine of the Reductions impressed the inhabitants with all the force of habitual belief. CHAP. XXIV.

Difficulty respecting marriage.

From drunkenness it seems not to have been difficult to wean the savages; to be debarred from indulgence in a vice of which the ill consequences were so direct and obvious, was a restriction to which they willingly submitted, seeing the propriety, and feeling the benefit. It was otherwise when the intercourse between the sexes was to be regulated according to Christian institutions. Many Indians refused to content themselves with a single wife, and for that reason remained unconverted. Those who were compliant furnished a case for the casuists. Some fathers were of opinion that the woman with whom the Indian had first cohabited, and who on that account was distinguished from the other wives by a peculiar appellation, should be regarded as the lawful wife, and that the rest should be put away; others opined that the husband should be allowed to take his choice among them; for they argued, that as the principle of marriage was not known in their state of paganism, (when any of the women might be repudiated at pleasure,) there was no just reason why a woman who had no stronger claims than the others should be preferred merely because of priority of age; and they insisted upon the obvious hardship and probable consequences of not permitting the man to make his choice. The question was referred to Urban VIII., who pronounced that both opinions were equally probable, and the Jesuits might act upon either, as circumstances and individual judgement might incline them. This difficulty existed only with respect to the first generation of converts. When the Reductions were once formed, children were trained up in the way which was designed for them; and enough was done to show, that if the Missionaries

Techo, 87. *Charlevoix*, 1. 404. *Peramas*, 63.

CHAP. XXIV.

had fixed their standard higher, the Guaranies might soon have been ranked among civilized nations. But in appreciating the good which the Jesuits effected, it must be remembered that the Spaniards in Paraguay were sinking fast into a state which can neither properly be called savage nor barbarous, but which of all states in which man has ever been found to exist, is perhaps that in which the fewest virtues are developed.

CHAPTER XXV.

D. Bernardino de Cardenas appointed Bishop of Paraguay. Circumstances of his consecration. His disputes with the Governor Hinostrosa, and with the Jesuits. He attempts to expel the Jesuits, and is himself driven from Asumpcion. Reports concerning gold mines in the Jesuits' territory. Cardenas returns, is made Governor, and forcibly expels them. Sebastian de Leon appointed Vice-Governor ad interim. He defeats the Bishop, and the Jesuits are restored. Sequel of the dispute.

The measure of arming the Guaranies had rendered them secure in their new situation, and the Reductions were flourishing, when the Jesuits of Paraguay were involved in a contest not less extraordinary in its cause than serious in its consequences.

Cardenas made Bishop of Paraguay.

In the spring of the year 1640, D. Bernardino de Cardenas, a native of Chuquisaca, and of noble family, was named for Bishop of Paraguay by the Court of Spain. At an early age he had entered the Franciscan Order, and distinguished himself so much as a preacher, that he was appointed Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in his native city. One day he sallied into the streets, having strewn ashes upon his head, and bearing a heavy cross upon his shoulders; his friars came after him, with their backs bare, and flogged themselves as they went through the town, the blood following the scourge. Had Cardenas ever attained the honours of canonization, this would have been

CHAP. XXV. 1640.

accounted among his meritorious deeds; but in the acts of the saints many things are related for edification which are not for example. This present extravagance was censured by his Superiors; they superseded him in his office, and confined him for a time to his convent; but he gained credit with the multitude for this excess of zeal, and when he re-entered the pulpit he became more popular than ever. There was a great want of secular clergy in the country; a Provincial Council was held at Chuquisaca, to devise means for remedying the evil; regulars were sent to itinerate, and Cardenas [1] was one of the persons chosen. He travelled on foot, using a cross for his staff: the fame of his successful exertions for the salvation of souls went before him; his fastings and austerities were reported and exaggerated, and the people already conferred upon him the appellation of saint. It was rumoured that some of his Indian converts, in their admiration for this new apostle, had discovered to him some rich silver mines; information to this effect was sent by a person in authority to the Viceroy of Peru; and when Cardenas shortly afterwards was summoned to Lima, it was believed that he went upon this business. But his Superiors had sent for him to reprimand him for having given occasion to this false report; for having offended the secular clergy and the other religioners during his itinerancy, by interfering officiously with their flocks; for acts of indiscreet and extravagant zeal,

[1] His advocate Carrillo says he was named Legate for the extirpation of Idolatry; but his official designation seems to have been, Preacher and Missionary Apostolic for the Conversion of the Indians. In the course of these expeditions he is said to have conquered innumerable souls for the kingdom of Heaven, and to have overthrown more than 12,000 idols!!

Discursos Juridicos en Defensa de la Consagracion da D. F. Bernardino de Cardenas, por El Licenciado D. Alonso Carrillo. § 2.

resembling his procession at Chuquisaca; and for having used expressions in his sermons which rendered him amenable to the Holy Office: for these reasons they recommended him to compose his mind in retirement, and discipline it by wholesome study. He, however, employed himself in drawing up memorials to the Court, and making use of the interest which he had acquired; and he soon experienced the effects of that interest. Solorzano, well known as the author of a great work upon the laws of the Spanish Indies, was at this time one of the Council of the Indies; having heard Cardenas preach, and conceived a high opinion of his character, he recommended him for the vacant bishopric of Paraguay, to which, in consequence of that recommendation, he was appointed.

Charlevoix, 478—82.

Cardenas was now bishop elect; but before he could be consecrated, and enter upon his office with full powers, it was necessary that the Bulls from Rome, which approved and confirmed his appointment, should arrive. Availing himself of the liberty which his promotion gave him, he went to Potosi, meaning there to wait for them. Here he appeared in the habit of his Order, with a little wooden cross upon his breast, and a green hat, and in this costume he exercised his priestly functions. The *Cura* of Potosi died at this time, and Cardenas, without soliciting the Archbishop's leave, or even informing him of his intention, took upon him to act in his place, and make a visitation in that part of the diocese. Offended at this, and taking advantage of some circumstances [2] which had diminished his esteem among

Difficulty respecting his consecration.

[2] A free Indian, whom he confessed upon his death-bed, left him his whole substance, amounting to 12,000 crowns. Shortly afterwards a Spaniard under similar circumstances inserted his name in place of another person to whom he had bequeathed a sum of 5000. These things occasioned a suspicion that the character of Cardenas was not so apostolical as he wished to make it appear. It is

CHAP. XXV. 1640.

the people, the Archbishop desired him to withdraw into his own diocese, and act there, according to custom, by appointment from the Chapter, till his Bulls should arrive, and his consecration could be performed. Cardenas began now to be uneasy at the delay of the Bulls; many accidents might have occurred to delay their arrival;.. but it was equally possible, when he recollected the circumstances under which he had been summoned to Lima, that his conduct might have been so reported to the Council of the Indies as to make the King change his intention of appointing him. He was therefore desirous to get possession as soon as possible, and with this view having proceeded to Salta in Tucuman, he called upon the Jesuits in that town, showed them letters [3] which proved the fact of his

---

said also that he did not fail while at Potosi to make full use of the privilege of his Order, and solicit contributions from the faithful, that he, being a poor mendicant, might be enabled to meet the necessary expences of the rank to which he was called. Charlevoix adds that he had wherewithal to console himself for his unceremonious dismissal,.. "*puisqu'il emportoit d'une ville, où il etoit venu sans avoir un sou, une Chapelle très riche, et de quoi meubler magnifiquement son palais episcopal.*" Statements of this kind from the Jesuits must be received with suspicion; and especially the charge, that when the report of the mines was current, he took money from every person who would advance it, promising, upon the faith of the discovery, to repay it with interest. Rapacious and imprudent as he was, it is not likely that he should thus have exposed himself to censure, and perhaps even to legal proceedings, when he was affecting the reputation of a saint.

[3] Charlevoix says he produced two letters, one from Cardinal Antonio Barberino, dated in December 1638, informing him that the Bulls were actually dispatched, and the other from the King of Spain, without date, giving him the title of Bishop. The first of these, Charlevoix says, was certainly forged; and he adds, that he never could have himself believed, or persuaded any person to believe, that Cardenas actually had produced it, unless it had been quoted by his own *Procurador*, in a Memorial presented to the King on his behalf, which

nomination, represented to them the spiritual necessities of his diocese, and demanded their opinion whether under such circumstances he might not be consecrated without farther delay. They replied that they saw no difficulty in the case; Cardenas requested them to deliver this opinion in writing, and they complied. He then inclosed it to F. Boroa, Rector of the College and University at Cordoba, desiring his opinion, and that of the University; he hoped, he said, to receive these opinions at Santiago, and made no doubt that they would accord with that which the Jesuits at Salta had given. Boroa replied that he was truly grieved at the delay of the Bulls; that this delay was certainly the work of the Devil, who was using all his efforts to keep so worthy a prelate from his charge; that he trusted our Lord would not allow Satan to succeed in this design; that he had submitted the opinion of the Rector of Salta to the Professors of Theology; that the Rector was indeed a man of abilities, but he had not been able to consult the books in which this matter was fully discussed; and that there was not a single Canonist or Theologian in the University who could authorize

Memorial had been printed. The facts appear rather stronger than Charlevoix has stated them. Carrillo cites Barberino's letter, with the date of Dec. 12th, 1638; he gives in a note the King's letter, dated Feb. 21st, 1638, and yet declares in the statement that the King did not nominate Cardenas till May 1640. Volumes have been written upon the case of the Bishop of Paraguay and the Jesuits; neither party has been scrupulous in the means which they employed, or the arguments by which they justified themselves; and at this distance of time and place it often becomes difficult, and sometimes impossible, to ascertain the truth. But it certainly does not appear credible that the King should have apprized Cardenas of his nomination in February 1638, and have delayed to nominate him till May 1640, as appears by Carrillo's own statement. Charlevoix says that he verified the dates in Spain by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies, and at Rome by the Register of the Consistories.

CHAP. XXV. 1640.

the consecration of a Bishop, unless he produced his Bulls. Cardenas had expected a different reply; he tore Boroa's letter in pieces, threw the fragments upon the floor, then ordered his servants to gather them up and cast them into the fire. Having given way to this access of passion, he acted disengenuously as well as imprudently: he communicated the opinion of the Salta Jesuit to the Bishop of Tucuman, D. Fr. Melchior Maldonado de Saavedra, but concealed that of the University, which rendered it of no value; and he urged the Bishop with such pressing importunity to consecrate him, that the Prelate reluctantly yielded, protesting[4] nevertheless that by this consecration he conferred no power or jurisdiction, for these must be conferred by the Chapter of Asumpcion till the Bulls should arrive. Only two Canons assisted at the ceremony. It was not long before the Bishop was informed of the opinion which the University had given, and discovered that Cardenas had suppressed it: he then wrote to him in temperate but severe terms, reproving him for the deceit which he had practised. A more sensible mortification awaited him at Cordoba: the Jesuits were the first to visit him on his arrival there; their students complimented him in prose and verse, and he dined in their college; but when he proposed to confer upon them the first fruits of his episcopal power by ordaining some of their members, Boroa answered that he could not present any

Informe hecho por el P. Andres de Rada. p. 6.

[4] Carrillo, (§ 8.) says the Bishop ascertained by evidence that the Bulls had been lost in Peru,.. an assertion which there seems no evidence to support. He speaks of the business as weighty, perilous, and full of scruples, and he has preserved the paper wherein the Bishop states in what intention he performed the ceremony. The reservation is distinctly made in this paper. The Bishop declares that the determination had cost him many sleepless nights, and that he had earnestly prayed to God and the Holy Sacrament, to enlighten him in so difficult a matter.

CHAP. XXV. 1641.

to be ordained without the permission of the Provincial; and when Cardenas, with singular imprudence, requested from him a written approval of the consecration, Boroa positively refused, saying that he and all the theologians with whom he had consulted considered it illegal. He dissembled his resentment at the time, but vented it after his departure, in a letter full of such intemperate language, that it called forth a second epistle of reproof from the Bishop of Tucuman.

Charlevoix, 1. 483—8. Rada, 6.

Cardenas embarked at Corrientes to ascend the Paraguay. Many boats met him at the entrance of his diocese, filled with persons of all ranks, eager to see a Bishop whose reputation for sanctity had gone before him. At midnight he disciplined himself in their presence, .. to their great edification, .. and every day he celebrated mass in his pontificals. The fame of these things spread, and it was reported that a second St. Thomas was come into Paraguay. He made his entry into Asumpcion in state, with his mitre on, on horseback, and under a canopy, which was borne by the Chief Magistrate and the principal inhabitants: by the laws of Spain this mark of honour is reserved for the Sovereign alone; but on this occasion the laws were disregarded, or perhaps they were not known in so remote a part of the Spanish dominions. In this manner he was conducted, first to his parochial Church, then to the Cathedral, where he chaunted high mass, and afterwards preached, wearing the mitre during these ceremonies. The people were admitted to kiss his hands, after which he dismissed them, observing it was time they should go to dinner; .. as for myself, he added, I am nourished with invisible food, and with a beverage which cannot be seen of men: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to fulfil his work."

He goes to Asumpcion.

Charlevoix, 2 5.

Carrillo, Note 12.

Carrillo, § 11. John, 4. 34.

Bernardino de Cardenas will frequently remind the reader of Thomas a Becket: his talents indeed are greatly inferior, but it

Doubts concerning his authority.

CHAP. XXV. 1641.

was the same spirit, acting the same part, upon a less conspicuous theatre, and in a less favourable age. At this time his elevation seems to have affected his intellect, which perhaps was naturally disordered, and his conduct was that of a man drunk with vanity and with power. To the astonishment of the Chapter, he began to exercise all the functions of the episcopal office, without waiting for the powers with which they were to invest him till his Bulls should arrive, without assembling them, taking his oaths, or performing any of the preliminary formalities which the Canons required. The Treasurer and one of the Canons ventured to remonstrate; he replied that he was their Bishop and their Pastor, and knew what he was doing. They assembled a Chapter, to deliberate upon what they ought to do: some of the Canons, and all the inferior Clergy, were for submitting to his pleasure; the others, who were the majority of the Chapter, and had the Treasurer and the Dean at their head, drew up a protest against any act of authority which he might exercise, as illegal, and consequently null. The Remonstrants thought proper to secede from the Conformists in the performance of divine service; the Bishop and his party kept possession of the Cathedral, the *Curas* did not dare receive the seceders, but the Jesuits lent their Church, having first ascertained that the Bishop would not be offended. As the schism was occasioned merely by a point of ecclesiastical law, it excited little sensation; and the Bishop increased daily in popularity, using indeed all means to obtain it. Early every morning he went to the Cathedral, accompanied by all his clergy, remained kneeling while one mass was performed, and afterwards celebrated another pontifically himself, knelt after the elevation and addressed the Redeemer in prayer as existing in the elements before him, and concluded by distributing indulgences, cords of St. Francis, or other implements of Romish superstition. Soon he began to celebrate

two masses every day. Sometimes he paraded the city bare-footed, bearing a heavy cross; sometimes carried a box of relics through the streets, with a crowd of Indians surrounding him; and sometimes he bore the host into the adjoining country, for the purpose, he said, of averting diseases and making the earth fertile. He also instituted an evening exercise of preparation for death, in the Jesuits' Church, and assisted always himself; these late meetings led to irregularities of which the Rector complained; but the Bishop took no measures for remedying them. *Charlevoix, 2. 6—8.*

Conduct of the new Bishop.

For awhile Cardenas enjoyed the popularity which he coveted; he was a new Apostle, the Prince of the Preachers, another Chrysostom, a second S. Carlo Borromeo. But he overacted his part. Two pontifical masses a day palled the appetite of the people for such things; a friendly hint was given him that the practice was perhaps illicit, certainly unusual: he replied, that he never celebrated without delivering a soul from Purgatory; that there were eminent Saints who had said as many as nine masses in a day; moreover that he was Pope in his own diocese, and had a right to do whatever he might think was for the service of God. Other parts of his conduct did not well accord with this ostentatious piety. Upon a pretext that there were not Priests enough for all the Churches, he took several Cures himself, and received the honoraries for them, although it was not possible for him to serve them all; so that he officiated sometimes in one, sometimes in another, and in this manner also sometimes performed high mass twice in the day. The offence which this irregularity gave was increased by an habitual irreverence that ill comported with the sanctity which Cardenas affected; hurrying from one Church to another, he used to send the unwashed chalice by a boy, and the boy was seen playing upon the road with the sacred vessel in his hand. In a reformed country this would have been felt as an indecency, but where *Carvillo, § 13. Villalon, p. 16.*

CHAP. XXV. 1642.

the actual presence in the elements is constantly inculcated, and believed with intense and intolerant faith, a greater indiscretion could not have been committed. The first persons who ventured publicly to express an ill opinion of the Bishop were the Franciscans at Asumpcion: they spoke of him without reserve as an ambitious hypocrite, who wanted the reputation of a Saint, and cared not by what means he obtained it. He reviled them in return, and affected to court the Jesuits because the Franciscans were not upon good terms with them. Being thus at variance with his own order he wantonly made the Dominicans also his enemies. They had established themselves in that city without having procured letters patent of permission. A complaint had been lodged against them in the Royal Audience of Charcas (probably by some rival order) and in consequence they had been commanded to demolish their Convent; but they obtained a respite of six years, on condition that if they did not produce their letters at the expiration of that time, the decree of the Audience should then be carried into effect. No person however had thought of molesting them, when early one morning Cardenas sallied from the episcopal palace in his rochet and camail, with a long train at his heels, and among others the Governor, whom he had summoned to accompany him: he went straight to the Dominican Convent, ordered the host to be removed, the church ornaments stript, the furniture carried away, and the Church and Convent to be immediately pulled down. The prayers and lamentations of the Friars were of no effect; the demolition was [5] accomplished: the

[5] Cardenas communicated this exploit to the Bishop of Tucuman, telling him that he would use the same rigour toward all the Religioners, whom he should find culpable. Maldonado replied, that his zeal resembled that of Elijah rather than of Christ; that old and forgotten faults ought not to be thus revived in these remote provinces, neither was it expedient to punish a whole community,

Bishop then went into the nearest Church, into which he had sent the host, and having washed his hands before he proceeded to officiate, he turned to the people and said, "My children, you see that I am about to offer the sacrifice without having confessed; it is because my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and I was never better prepared for the sacred office." His next act savoured of insanity; the last Bishop had refused to bury a suicide in consecrated ground; some years had elapsed, and Cardenas chose to remove the body into the Church of the Incarnation; he said it was the body of a Christian, and that he had reason to believe the soul was in heaven; he invited all the respectable persons of the city to be present at the removal, assisted with the Governor in carrying the bier, and performed the funeral service himself. CHAP. XXV. 1642. *Charlevoix, 2 9—12.*

Shortly afterwards the long-expected bulls arrived, in good time to divert the attention of the people from his strange conduct. His nephew, F. Pedro de Cardenas, a profligate Franciscan, had been sent to Europe in search of them, and he brought with them the brief which the Pope was accustomed to send to the American bishops, conferring greater powers than are accorded in Europe, because of their distance from Rome. Cardenas gave them to a Jesuit to be translated into Spanish, that they might be published in that language, after he should have performed the custom of reading them in the original Latin. In these papers it was expressly stated, that if there had been any irregularity in the consecration, the Bishop had thereby incurred a censure which suspended him from all his *The Bishop claims temporal as well as ecclesiastical power.*

for the error of a few individuals. My light at least, said he, in a tone of sarcastic humility, does not extend so far; your Lordship no doubt enjoys a very superior one.

CHAP. XXV. 1642.

functions. Cardenas did not chuse to consider himself as being in this predicament; and having read the bulls and the brief, he addressed the congregation, saying, it could now no longer be doubted that he was the legitimate Pastor of the Church of Paraguay, Inquisitor in his own diocese, Commissary of the Santa Cruzada, and invested with unlimited power both in spirituals and temporals. D. Gregorio de Hinostrosa, an old man who had served with distinction in Chili, his native country, was Governor at this time; he could not but observe this startling assumption of a power which would destroy his own authority; but being of an easy and undecided character, he let the assertion pass. Hitherto Cardenas had behaved to him with ostentatious respect, and was even used to rise from his throne in the Cathedral, and receive him at the door. But now that he had arrogated to himself a superior jurisdiction, it was not long before he exerted it. The Governor had arrested a fellow called Morales, who was a familiar of the Inquisition, and it was reported that he meant to hang him, a punishment which in such countries, (except in time of civil war) is never inflicted till it has been most abundantly deserved. Pedro de Cardenas hastened with the news to his uncle, crying out that this man, as a servant of the Holy Office, ought not to be brought before a secular tribunal. A simple representation to that effect, to a man of Hinostrosa's temper, would have procured his immediate release. The Bishop thought proper to take the Ciborium, in which the wafer stood always in his visiting-room, and bearing it in his hand, proceeded to the prison, where he demanded that the prisoner should be delivered to him; he then ordered a table to be brought, placed the Ciborium upon it, and remained there with all his suite, awaiting the event. The Rector of the Jesuits ventured to observe, that it was not decent for the Body of Christ, as he called the wafer, to be thus exposed at the prison-

His first dispute with the Governor.

door, and not suitable for his dignity to remain in such a situation himself; his answer was, that there he should stay till the man was given up. Upon this the Rector, who knew the temper of both persons, and that the facility of one was equal to the obstinacy of the other, went to the Governor, and easily persuaded him to release Morales. It was remarked by the people on this occasion, that it would be well if the Governor and the Bishop were always to continue at variance; for their agreement had produced the destruction of a church and convent, but their quarrel the delivery of a prisoner. In this instance Cardenas had some pretext for interposing his authority; but instead of sending the accused person to the proper tribunal, he gave him minor orders, for the purpose of withdrawing him entirely from the pursuit of justice, .. a measure implying a suspicion at least that he was amenable to it before. The Governor manifested no resentment; he said that he preferred peace to any thing; and in order to show publicly how desirous he was of living in harmony with the Bishop, he presented him with some splendid silver candlesticks, upon which Cardenas had fixed a covetous eye: they were carried to him in the church, that the act might be more notorious. Cardenas received them graciously, and extolled the Governor for his munificence, but added, that he now only wanted the bottles and bason which he had seen at his house; Hinostrosa immediately sent these also, saying that every thing which he possessed was at the Prelate's service. CHAP. XXV. 1642. *Charlevoix, I, 12—15.*

This condescension failed to produce the effect which Hinostrosa hoped. The Bishop wanted to have a number of Indians who had been granted in *encomienda* to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, transferred to himself; the Governor replied that it could not be done; upon this the Bishop, in an excess of passion, abused him, and Hinostrosa, turning like a worm when *He excommunicates the Governor.*

CHAP. XXV. 1642.

trodden upon, reproached him in return with his greediness for wealth, and the scandals which he permitted in his house, alluding to thelicentious conduct of his nephew. A few days afterwards the Governor was to bear the royal banner in a procession; the Bishop declared him excommunicated, and therefore incapable of performing this office; Hinostrosa heard him with temper, and absented himself from the ceremony, rather than excite any disturbance upon such an occasion: patience and calmness rendering his triumph certain when the other party was so grossly in the wrong. Pedro, however, meeting him in the street, insulted him with the foulest language: Hinostrosa warned the friar not to provoke him farther; and he, having exhausted his whole stock of scurrility, went home to the Bishop, and was complimented upon his conduct. Their exultation was interrupted by tidings that the Governor was approaching with a party of soldiers; Cardenas ordered the bell to be rung, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against any armed persons whatsoever who should enter his house. Hinostrosa arrived before this was well concluded; without any apparent emotion of anger he told the Prelate that he saw no reason why his soldiers should be excommunicated, and laying hands on Pedro, he arrested him in the King's name. This was in the vestibule; the friar disengaged himself by slipping out of his frock, ran into the house, returned with a pistol, and threatened to shoot the Governor unless he retired. At the same time a priest seized the hilt of his sword; Hinostrosa wrested it from his hold, but he thought it prudent to withdraw; and the Bishop then repeated the sentence upon him and the soldiers, imposing an amends of fifty crowns upon each before they could be released from it. This scandalous contest was terminated by a reconciliation equally disreputable to both parties. Cardenas informed the Governor that he wished to absolve him; and Hinostrosa,

Conduct of the Bishop's nephew.

The Governor is absolved.

who felt uneasy under this second sentence, went to his house and knelt at his feet. A ridiculous scene ensued; the Bishop knelt also; and like two Chinese vying with each other in ceremonious civility, they contended who should kiss the other's hand, till the Rector of the Jesuits interfered, and withheld the Bishop. The absolution was then accorded, but the fine was exacted from the soldiers; for the Bishop's avarice was not so placable as his wrath. *Charlevoix, 2, 15—17.*

Fresh contests with the Governor.

Since the revolution in Portugal, foreigners had been forbidden to carry arms in Paraguay on pain of death. Hinostrosa met a Portugueze bearing a sword, and sent him to prison. The Bishop had just appointed this man first Alguazil of the Inquisition, and it was in virtue of his office that he was thus equipped; instead of explaining this to the Governor, he had recourse to his usual means, and excommunicated him for the third time. These spiritual thunders lose their effect when they are launched so often. Hinostrosa laughed at the censure, and condemned the Portugueze to be hanged in conformity to the existing law. Upon this the Bishop sent a Priest to the prisoner to encourage him to bear his misfortune patiently, and comfort him by an assurance that if he suffered death thus undeservedly he would die a martyr, and that the Bishop would celebrate his obsequies magnificently, and preach the funeral sermon himself. This was poor consolation to the Portugueze; but it diverted Hinostrosa, and not choosing to terminate tragically an affair in which so comic an incident had occurred, he released the prisoner, and the excommunication, without any measures on his part, was then taken off. A more serious affair followed. Friar Pedro continued his insolent demeanour, and as this was a public and notorious scandal, the Governor at length thought it became him to require that he should be sent away from Asumpcion. He spoke seriously upon this subject to the Bishop, who

CHAP. XXV. 1642.

reprimanded his nephew, ordered him in penance to kiss the ground and say certain prayers, and enjoined him to act more circumspectly for the future. Perceiving how little this application had availed, the Governor then addressed himself to the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, and having pointed out the scandalous course of life which Pedro pursued, as well as his offensive public conduct, requested that he might be sent back to Peru. The Guardian replied, that as the friar did not belong to his convent he had no authority over him. Hinostrosa then saw that there was no person who either could or would give him redress; he determined to exert his own authority, which had too long been insulted, and he therefore ordered the Camp Master General, D. Sebastian de Leon y Zarate, to arrest the offender. But Pedro was upon his guard; hitherto he had lodged in a private house, in order to be more at freedom; he now slept every night in the Convent for security, and continued to defy and irritate the Governor, who at length lost all patience. Without communicating his intention to his brother Francisco, who was an Augustinian friar, or to any of his friends, he went with Sebastian de Leon and four or five followers to the Convent about ten at night, and going straight to Pedro's cell, made him rise, carried him in his shirt [6] and drawers, just as he had

His outrage against Friar Pedro.

[6] Villalon (*p.* 18) says, they prevailed upon the porter to open the door by pretending that they were come for a priest to confess a sick man; that they then rushed in, fastened a bandage round Pedro's eyes, and dragged him naked into the streets. Carrillo (§ 16) states the same circumstance, but instead of naked he says *sin habito*, which agrees with Charlevoix' account. Both these writers conceal all the provocation, and Carrillo takes care not to mention the name of the Friar, nor his relationship to the Bishop. Charlevoix, on the other hand, does not specify that Sebastian de Leon was concerned in this outrage, and even seems to imply that he was not.

risen from bed, out of the city, bound him hand and foot, and laid him on the ground by the side of the river. There the miserable friar remained two days, without food or covering, exposed to all the noisome insects of that country; on the third they wrapt him in a woman's cloak, embarked him in a boat under the charge of some Indians, with a scanty supply of salt provisions, and sent him to Corrientes. CHAP. XXV. 1642.

Charlevoix, 2, 21—2. Villalon, 18.

The friar deserved punishment, but it was inflicted with the most odious circumstances of illegality and violence. As soon as the Bishop heard what had been done, late as the hour of night was, he ordered the bells to be tolled, summoned all the clergy, secular and regular, led them to the Cathedral, and then solemnly excommunicated all who were concerned in this outrage, and laid an interdict upon the city. It was represented to him, that as no process-verbal had been formed, and no admonition issued, this was proceeding too precipitately; but it would have been little consistent with his vehemence to have regarded these formalities. The city was now in a state of the utmost confusion: the Governor sought to seize the Bishop, and send him after his nephew; the Bishop sought to excite the people against the Governor, and endeavoured to make the clergy declaim against him from the pulpit; but though he threatened them with excommunication unless they obeyed him in this point, they persisted in their refusal with an unanimity which deterred him from enforcing the threat. In order, however, to work upon the public mind, he gave notice that he should perform an act of public penance; and going at an early hour to the Cathedral, he summoned the Chapter to attend him, and bear part in a procession to the Franciscan church, as a reparation for the insult which that Order had received in the person of one of its members. A great crowd assembled; after praying before the high altar, he ordered one of his Indian ser-

The Governor and his agents again excommunicated.

Public penance of the Bishop.

CHAP. XXV. 1643.

vants to undress him for the ceremony; accordingly his shoulders were stript, and he stood up bare-footed and bare-legged, having a sackcloth fastened with a cord round the rest of his body, and a large scourge in his hand. In this plight he prayed awhile vehemently, his voice being interrupted by sobs, and tears streaming down his cheeks; then he began to scourge himself. The Canons intreated him to forbear, but he made answer, it was necessary to appease the just indignation of Heaven, for the injury which had been done to the Church, and the affront which the Seraphic Order had endured; and that it became him, both as a member of that Order, and as Bishop of the Province, to expiate the offence, and offer to the Lord his blood to efface it. The procession then set out from the Cathedral toward the Jesuits' College. A beadle went before to apprize the Fathers, and bid them make ready to receive an Apostle, who was covering himself with his own blood. Going out to meet the procession, they perceived first, a banner surrounded by a disorderly multitude of men and boys; then a line of men in good order, who seemed deeply affected by the ceremony; women afterwards all in tears; the Bishop next, half naked, scourging himself and bleeding, and surrounded by his Clergy. Two of the Jesuits made way to him, and on their knees besought him to desist; but he appeared, they say, as if he neither saw nor heard any thing, being wholly absorbed in God. The procession advanced to the door of the Company's Church, and the Jesuits in a body prostrated themselves before him, and again intreated him to forbear: he replied as he had done to the Canons, and continued to lacerate himself, while the women pressed upon him from behind to wet handkerchiefs with his blood, that they might lay them by as relics. The Rector put an end to this shocking spectacle, by taking off his own outer garment and throwing it over him. The Bishop then entered

the Church, and prayed upon the steps of the Altar. His Indian servant wiped away the blood, and staunched it as well as he could, re-dressed him, and put on his rochet and camail; this done, he returned to the Cathedral and performed high mass [7].

Charlevoix, 2, 23—6.

He seeks to excite an insurrection against the Governor.

Having, as he supposed, thus prepared the people for his purpose, Cardenas published an edict, ordering all the inhabitants of the city and the adjoining country, to repair to the Cathedral at an appointed time, on pain of excommunication. The Governor knew that some violent measures were in agitation, and dreading the effects of this concourse, he appointed

---

[7] This exhibition produced a great effect upon the populace, and especially upon the women; but it brought Cardenas a reproof from his friend the Bishop of Tucuman. This personage, whose letters seem to have displayed much talent as well as judgement, wrote to him upon the occasion, saying, he had heard such a report, but that it appeared incredible to him, and he had reprimanded the person who repeated it, observing to him, however, that if the Bishop of Paraguay had really disciplined himself thus publicly, the act must needs have been proper, but that none of the Apostles had given any such example; that our Lord, when he was scourged, had not stript himself, but had only suffered the executioner to take off his garments; that this was done by night, not in open day, and in the sight of women; and that the saints who had devoutly imitated this great pattern of suffering had always done it in privacy. The Bishop of Tucuman had written a previous letter upon the seizure of Friar Pedro, expressing a strong disapprobation of the manner in which the privileges of the Church had been violated, but condemning in terms not less strong the conduct of the person who had provoked the outrage. He anticipated many evils from the act, but hoped, he said, that much might be effected by his Excellency's pastoral care, and trusted that D. Bernardino would demean himself with strict equity, that he would resort to the gentlest remedies, and that in order to bring back to his fold the sheep which had gone astray, he would employ the crook and the whistle,..not the spear and the javelin. To a man of D. Bernardino's temper, the Bishop of Tucuman must have been a most unwelcome correspondent.

Charlevoix, 2, 27, 23.

CHAP. XXV. 1643.

a general review of the soldiers on the same day. The magistrates were alarmed; they remonstrated with the Bishop, and he sent the Rector of the Jesuits, D. Lorenzo Sobrino, to the Governor, to say, that he desired nothing more than that their difference should be adjusted; that on the Sunday following, he would absolve him from the existing censures, and all should be as he wished, .. only he requested that the soldiers might attend at the Cathedral, when the Edict which convoked the people was read. Hinostrosa, rejoicing in the prospect of terminating a dispute, in which he was sensible that he had acted illegally, consented. A great multitude assembled; the Bishop explained the edict as it was read, and insisted upon the authority of the Holy Office; afterwards he harangued the people. They ought, he said, to obey the decrees of the Inquisition, even at the sacrifice of their lives, and it became him to set the example of this devout submission, as St. Ambrose had done in resisting the Emperor Theodosius: he enumerated the offences which the Governor had committed against the Church; insinuated that he knew by revelation, how greatly the anger of the Lord was kindled against the offender; extolled the conduct of Moses, who had smitten the rebellious Israelites with the edge of the sword; and informed the congregation, that the wrath of God would now be satisfied with a less chastisement, and that the arrest of the Governor would suffice, but that that measure was indispensable. At the conclusion of this episcopal discourse, he exclaimed, "Faithful Christians follow me! whosoever shall refuse I condemn him in a mulct of a thousand crowns, or to two hundred stripes in default of payment. Let all who will follow the Standard of the Lord, aid me in seizing the enemy of the Church, and if we meet with resistance, 'slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour!'" He then sallied from the Cathedral, took the ensign

Exodus, xxxii. 27.

from the officer of the guard, and appeared like another Phineas, surrounded by his Clergy, all of whom had arms under their habits. But the people were not prepared for a scene like this; the Governor stood firm at the head of his harquebussiers, and the Bishop who found that he was not likely to be seconded as he expected, was prevailed upon to retire to his palace. A negociation was now set on foot, and the only difference was respecting the terms upon which the excommunication should be revoked; for the Prelate, whose avarice was equal to his pride, and who knew that in this instance the Governor, as being flagrantly in the wrong, must yield, insisted upon a fine of four thousand *arrobas* of the herb of Paraguay, which was equivalent to eight thousand crowns. This demand was submitted to arbitration; the Bishop believed that it was adjusted, and a festival-day was chosen for the ceremony of absolution, that he might enjoy his triumph in public. Hinostrosa laid himself on the ground at the church-door, and demanded mercy; Cardenas in his pontificals reprimanded him in a severe and long discourse, after which he absolved him, raised him up, and embraced him; the Te Deum was performed as they entered the Cathedral together; the Bishop then ascended the pulpit, and pronounced an eulogy upon the reconciled penitent, whom he compared to Theodosius the Great, leaving the auditors to supply the other part of the parallel, . . between himself and St. Ambrose.

The Governor again reconciled and absolved.

Charlevoix, 2, 28—31.

The Bishop had been rapacious in this business, and the Governor was insincere; he promised to pay the four thousand *arrobas*, and he protested in secret against the exaction. Cardenas, perceiving how the payment was delayed, informed him, that unless this condition were fulfilled, the absolution became null: Hinostrosa represented that the fine was heavier than he could discharge; the Rector Sobrino attempted to intercede in his behalf; and the Bishop, in a fresh access of anger, embarked

Insincerity of the Governor, who is again excommunicated.

The Bishop leaves Assumpcion.

CHAP. XXV. 1643.

for Corrientes on Whitsun-eve, leaving a written order for his Grand Vicar to publish on the ensuing day a general interdict, local and personal, .. terms which imply that to whatever place the Governor might remove, he would carry the interdict with him, like a plague. At the same time a writing was affixed to the back of the Crucifix in the Choir, declaring that the Governor had relapsed into a state of excommunication, from which none but the Bishop could relieve him, naming many persons who had incurred the same penalty, and stating the sum which they must pay for absolution. Women, negroes, and certain persons mentioned in the paper were permitted to hear mass; but no church was specified as exempted from the interdict for that purpose. This proceeding was so informal, that every one conceived himself bound by it or not, according to his judgement, or perhaps the party to which he adhered; some churches, therefore, were always open, in disregard of the interdict, others were always closed in obedience to it. The Governor asserted, that by virtue of his office he was entitled either not to be treated as an excommunicated person, or to be absolved. But a Catholic does not in any circumstances sit easy under such a sentence, and Hinostrosa was not so blameless as to feel that internal support which a sense of consistent rectitude might have given him. He referred his plea to the different Religioners; the Jesuits reluctantly answered, that as he was not engaged in war, he ought, for the purpose of avoiding scandal, to consider himself excommunicated, till he should be absolved by the Bishop himself; the Dominicans and the Padres de la Merced thought, on the contrary, that the Grand Vicar might absolve him. Hinostrosa applied to this personage; he was of the Bishop's party, and replied, that they who gave such an opinion might absolve him themselves. Upon this Hinostrosa went with a party of soldiers to the Grand Vicar's apartment, nailed up the doors and windows, and declared that no

person should either go in or out till this Priest consented to absolve him. This was a silly threat, which it was impossible to enforce; the Grand Vicar was not intimidated, and the Governor retired with shame. He now drew up a memorial, to lay the case before the Royal Audience of Charcas; the Bishop also lodged his charges in the same Court. Things continued in this state for some months, when F. Truxillo, coming from Tucuman to Asumpcion as Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, saw the Bishop at Corrientes, and was by him appointed his Vicegerent and Vicar-General, with full powers. He on his arrival suspended both the interdict and the excommunication, leaving every thing to the decision of the Tribunal, to which the case had now been referred.

Charlevoix, 2, 32—4.

The Bishop goes to Yaguaron, and arrests two of the Chapter.

The Bishop was ill satisfied with Truxillo's conduct. He now set out for Asumpcion, but stopt eight leagues short of the city, at Yaguaron, a large Indian village, in a fertile and healthy situation, where he issued a capricious edict, forbidding any person except the Regulars to come there during his abode, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of fifty crowns. The Treasurer of the Chapter D. Diego Ponce de Leon, and the Canon D. Fernando Sanchez, solicited leave to pay their respects, and he wrote them a letter of invitation in reply, adding by word of mouth, that he desired to talk with them concerning the affairs of his diocese. But no sooner did he behold them than he exclaimed, "Here then you are, traitors to your Bishop and to the Church!" .. and ordered them into close confinement in separate chambers. He suspected, or had been apprized of an intention which the opposite party had now formed, of disowning him for Bishop, upon the ground of the informality in his consecration; and he thought to intimidate the Chapter by arresting these leading members. The Superiors of the different Orders came to intercede for them.

CHAP. XXV. 1648.

Sobrino especially spake in their behalf, because he had been made the instrument of betraying them. Cardenas replied to these solicitations, that he was resolved to purge his diocese, and that he used rigorous measures, as wise physicians apply cauteries for the good of the patient. He threatened to bring Sanchez to trial as a criminal, though the Canon claimed his privilege as a Commissioner of the Santa Cruzada. After forty days confinement, both prisoners escaped; the Treasurer fled to Corrientes, the Canon took refuge with the Governor at Asumpcion. The business which Cardenas apprehended was now seriously pursued. The Vice-Provincials of the Franciscans and Dominicans both delivered an opinion that they might lawfully disclaim his jurisdiction; Sanchez supported the same measure, and the Treasurer was recalled from Corrientes to act with them. The Bishop sent a trusty person to Asumpcion to insert both their names in the list of the excommunicated, which still remained upon the back of the Crucifix, and he required the Governor to give them up. Hinostrosa refused, .. but he advised them to withdraw, and they thought it expedient to do so for their personal safety. The Bishop's courage gave him greatly the advantage over his opponents; he excommunicated the two fugitives, annulled the acts of his Vicegerent Truxillo, interdicted the city anew, and forbade all persons to hold intercourse with the Governor, or even to speak to him. Hinostrosa, like our Henry II. and the Ghibeline Emperors, found it in vain to strive against a haughty Churchman; he went to Yaguaron, made his submission at the Prelate's feet, signed a bond for the payment of the four thousand *arrobas*, swore that he would fulfil it, and received with his absolution a humiliating lecture, which he deserved more for his pusillanimity than his misconduct.

The Governor submits, and pays the fine.

Charlevoix, 2, 35—41.

Rapacity of the Bishop.

The fine upon the other parties was levied with unrelenting rigour. A set of greedy parasites, to whom such measures

afforded a rich harvest, instigated the Bishop to multiply these exactions. Upon Holy Thursday all persons who entered the Church were informed, that if they had held any intercourse with those who were under excommunication, they could not be admitted to the communion unless they signed a paper, binding themselves to the payment of a certain mulct. Two persons, who attempted to evade this, were turned out. The Camp-Master Leon hearing of this, went into the Church, and said to the priests who were concerned, that Judas sold his Master for thirty pence; they put him at a higher price, but still they sold him cheap! they were Simonists, he said, and he was strongly tempted to use his belt as a scourge, and drive out of the Temple these sacrilegious sellers, not of animals for the sacrifice, but of the Sacrifice itself! If they did not at once put an end to this scandal, he would remedy it in a manner that should be little to their liking!..This soldierly proceeding produced its effect, and the communion was not interrupted. Most of the persons who had signed the obligation were too poor to pay the fine imposed; the Licentiate, therefore, who was to receive it, thought he might reduce it to a fifth part, believing that if more were insisted upon nothing would be got: but for thus using his discretion he was banished himself, and condemned to a mulct of thirty thousand pounds of the herb. Enraged at this, he convoked the persons who had signed, tore all their bonds, and told them they were discharged from their obligation. The rapacity of the Bishop and his parasites knew no bounds. The Governor paid the four thousand *arrobas* to the person appointed to receive it, it was embarked upon the river, and lost; the Bishop required him to pay it over again, which he indignantly refused; Cardenas then offered to accept four thousand crowns as a compromise, being half the value; Hinostrosa treated this proposal with the same contempt, and the intolerant Prelate upon

who again excommunicates the Governor.

CHAP. XXV. 1643.

this excommunicated him again, and declared that all persons who obeyed him, or rendered any service to him, should be banished from the province, regarded as subjects suspected in the faith, and made to answer for their conduct before the Supreme Court of Inquisition at Lima; he interdicted the city once more, and gave orders to consume all the consecrated wafers. Pride, passion, and unbridled power had rendered him insane. There was a contagious disease in Asumpcion, and a body of Guaycurus threatened it at the same time; they were only three hundred in number, but the Guaycurus were a tremendous enemy, the inhabitants were no longer the Spaniards of Yrala's days, and while the Governor and principal officers were excommunicated any person might refuse to obey them. After many intreaties, the Bishop, in consideration of public affairs, and of the disease, took off the interdict and suspended the excommunication for fifteen days. The alarm had been greater than the danger, and the savages retired. Just at this time the Governor received dispatches from the Viceroy of Peru, ordering him to send all the Portugueze who were settled at Asumpcion to Santa Fe. The Viceroy also entered into the affairs of the province, and commanded him that he should no longer suffer the inhabitants to be oppressed and his own authority annihilated, but re-establish all things upon the footing of the laws, and compel the Bishop to confine himself within the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction. Hinostrosa now took courage, reviewed the troops, and gave notice to the Indians of the adjacent villages that he was about to visit them, and that they must hold themselves ready to perform what he should require in the King's name. Cardenas, instead of waiting to be attacked, renewed his fire, gave notice that as the fifteen days were expired the sentence was renewed, and forbade Spaniards and Indians to obey the Governor, on pain of the greater excommunication. Hinostro-

sa acted on his part with equal resolution, for the Viceroy's letters had emboldened him; he declared, that he had important business to execute in the King's service, and called upon the Clergy in the King's name to relieve him from all ecclesiastical censures. They replied, that the Bishop alone could do this; he then set out for Yaguaron, and went straight to the Church with his whole armed suite. The Prelate gave way, absolved him and praised him in a sermon, invited him to dinner, and suspended, at his desire, the interdict of the city till after the feast of the Assumption, from which it took its name.

Charlevoix, 2, 41—9.

Cause of the Bishop's enmity toward the Jesuits.

This sudden change was not the effect of fear. Cardenas was preparing to contend with other enemies, and wished to secure the Governor for his ally. The opinion which the Jesuits at Cordoba had given concerning his consecration, excited in him a feeling of resentment toward the Company, which he had for awhile dissembled, and even affected to distinguish them at Asumpcion by his favour; they acted with their usual caution during these broils, but it was plain that they disapproved his conduct, and would have supported the Governor in disclaiming him as Bishop; and when Cardenas understood this, the whole current of his vindictive passions was directed against them. He began his warfare by ordering them to close their schools, and appointing one of his own followers to instruct the youth of the city, saying, that he superseded the Jesuits in this charge by the King's order, and for the service of God. His next measure was to interdict all the Regulars from preaching and giving absolution, and to restore this power to all except the Jesuits. Sobrino went to the Grand Vicar, and requested him to examine all the Priests of his Convent; that if they were found competent to their office, they might be restored, like the Priests of the other orders, to the use of their sacred functions. The Bishop was referred to, and his answer was, that

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

he did not doubt their competence, but that it was not proper to allow them to administer the sacraments, or to preach. He sought now to engage the Governor in his farther measures, and represented to him by one of his agents, (for he still continued at Yaguaron himself) that he was determined to expel the Jesuits from his diocese, and by way of bribe, offered to remit the four thousand crowns which he claimed as compensation for the lost herb, that it might form a dowry for a natural daughter of the Governor. Hinostrosa returned a vague answer to this overture, and secretly apprised the Jesuits of the Bishop's designs, but he gave them no encouragement to suppose that he would exert himself in their behalf; it seemed as if he were disposed to let things take their course, thankful perhaps that the Bishop had found some other object for his restless and implacable spirit of contention. The Governor was not the only person whom Cardenas at this time endeavoured to attach to his interests. He summoned all candidates for holy orders to Yaguaron, and made them swear to be faithful to him, even if their lives should be the sacrifice; this was strengthening himself effectually, because the best families always placed some of their sons in the Church, as the readiest method of providing for them, and supporting or elevating their rank in society. The charges which he brought against the Jesuits in conversation, and from the pulpit, were addressed to their old enemies; he accused them of getting the Indians into their own hands to the injury of the Crown, the Church, and the Spaniards; depriving the latter of the *Encomienda*, which they ought to possess, the former of its tribute, and the Church of its tythes. They had discovered rich mines of gold, he said, which they concealed for their own use. They entered Paraguay with nothing but their frocks, and had obtained the sovereignty of a great country, and he was determined to treat them as the Paulistas and the Venetians had done. These

Charlevoix, 2, 50—8.

topics were well chosen for his auditors, and revived that jealousy and dislike of the Jesuits which had so often impeded them in their great object. CHAP. XXV. 1644.

The Jesuits had purchased an estate called St. Isidro; the Bishop proposed that they should let him have it at the price which they had paid; without waiting for their reply, he sent to say that they were rich enough to make him a present of this property; but as he did not rely upon their generosity, he must inform them that the ground belonged to the Indians of Yaguaron, and they must quit it within eight days, otherwise he should eject them, and give whatever might be found there as a recompense to those who should execute his orders. The officer who carried this summons told the Rector that there was no appeal from it except to the Pope, and for this there was no time. But Cardenas had now attacked men who were conscious of their strength, as well as of their right. Instead of submitting, Sobrino applied to the Governor, and by his sanction, an Alcayde was sent with ten armed men to defend the property. The Bishop had taken for his confessor and chief favourite, a renegade Augustinian Friar, by name Francisco Nieto, a man of daring spirit and dissolute life: he advised the Bishop to act vigorously, expel the Jesuits from their College at once, and thus strike at the trunk of the tree, instead of lopping the branches. The people, he said, were well disposed; the Jesuits odious, and if the Governor ventured to face the Bishop, he would engage to bring him to reason by two or three good blows with the fist; "Cry Santiago then, and have at them!" Cardenas acted upon the counsel which was thus characteristically given; he reckoned upon the popular disposition, and the cordial cooperation of the other Regulars against the Jesuits; in this confidence, he sent secret instructions to the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the *Padres de la Merced*, to provide fit sub-

He endeavours to expel them from Asumpcion.

Charlevoix, 2, 54.

Charlevoix, 2, 38.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

jects, who might take charge of the Parana Reductions till *Curas* could be established there; and he ordered boats to be secretly engaged to transport the Jesuits, and biscuit and salt meat to be provided for their voyage. These measures having been taken, he set off from Yaguaron, the bells ringing at his departure, as if, says Charlevoix, he was setting forth to conquer the Holy Land from the Musslemen. He meant to have reached Asumpcion the same day; a heavy rain prevented him; Nieto however proceeded, and meeting there the Lieutenant General, D. Francisco Florez, was invited by him to supper. Florez was not in the secret; Nieto communicated it to him, and told him that the Bishop intended first to see the Governor, and if he would not take part with him, desire that he would absent himself; and he assured his friend that success was certain, the Bishop having in his company not less than four hundred Indians well armed. Perhaps the good cheer which Nieto had partaken, made him thus communicative. Florez listened as if he were persuaded by his arguments to join the Bishop's party, but he went immediately to the Governor, and the Governor lost no time in apprizing the Jesuits; it was their duty, he said, to defend themselves by all lawful means against the intended violence, and accordingly he sent them arms. The following morning he went out with most of the inhabitants to meet the Bishop; Cardenas asked, why there were no Jesuits among them; Hinostrosa replied, they had been informed on the preceding eve, that he was coming to expel them from their College, and that they were prepared to resist the attempt. This was not the place, he added, for him to say what he thought of the Bishop's intention, but he would have the honour of conversing with him in private upon that subject. Cardenas then turned to Nieto and exclaimed, Some Devil has revealed all,.. and we are betrayed.

Charlevoix, I, 60—4.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

Thus disappointed in his design of surprizing the Jesuits, the Bishop took up his abode at the Franciscan Convent, and endeavoured by deceitful courtesies to throw them off their guard. They on their part, as no overt act of hostility had yet been committed against them, returned his civilities with equal insincerity; for this was an age wherein the Italian maxims of insidious policy were still prevalent, maxims upon which the greatest deceiver is the best statesman. Hinostrosa represented to the Bishop that he had better attack them first in the Reductions, otherwise they would summon a force of Neophytes to defend them at Asumpcion; but in the Reductions they might be taken unprepared, and for this purpose he offered to provide him with an escort sufficient to ensure obedience. Cardenas approved his counsel, and continued to amuse the Jesuits till the escort should be ready. Meantime he employed himself in drawing up a memorial to justify the conduct which he intended to pursue, producing as authorities and justificatory documents, orders from the King, and petitions against the Company from the Clergy regular and secular, the inhabitants of Asumpcion, and a great number of Indians. Things were in this state when dispatches arrived from the Royal Audience of Charcas, commanding the Bishop to remove the interdict and the excommunications, without exacting a fine from any person, and to annul all the imposts which he had demanded upon that plea. A private letter from the Audience exhorted him to return to Asumpcion, govern his Church in the manner to be expected from his virtue and talents, live with the Governor upon better terms, and support the dignity of his character both in his conversation, writings, and conduct, which he had too much disregarded. At the same time the Governor received private instructions, that as he was the King's representative in Paraguay, it behoved him to make the Bishop understand this. Hinostrosa

Duplicity of the Governor.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

did not intend to make the decree of the Audience public, in the hope of preserving peace with his fiery adversary: he was compelled to publish it by the persons whom it relieved from their fines and censures, and this renewing the Bishop's ill-extinguished enmity, made him seek to gratify it against him and the Jesuits at once. For this purpose he tampered with Sebastian de Leon, the Camp-Master, to procure from him a charter of Charles V., which he believed to be in that officer's possession, by which charter the people of Asumpcion were empowered, in case of their Governor's death, to appoint another *ad interim*: "never," he said, "was there so much occasion for exerting this privilege as at present. He wanted nothing more than by this means to be put at the head of the people, and expel the Jesuits. It was his duty to accomplish that great measure, as it was the surgeon's to cut off a gangrened finger that he might save the hand: the Pope would erect a statue to him for effecting it; and if he were never to perform any other good work, he should be judged worthy of canonization for this alone." Leon informed Hinostrosa of this conversation. The question now at issue was who should be Governor, he or the Bishop; and he determined to have the advantage of making the attack instead of waiting for it. Still however pursuing the system of duplicity, he told Cardenas that in fifteen days the escort of an hundred and thirty men would be ready for his expedition to the Reductions; at [8] the same time he sent for six hundred armed Indians

Guaranies collected for the defence of the Jesuits.

[8] I have followed the statement of the Jesuits here, from a full conviction that that of their adversaries is entirely false: ..it is however proper that their account of these transactions should be stated. They affirm that the Bishop, in obedience of the King's commands, intended to visit the Reductions; that the municipal and judicial officers required the Governor to give him an escort for this purpose; that the Jesuits were alarmed, fearing he would discover the quan-

from the Reductions to act under his own orders against the Bishop; and lest they should not arrive in time, a second messenger was dispatched to make them advance by double marches. CHAP. XXV. 1644.

Charlevoix, 2, 65—8.

The Indians who had been summoned for the Bishop's service

Hinostrosa goes with the Guarani force to seize the Bishop.

---

tity of arms which they kept ready for their Indians, the concealed treasures which they possessed, and the incredible number of vassals of which they deprived the Crown; that for this reason they first endeavoured to dissuade him from the intended visit by offering him a bribe of 20,000 crowns; but finding him incorruptible they began to deny his authority, affirming and even preaching, that because he had been consecrated before his bulls arrived he was to be considered as an interloper, and not as lawful Bishop: moreover, that it was said they had bribed the Governor with 30,000 crowns of gold to drive him from his diocese. This is Villalon's story. (§ 20—24.) Carrillo (§ 20—1.) makes the same general charges; and it must be observed that both these writers begin their narratives here, mentioning none of the previous transactions except the seizure of Pedro Cardenas. How utterly unfounded the charges were which were so constantly preferred against the Jesuits, of their immense treasures, their military force, and their ambitious projects, was abundantly proved, when the enemies of the Company effected its ruin, and exposed their own falsehood. The Jesuits therefore had none of those causes of fear which the advocates of Cardenas impute to them; and no other fear existed than that which the declared hostility of the Bishop, his violent temper, his gross injustice, and I may add, his whole conduct, could not fail to excite. On the other hand, Charlevoix has thus far as much as possible kept out of sight the certain fact, that Cardenas was acting in consonance with the general feeling of the people. In this he acts imprudently as an advocate, as well as culpably as an historian; for the unpopularity of the Jesuits (the cause being considered) is the best proof of their good desert. But in other respects his account is full, clear, and consistent; and one proof of its veracity is, that without any intention of so doing, and perhaps even without perceiving that he has so done, he represents Hinostrosa's conduct in a worse light than that in which the Bishop's advocates had placed it. The Jesuits never scrupled at falsehood; they were undaunted liars when it suited their interest; but they were wise enough in their generation not to lie when it served their purpose better to tell the truth.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

arrived at Yaguaron before the force approached which the Governor designed for himself. Cardenas returned to that settlement: he now began to suspect Hinostrosa's duplicity, and observed to his friends, that if he attacked the Reductions first the Jesuits would have time to prepare for defence in their College, and might hold out till they could procure orders in their behalf from the Royal Audience, or from the Viceroy of Peru; whereas if he struck a blow at their head quarters, and expelled them at once, the popular feeling being in his favour, it was to be supposed that the King, though he might not perhaps have commanded such a measure, would sanction it after it was done, rather than incur the risque of provoking an insurrection in the Province: and he determined to seize the Governor as a preliminary measure for securing the success of the enterprize. Hinostrosa was soon informed of this design. The Guarani force, consisting of eight hundred well-armed men, were now within four leagues of Asumpcion: he set off with a few soldiers to join them, marched with them all night, and entered [9] Yaguaron at break of day. The Bishop was awakened by his affrighted domestics, and had just time to rise from bed and hastily dress himself, before Hinostrosa entered the chamber, and said he was come to conduct him back to Asumpcion, because the Indians of that settlement, growing insolent under his protec-

[9] Villalon (§ 25,) says they pillaged the settlements on their way, plundered the inhabitants, and violated the Spanish women, seven Jesuits armed and on horseback being at their head, among whom were Romero, (soon afterwards martyred) and Vicente Badia Catalan. Carrillo (§ 21—2) repeats the accusation, saying that they stript naked those whom they robbed; but he does not affirm that the Jesuits were at their head. I believe that they were under the guidance of the Missionaries, and that these imputed enormities are grossly exaggerated, if not entirely false.

tion, refused obedience to their Governor. The Bishop's advocates affirm that a boat was lying in readiness, to which he was to be carried a prisoner and in chains: the Jesuits acknowledge no such purpose; but neither they nor the Governor would have been scrupulous in the means, or tender in the manner of securing him; and the Bishop understanding this, got to a door in his apartment which opened beside the altar, and in a moment clung to one of the pillars of the sanctuary. Hinostrosa pursued and seized him [10]; but the Bishop was upon his own ground; he cried out loudly, and declared the Governor excommunicated. A Priest and a Mulatta woman (the Bishop's cook) were the first persons who came at his cry. They threw themselves upon the Governor; and he fell upon the steps of the altar. Almost instantly the Church was filled with people. The Bishop was emboldened at seeing them;..his proper arms were at hand;..he took the Pix from the Tabernacle, and elevated it, and all who were present prostrated themselves before the Real Presence. He then demanded of the Governor what was his design. "To announce," replied Hinostrosa, "your exile from the Province, and the sequestration of your temporalities, for having usurped the jurisdiction which I hold from the King. It is an order of the Viceroy which I thus intimate [11]." Then thinking it decorous or prudent to leave the Church, he with-

Villalon, § 26.

[10] By the arm, says Charlevoix; by the throat, says Villalon, and he adds, that the Governor bruised and wounded him in the struggle. Carrillo being a Lawyer and not a Friar, is more scrupulous in his assertions, and his silence upon the more aggravating circumstances, seems to show that they had little foundation in truth.

[11] According to Charlevoix, the Bishop made answer that he would obey, and called upon the people to witness his promise. I have not thought this credible enough to insert it in the text.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

drew, meaning to seize the Bishop as soon as he should come out. But Cardenas kept close to the sanctuary, and the Governor blockaded him; the failure of a like attempt at Asumpcion not having convinced him of its folly. Meantime his followers laid hand upon whatever they could find as spoil, pillaging the Bishop's house, and slaughtering his cattle, and laying waste the fields and stripping the inhabitants. In the hope of checking these outrages, the Bishop came out bearing the host in [12] procession; the Indian women of the place carried green branches before him, and the singers chaunted the *Pange lingua*. The host being his sufficient protection, he stopt in the green before the Governor's troop, and addressing some of the men who had not knelt with sufficient promptitude, reproached them as barbarians, heretics and schismatics. Having returned to his asylum, he harangued the people against the Governor; the Governor in a state of equal exasperation, replied from the door, and to compleat the scandalous scene, entered the Church, and in spite of the present Wafer, drove out the Indians by blows.

Carrillo, § 2—27.

Carrillo, § 29. Charlevoix, 68—70.

The Bishop promises to submit, and secretly marches for Asumpcion.

Before the day was over, reflection or exhaustment produced moderation in both parties. They had an interview; the Bishop promised to leave the province within six days, and to take off the excommunication; Hinostrosa sent back the Guaranies. The Bishop saw them begin their homeward march, and sent persons to follow them, that he might be sure counter-orders

[12] Charlevoix calls this an indecent procession of the Sacrament. It would be well if the Jesuits had never made a worse use of Sacraments! Carrillo, on the contrary, in one of his pedantic notes, quotes the Canonists to prove that the Bishop's conduct was pious as well as prudent, and adduces precedents from *Roman* and *Romish* history:..let me be permitted thus to distinguish between Pagan and Papal Rome.

were not given for their return;.. being secure on this point, he set [13] off before daylight for Asumpcion. That city had been agitated with various rumours; it was reported among other things, that the Governor had sent Cardenas down the river, and was coming at the head of the Guaranies against his party in the Capital. But when the Bishop's approach was known, the bells were rung and the streets echoed with acclamations: he bore upon his breast a wafer in a chrystal box, and priests wearing arms under their habit went before him. Trusting to the strength of his party, he gave orders to march to the Jesuits' College; but being told that it was defended by four hundred men, the falsehood deterred him, and he went to the Franciscan Convent. His first care was to fortify it; embrasures were opened in the walls, cannon mounted there, the weaker parts strengthened with gabions: and that spiritual succours might not be wanting, the Virgin was brought from the Cathedral, and St.

Enters the capital, and fortifies himself in the Franciscan Church.

[13] Villalon says nothing of the interview and arrangement; his statement is, that the Governor set off very early in the morning to lay an ambush in the woods, in order to seize the Bishop on his way, and thus execute "the damnable purpose" of embarking him; but the ambuscade was accidentally discovered, and Cardenas being thus warned took another road. § 30. The Franciscan adds, that it was said the Governor had determined to send some Parana Guaranies to murder him, and meant to ascribe his death to the revolted natives. § 29. Carrillo, more cautious as usual, relates the former circumstance, but is silent as to this atrocious charge. I think Charlevoix' the more likely tale, because the Guaranies certainly were dismissed, and this would not have happened unless an agreement with the Bishop had been made. It is very probable that their disorderly conduct rendered their dismissal expedient, there would otherwise have been no pretext on the Bishop's part for requiring, and many reasons on that of the Governor for refusing it. Charlevoix, however says, (2. 78.) that harm was done to the Neophytes, *qui en avoient trop vû pour n'en être pas scandalisés.*

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

Blaise from his own Church, and both idols were placed upon duty on the high altar. After these preparations the alarm-bell was rung, the people assembled, an Alcalde and the Regidores attended at the Bishop's desire, and he addressed the multitude; he told them that the armed Indians of the Jesuits had plundered Yaguaron, and were on their way to plunder Asumpcion; and he, for having wished to defend their privileges, was to be driven from his diocese; but he claimed their protection in the King's name, and exhorted them, in case they could not find the cedule which empowered them to elect a governor, that they should proceed to an election without it, the necessity of the case being a sufficient warrant. Terrified at the description which he gave of the Guaranies' conduct, the Alcalde hastened to the Governor, beseeching that they might not enter the city. Hinostrosa had actually recalled them at the Camp-Master Leon's suggestion; the Alcalde not being answered to his wish, became insolent, and was sent to prison; this enraged the people, and an insurrection would have been the consequence, if they had not feared the Guaranies, who, as it was officially announced, were advancing in perfect discipline, and by the Governor's order. The Bishop and his party endeavoured to overcome this fear; he attempted to get possession of the cedule and of the Royal Standard; failing in both, he had recourse to his usual arms, and excommunicated Leon with his friends. Many of the better and wiser inhabitants thought it now prudent to consult their own safety by retiring from the city. The Governor, feeling himself authorized by the Viceroy's letter, justified by the circumstances, and enabled to go through with what he had begun by the force which the Jesuits had placed at his disposal, sent the King's notary to inform the Bishop that a vessel was ready for the removal of him and his whole household, and that he must depart without delay. When the notary

appeared at the Convent door, a friar attempted to stab him with a javelin; this disturbance brought the Bishop out, who, having heard the notary's errand, replied by excommunicating him; adding, that if he did not demean himself as became a person under such a sentence he should be fined five hundred crowns, and delivered over to the Holy Office for contumacy. In this state of exasperation, it is affirmed that four Ecclesiastics offered their services to kill the Governor, the Bishop having in his passion declared it would be no crime, .. that they armed themselves for this business, and that it was determined in the Bishop's council for a stronger party to set fire to the Jesuit's College, while the Priests performed the murder. The Governor took advantage of this report, which possibly may have been raised to serve his purpose, and ordered an hundred Guaranies into the city, half of whom he stationed at the College, and half at his own residence. Safe in the superiority which this force afforded him, he then proceeded in legal form. The first measure was to provide for the Church as though the See were vacant: the only one of the old Canons then in the city was Sanchez, who before Cardenas had arrived, had governed the diocese as Grand Vicar and *Provisor*. Him the Governor called upon to resume his functions, upon a plea, that the rights of the Bishop were vitiated by the manner of his consecration; and he promised to support the Canon with the King's authority: Sanchez insisted that they should provide for his personal safety as the first indispensable measure; and to secure this he was immediately escorted to the College. The alarm was now beat, the Royal Standard was raised in the *Plaza*, and all inhabitants were ordered to repair to it in arms, on pain of death, ready for any service which might be required in the King's name. The officers appeared in obedience with their troops,; the municipality at the head of the militia; one

The Jesuits' party depose the Bishop from his see, and deport him.

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

hundred and fifty Guaranies were present also in their ranks. The Governor with the principal officers then went to the College, and formally demanded D. Christoval Sanchez de Vera, *Provisor* and Vicar-General of the diocese; and Sanchez was accordingly conducted with a military procession to the Cathedral. No sooner were the doors opened, than the Church was filled with persons of all ages, eager to see what would ensue. Sanchez [14] having performed his prayer, took a crucifix from the high altar and gave it to the Governor to kiss; then taking the seat which he had occupied while the See was vacant, he declared that he resumed his charge, D. Bernardino de Cardenas having no lawful jurisdiction. The bells were rung, the lists of the excommunicated taken down, and the interdict relieved. Cardenas, as the only means of parrying this blow, had just removed the interdict himself. The Governor issued an edict enumerating the causes of complaint against the late Bishop, and forbidding all persons on pain of death from entering the house in which he was attempting to defend himself. The *Provisor* sent forth a mandate to the same tenour. Strong as the Bishop's party was, for beyond all doubt the majority of the

[14] Villalon (§ 32. 35.) and Carrillo (§ 33.) affirm that the Canon was a grossly ignorant man, and moreover not in his senses, so as actually when these measures were in agitation, to be confined to his father's house; that they removed him against his own consent and that of his relations, the Governor threatening to kill him unless he submitted to do every thing which should be required; and that when he was made to understand their intention of appointing him *Provisor*, he replied, you had better make me Bishop, and my brother Clemente *Provisor*,.. a speech quoted to prove his imbecility, for this brother was a layman. This statement is grossly improbable. Villalon states that the Bishop meantime was blockaded in the Cathedral (so at least the French translator has it). The circumstances which follow show this to be false: and Carrillo, probably perceiving this, places the Bishop, where he actually was, in the Franciscan Church.

Spaniards were on his side, his adversaries had now combined their measures too well to be resisted, and he informed the Governor that he was ready to depart. Accordingly he took leave of some of his most devoted friends, again excommunicated and anathematized his enemies, and proceeded to embark, bearing the wafer as usual suspended at his breast, and followed by his Clergy, each carrying a lighted taper. As soon as he was in the bark he again laid on the interdict, ringing a little bell, which was always part of his travelling equipage: his partizans had been instructed upon an appointed signal to announce the act by ringing the bells of the Franciscan Convent and those of his own Parish Church; and it was thought necessary by the other party that the bells of all the other Churches should ring at the same time, and frustrate the purpose by drowning their sound. CHAP. XXV. 1644. Nov. 19. *Charlevoix, 2. 70—7.*

Cardenas, during all these transactions, knew where he was vulnerable; and was aware that, however certain his nomination to the Bishoprick had been, however accidental and unfortunate the delay of the Bulls, there was an actual informality in his consecration for want of them, which rendered him liable to censure, even if it did not vitiate his possession. This was in fact a point of law, which served as pretext for the two parties; but the real question at issue was, whether the Jesuits should continue their system among the Indians, or if the old practice of enslaving these injured people should still be carried on. Cardenas was mindful of both objects: he applied to Rome to be relieved from the censures which he might have incurred; but he well knew what are the slow forms of law, and that years might elapse before this question would be determined. His measures against the Jesuits were to be prosecuted by more active agents. The charge which he had made against them of having discovered gold-mines, and working them secretly for their own profit, was of a nature to excite immediate jealousy. *The Bishop exhibits charges against the Jesuits.* *Charlevoix, 2. 77.*

CHAP. XXV. 1644.

He repeated it in his letters with the utmost confidence; his partizans even addressed memorials upon the subject to the Council of the Indies, and it was there thought of such importance, that orders were sent out to suffer no Missionaries in the Reductions except such as were native subjects of the Catholic King, lest foreigners should serve as agents for conveying their gold to other countries. The report, which had originated in credulity, cupidity, and malice, derived at this time great strength from the testimony of an Indian, by name Buenaventura. This man had served in a Convent at Buenos Ayres; running away from thence, he joined some wandering tribes, and in the course of his adventures came to one of the Uruguay Reductions, where he professed himself a Christian, acquired a reputation for piety, and finished by eloping with a married woman. The fugitives were pursued, overtaken, and brought back, and Buenaventura, after being flogged in the square, was turned out of the Reduction. He returned to Buenos Ayres, and declared that the Jesuits had employed him in working their gold mines, where in three days he had found gold enough in grains to fill a half bushel. He added as a confession, that he and another Indian had agreed to run away with as much of this gold as they could carry, but that his companion betrayed him, and for this he had been flogged and expelled. Fortresses, he said, had been erected for the defence of the mines, and garrisons established there, who were provided with fire-arms. His story was circumstantial, and obtained credit from its consistency, and the apparent simplicity and readiness with which he answered all enquiries upon the subject. The Rector of the College at Buenos Ayres thought it necessary to require that this man should be examined by a magistrate; his cunning was not equal to a well-conducted examination; the enquiries into his character confirmed the ill opinion of his veracity which was

The Jesuits accused of working gold mines for their own benefit.

Charlevoix, 80.

then formed, and the Governor of that province informed the Council of the Indies that the report of the mines which had been so much talked of had not the slightest foundation in truth. This Governor was soon afterwards superseded by D. Hyacintho de Laris, of whom the Indian obtained an audience, repeated his story to him, and protested that he spake of what he had seen, and that there was no other reason for discrediting his positive testimony than because he had been frightened at the forms of a judicial examination. D. Hyacintho gave ear to a tale which held out such a prospect of advantage to himself; and a letter which arrived at this time from Cardenas, speaking of the existence of the Jesuit-mines as a fact which was not to be doubted, made him determine to go in person and ascertain the truth upon the spot. So he set out for the Reductions, with an escort of fifty soldiers, taking Buenaventura and an experienced miner with him. The Indian had probably begun his story as a means of getting something from those who listened to it, and had persevered in it because it had made him a person of some consequence. The matter now became serious; and when they were about half way on their journey he absconded. Whatever D. Hyacintho might now think of his informant's testimony, he proceeded to the nearest of the Parana Reductions, and without communicating the object of his expedition to the Jesuits, secretly questioned some of the Neophytes concerning the mines. Diaz Taño, who was at this time Superior of the Missions, was perfectly informed of his intentions, as the Governor ought to have foreseen; he intreated him to proceed and visit all the Reductions, now that he was thus far advanced, and he required him in the King's name to call upon Cardenas for proof of the assertions contained in his letter. D. Hyacintho accordingly entered Paraguay; he perceived a great alarm among the Neophytes wherever he went; they were persuaded

CHAP. XXV. 1645.

that his object was to displace the Jesuits, and that the Chaplain who accompanied him came to take possession of the churches in their stead; and he was informed, that unless he speedily satisfied them upon this point, the least evil [15] to be apprehended was the entire desertion of all the Reductions. This matter being explained, the Guaranies were freed from all apprehensions, and it was the interest of the Missionaries that every possible facility should be given to him in his search. Great rewards were offered to any person who should discover a mine; the Governor promised the first soldier who should obtain the desired news a captain's commission, full equipments for his new rank, and a gratuity of two hundred Philips. At length an Indian was found who said that his father had taken him to a gold-mine when he was a boy, and that although he was only five years old at the time, he perfectly remembered the spot. The miner was sent with him, and after a few days journey they reached the place, where nothing was found except some shining substance [16], which a child might have mistaken for metal. Meantime D. Hyacintho had written to Hinostrosa, and had

[15] *On lui ajouta, qu'au reste on ne lui répondoit pas de ce qui en arriveroit s'il ne rassuroit promptement ces nouveaux Chrétiens, qui n' etoient nullement traitables sur cet article, parcequ'ils etoient convaincus que ce changement de Pasteurs n'avoit point d'autre motif que de les priver de la liberté dont ils jouissoient; et que ce qu'il y avoit de moins à craindre, etoit le depeuplement entier de toutes les Reductions.* Charlevoix, 2. 83.

[16] *Des coquillages, dont les couleurs brillantes avoient pu aisement donner dans les yeux d'un enfan qui n'avoit pas cinq ans.* Charlevoix, 2. 84. I do not know from what materials Charlevoix was here writing, and cannot guess at the word which he may have misinterpreted to mean shells,.. if, as seems probable, a mistake there has been. The Latin translation, however, supports his text, *conchyliorum genus.*

also demanded from Cardenas the proof of his assertions. He now received letters from both: the former told him he had often heard reports concerning the Uruguay mines, but had always considered them unworthy of credit: the Bishop's answer was, that he would produce his proofs of their existence at the proper time and in the proper place; that the right mode of beginning was to expel the Jesuits, and that the profits which would then result would be greater than those of the richest mines which could possibly be discovered. The only shadow of doubt which could now remain arose from the disappearance of Buenaventura: . . was this disappearance the work of the Jesuits? Well aware that such a suspicion might arise, they exerted themselves to apprehend this fellow, and fortunately they were successful. The situation in which he found himself, deprived him of all cunning, and even of courage to persist in his story for the hope of making another effort to escape; and in this stupid state of fear, when D. Hyacintho promised him the greatest rewards if he made the discovery which he had promised, he denied that he had ever made any such promise, or ever said any thing upon the subject. It was possible that he might act thus from fear of the Jesuits; the Governor solemnly promised to protect him, and tried all means of persuasion and encouragement in vain; the torture was then applied, a means never to be mentioned without execration, but at which no government scrupled in that age. All which could be extorted from him was, that if he had ever spoken of mines and fortresses for their defence, he must have been drunk at the time. Drunkenness or imposture, cried D. Hyacintho, it shall cost thee thy life! and he ordered him to be hanged. The Jesuits interceded as policy required, and through their intercession, he escaped with two hundred lashes. *Charlevoix, 2, 80—85.*

Cardenas meantime was exercising both the civil and ecclesi-

CHAP. XXV. 1645.

astical authority at Corrientes, sufficient proof that the majority of the inhabitants were in his favour. He dispatched his nephew from thence with a letter to the Bishop of Cordoba, reiterating his charges against the Jesuits, especially that of working mines for their own profit: he accused them of enriching foreign states to the detriment of the King's finances, and of leading thousands into damnation by the heretical doctrines in which they instructed their converts; and he called upon D. Melchior as being the oldest Bishop in that province, (for the metropolitan See was at that time vacant) to convoke a Provincial Council which might put a stop to this last tremendous evil. The pertinacity with which Cardenas addressed his complaints to this Prelate, after the repeated rebuffs which he had received, is one symptom of that insanity with which his conduct so frequently appears to have been tainted. Maldonado replied in his accustomed strain of dignified and calm reproof. The charge of heresy he scarcely noticed; that respecting the mines he treated as an invention of the very Devil, for the purpose of destroying the Reductions. He had often, he said, asked himself through what channel, if any such mines existed, the Jesuits could remit their gold to foreign and hostile countries, and he had never been able to discover; certainly it was not by way of St. Paulo. As for the proposed Provincial Council, it happened that there were at that time no Bishops in the Province who were able to attend one except Cardenas and himself, and it was perfectly certain that they would never be of the same opinion. He concluded by again exhorting him to Christian charity.

Cardenas appeals to the Bishop of Cordoba.

Charlevoix, 2, 91—97.

Meanwhile both Cardenas and his opponents were using all their influence at the Royal Audience and in Spain, to make their respective causes good. The Audience thrice summoned Cardenas to appear before them at Chuquisaca; and an order

He sets out for Asumpcion, but is sent back.

CHAP. XXV. 1646.

was sent to Corrientes, that if he refused to obey, he should be banished from the King's dominions, for so the peace of the Province and the King's service required. But the Bishop was too sure of his friends, and too resolute himself to submit quietly; his strength lay in the same place with his hopes, and he determined to return to Asumpcion, and once more contest the field with the Governor, giving out, that before he could undertake the journey to the Audience, it was necessary for him to see to the affairs of the diocese, and nominate a Grand Vicar during his absence. He advanced upon the way to within a few leagues of Asumpcion, where the river is contracted to the width of a musquet shot, at a place which for that reason is called *Angostura*, or the Narrows. Here the Governor had stationed a party to command the navigation, and Cardenas was ordered not to advance, by men who had means in their hands for enforcing obedience. He would have landed somewhere out of sight, and have made his way by land, but his companions thought this too hazardous, and they carried him back to Corrientes against his will. This is the statement of the Jesuits: the Bishop's advocates tell a different story. During the two years which had now elapsed since his expulsion, his Church, they say, had remained in a state of spiritual adultery. Hinostrosa's first business had been to make all persons, in spite of the interdict, attend mass in the Jesuit's Church, and perform all the usual ceremonies of religion there, not in the churches which the Bishop had appointed, and in which only the sacraments might be validly administered. The men were to obey this order on pain of death, the women on pain of whipping and imprisonment; two gallowses were planted every morning to enforce the threat, one before the College, the other in the middle of the Plaza, and they were removed every night lest the populace should destroy them during the darkness,..

Charlevoix, 2. 99—100.

State of the city according to the Bishop's partisans.

CHAP. XXV. 1647.

ropes and pullies being adjusted all day for the convenience of prompt execution. Moreover the Governor compelled all persons, old and young, male and female, to sign depositions against the Bishop without knowing to what they bore witness. These proceedings made many persons fly to the woods [17], where they endured every kind of hardship, many women miscarrying, and many losing their lives. These evils were not all: the Bishop's advocates assert, that God visibly punished the city and the province, for having consented to the wrong which was offered their Prelate, or for not having resisted it. Many of his persecutors came to violent deaths, and among them were nine Jesuits [18]. Not a drop of rain fell during the whole time of the Bishop's absence; the firmament seemed to be of iron, the springs failed, the rivulets were dried up, (a thing never before known in Paraguay,) whole flocks, whole herds perished for want of water, many human beings died of thirst, and many of famine. The country was dispeopled, all persons going to the towns for the sake of the river. Earthquakes were for the first time felt, the shocks became frequent, and destructive insects laid waste the fields. Meantime the Court and the Metropolitan Judge declared, that the expulsion of the Bishop had been violent and sacrilegious, ordered him to return to his

[17] To the mountains, .. the French translator of Villalon says, mistaking the meaning of the word *montañas*. See *vol.* 1, *p.* 629, *note* 15, where this word is explained upon the authority of P. Manuel Rodriguez. French writers have perpetually fallen into this mistake. I believe the word *monte* in Spain has the same vague meaning, and that *corror la monte*, means to go hunting, without any reference to the face of the country.

[18] Thus it is that facts are coloured by faction and malevolence! Most, if not all, of these Jesuits were killed in the performance of their duty by the savages. Thus what their enemies represent as the just judgement of offended Heaven, their brethren appeal to as the best proof and the happiest termination of a holy life, securing to them their celestial crown.

See, enjoined all persons to obey him as their lawful Prelate, displaced Hinostrosa from the government, and condemned him in a fine of ten thousand crowns. The Royal Audience confirmed this decision. The Bishop in obedience set out for Asumpcion, and being stopt at the *Angostura* by a party of Guarani musqueteers from the Reductions, whom the Jesuits stationed there, and by some excommunicated Spaniards, whom the Governor had sent to cooperate with them, and whom the Jesuits supplied with plenty of wine and with all other things, he sent the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent at Corrientes with a letter to Hinostrosa. The letter purported, that in obedience to the sentence of the Metropolitan Judge, which had been confirmed by the Royal Audience, he was coming to take possession of his Church once more, to absolve the excommunicated, to bless the fields, and to implore the divine grace, that God might be pleased to extend his mercy over the afflicted province, and shed upon it the dews of Heaven. The Governor tore the letter, and threatened to hang the boatmen if they attempted to proceed; the Jesuits in the pride of their triumph, said that a Bull should be seen flying in the air, and the river Parana flow back toward its sources before Cardenas should recover his See; and the Bishop who then returned perforce to Corrientes, although he repeatedly applied for means of subsistence, could only obtain between two and three thousand crowns during the whole time of his exile. Such is the statement of his advocates. CHAP. XXV. 1647.

Villalon, § 40—51. *Carrillo*, § 38—48.

Cardenas had powerful friends, or he could not in that age have resisted the formidable influence of the Jesuits. As a means of terminating the dispute with as little scandal as possible, the Court appointed him Bishop of Popayan; but regarding this as only an honourable mode of removing him from the contested see, his spirit was too haughty to accept it: he wrote

Hinostrosa's government expires.

CHAP. XXV. 1647.

to the Metropolitan and the Chapter, saying, that his age rendered him incapable of undertaking so long a journey, and he made the same representations to the King: for Cardenas yet hoped to enjoy a day of triumph, and he was not disappointed. Hinostrosa's term of government expired; D. Diego Escobar Osorio succeeded him. It was thought that the Bishop might live in peace with a new Governor,.. at least there were no old enmities between them to prevent that harmony which was so essential for the public tranquillity. In the hope of satisfying both parties by a sort of compromise, the Audience resolved that Cardenas should retain his see, but not reside upon it; and they once more required him to appear before them at Chuquisaca: but the Bishop chose to consider only that part of the arrangement binding which accorded with his own inclinations, and set out immediately for Asumpcion[19]. He was received with transport by the people, and the negroes of the town danced before him as he was conducted by the rejoicing multitude to his old quarters in the Franciscan Church. Osorio had been charged in his instructions to prevent the Bishop and his party from attempting any thing against the Jesuits,.. injunctions which it must have been his interest and his wish to observe. Three weeks elapsed, during which time the Governor endeavoured to persuade Cardenas to obey the

Villalon, § 69.

The Bishop returns in triumph.

[19] His advocates do not say that he was authorized to return;.. yet Charlevoix in reluctant language certainly admits as much. "*Il paroit qu'il en avoit enfin obtenu la permission de la Audience Roïale de Charcas, ou du Viceroi, pour y regler ses affaires: du moins est-il certain que dans les instructions du nouveau Gouverneur, il lui etoit expressément recommendé de s'opposer a tout ce que cet Evêque et ses partisans voudroient entreprendre contre les Jesuites.*" *T.* 2, 100. In this part of his narrative he omits many circumstances which he would have felt no pleasure in reciting.

summons of the Audience, and Cardenas on his part was busily employed in strengthening his faction, and preparing for active operations. At the end of that time he took possession of the Cathedral. The story which his adherents prepared for the Courts of Rome and Madrid would have been incompleat if they had not added that the Bishop's return put an end to all the physical calamities of the province. They affirm, that while he was celebrating his first mass in the Cathedral the heavens became overcast; the next morning a gentle rain fell; the dews resumed their natural course; the rain descended on every second day for a time, then on every fourth; the springs were replenished and gushed forth, and a plentiful harvest ensued. It is frequently difficult to chuse between the evidence of two parties, neither of which scrupled at falsehood,.. but the facts, documents, and probabilities on the side of the Jesuits will not be weighed down by the miracles which their enemies have thrown into the scale.

CHAP. XXV. 1647.

The Remonstrant Clergy, as on a former occasion, withdrew to the Jesuits' Church, and established their Chapter there; Cardenas excommunicated them, and interdicted the College; they rung their bells when the interdict was proclaimed, and continued to perform mass, confess, absolve, preach, marry, and bury in defiance of him. Osorio, provoked at the Bishop's conduct, determined, that as Cardenas had thus obstinately chosen to enter his Cathedral, he should stay in it; so he placed a guard to confine him there. The Provincial of the Franciscans came to his aid, and excommunicated Osorio, who, not being used to these things like his predecessor, submitted to the sentence, and withdrew. But as the Jesuits soon comforted him with a probable opinion that the excommunication was not valid, he renewed the blockade, placed fifty guards at each of the three doors of the Cathedral, nailed up the doors, and wait-

The new Governor resists, but soon submits.

CHAP. XXV. 1648.

ed in patient expectation of starving the Bishop into submission. But either he had forgotten a window which opened into the sacristy, or he had not the means of access to it: through this window the besieged were plentifully supplied, and at the end of a fortnight the old Bishop was heard chaunting with a louder voice than at first. Meantime public opinion had manifested itself strongly in his favour; the women particularly distinguished themselves by zeal in the Prelate's cause: they named one of their own sex to go as *Procuradora*, or She-Attorney, to the Royal Audience, and make their wishes upon the subject known; and they mobbed the Governor and his friends with more boldness and more effect than a rabble of men could have done, because they were sure of impunity. Osorio at length thought it necessary to temporize or yield; he[20] opened the doors, accepted, or perhaps solicited, absolution, and endeavoured from that time to avoid all personal inconvenience by observing, as far as possible, a neutrality between the two exasperated parties.

Papel en verso.

Villalon, § 62—80. *Carrillo*, § 58—76.

Measures against the Jesuits.

Threescore years and ten had neither materially injured the Bishop's bodily powers, nor in any degree cooled his fiery disposition. No sooner was he released from durance than he recommenced offensive operations, and marched at the head of his force ecclesiastick to dig up the body of a person whom he had excommunicated, and who had lately been buried in the Jesuits' Church: the grave was defended by the friends of the deceased, swords were drawn, and as Osorio would lend no

Villalon, § 80. *Carrillo*, § 76.

[20] Villalon says the Governor expected to have starved him to death; but being disappointed, opened the doors, and entreated his forgiveness. This Franciscan gives repeated proof that his habit of utterly disregarding truth had made him forgetful of probability.

sanction to this act of indecent violence, the Bishop was obliged to withdraw. In other points of more importance he was unluckily more successful. The Jesuits had begun to form two Reductions among the Itatines, on the western side of the river; a most important position, for these settlements, had they prospered, would have checked the Guaycurus and Payaguas, tribes who were every day becoming bolder and more formidable. In this attempt Romero and some of his companions had received martyrdom: the foundation, however, had been laid, and with fair prospect of success, when Cardenas sent two of his clergy to supersede the missionaries. The men who displaced them had neither their zeal nor their ability;.. the Indians suspected a design of reducing them to the *Encomienda* system of slavery, which was probably the real intention; they became turbulent; at the first alarm the new pastors forsook their flock and fled, and the sheep dispersed themselves. In these ill-judged measures Cardenas met with no opposition from the Governor, who might consider them as purely ecclesiastical. But it was manifest that the city would never become tranquil while such factions existed in it, and the obvious means of restoring tranquillity was to make the Bishop obey the Royal Audience, and appear before their tribunal at Chuquisaca. At length the Jesuits obtained a fifth order from the Audience, empowering them to commission any public officer to enforce obedience, if the Bishop should still continue his contumacy, and if the Governor should still delay to act. They chose the excommunicated Camp-Master Leon; but when he called upon the inhabitants of Asumpcion to aid him in the King's name, they refused to act against the Bishop[21]. Osorio might now, perhaps,

Charlevoix, 2, 85—91. 100—4.

The Governor dies, and the Bishop is appointed to succeed him.

Villalon, § 81—115. Carrillo, § 77—102.

[21] Villalon says that Leon then assembled four thousand Indians from the

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

have felt it necessary to discharge his duty, lest he should incur the penalty of two thousand crowns, to which the Audience had pronounced him liable in default; but just at this time he died, after a short and sudden illness, .. most opportunely for the Bishop[22], who was then made Governor and Captain-General by acclamation.

The Jesuits tumultuously expelled from Asumpcion.

All officers of the opposite party were immediately superseded; and on the second day of the new administration the people were summoned to assemble round the royal standard,

---

Reductions for the same purpose, but that when they discovered for what purpose they had been raised, they were shocked at the intended sacrilege, and dispersed. Carrillo, though he usually drops the more improbable parts of Villalon's story, repeats this; both writers seem to have forgotten how inconsistent it is with the whole conduct of the Guaranies, and how incompatible with that absolute authority which the Jesuits exercised over them; .. an authority which has been one of the main charges brought against the Jesuits of Paraguay by their enemies in all times.

[22] The Bishop's party give him the credit of having predicted Osorio's death, which they say took place in this manner. He had prepared a boat for transporting the Bishop, and was holding a midnight conference with the Jesuits on the river-side. During some days a burning north wind had prevailed, and the Governor was clothed in a single thin garment, which was open at the breast: suddenly there came on one of the severe cold blasts from the south, and it pierced his vitals. He was immediately taken ill; and soon losing speech and sense, died on the fourth day, without appointing a successor, without making a will, and without confession. Charlevoix says he died suddenly after taking something which had been sent him as a sovereign remedy for an indisposition with which he had been seized: this is very much like hinting that he was poisoned. Indeed Charlevoix has not scrupled to say, that when he was on the way to assume his government, an attempt was made to murder him, because he was instructed to protect the Jesuits. On the other hand, it is affirmed that the Bishop was twice shot at. From the character of the people and the times, it is as likely that both accusations should be true, as that they should be false.

The poet of the Bishop's party exults in Osorio's death:

and execute the Bishop's orders. They were led against the College. The doors were closed, but the Jesuits were not now prepared for resistance; they had no longer the sanction of the constituted authorities; there had been no time to bring up a Guarani force, and the populace were decidedly against them. The doors were battered down with a beam; and the Lieutenant General, entering the Church with a notary, gave official notice to the Rector to quit the city forthwith with all his community, and to evacuate without delay all the establishments which the Company possessed in Paraguay. Reply was vain; Diaz Taño produced their charters ... such things are little heeded by exasperated factions and victorious mobs; he and his brethren were thrown down, bruised, trampled under foot, the sick were dragged from their beds, and if their historian may be believed, they were bound hand and foot, placed in a boat without oars, boatmen, or provisions, and thus committed to the stream[23]. They had entered the country, the people said, with nothing but their

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

Charlevoix, 2, 108—9. Ditto. Pieces Justificatives, 2, p. xxx. Papel en verso.

Dios que no se descuida
en castigar a los malos,
a Alecto manda cortar
el estambre, e el hilado
de la vida de Don Diego
de Escobar, que gobernando
estubo hasta este punto:
dispuso Dios como sabio
el que cadaver se vuelva,
pues fue cadaver mandando.

PAPEL EN VERSO.

[23] Charlevoix exaggerates the danger, but probably not the violence. The river, he says, might have carried them out to sea, if they had not been cast upon an island which lay in the way! Had he forgotten the distance from Asumpcion to the mouth of the Plata? In this part of the story Carrillo fairly gives up his case, (§ 104—110,) and feeling the impossibility of making a better defence, recriminates upon the Jesuits, saying, that when they had thus forcibly been expelled, instead of waiting to be restored by law, they had recourse to means as violent and tortuous as those of which they complained.

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

rochets and breviaries, and the cry was that they should be turned out of it as poor as they came in.

Their property confiscated.

That there might be some show of regard to religion in these outrageous proceedings, it was declared that the buildings which had belonged to the Company should be appropriated to religious purposes, and the expence of these establishments defrayed from the sequestered property, the residue being for the royal treasury. But when the populace are let loose upon the possessions of those whom they hate, all ages have witnessed the devastation which naturally ensues. The pulpit and the confessionals were destroyed, because, it was said, poisonous doctrines had so often been taught in them,.. a charge as true in the literal sense, as it was little understood by those who urged it. The altar-pieces, the work of the best Spanish artists, were cut to fit the Cathedral. St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francisco Xavier were metamorphosed into the Saints Peter and Paul. An image of the Redeemer in a Jesuit's dress, as he was said to have appeared to Donna Maria de Escobar, was committed to the flames with just but unreflecting indignation. When the College had been gutted it was set on fire, and as the walls did not burn, the Jesuits are willing that its preservation should pass for a miracle. But the demolishers were not expert at their business: as no limestone had been discovered in that country, the building was made of pebbles, or rough stones, and bricks, set within wooden frames, and cemented with mud: the tower of the College was composed of several stages, or panes, of this kind; and the mob, in order to destroy it, fastened long ropes round the main supports, and pulled at them till they were weary, without effecting their desire. Having now driven away all opponents, it was easy for the Bishop to procure what attestations he pleased: a verbal process was therefore drawn up according to official form, memorials were prepared and signed,

Charlevoix, 2, 107—11.

and his advocate, Fr. Juan de Santiago y Villalon, was sent with these documents to make good his cause at Madrid, while other agents defended it before the Royal Audience. CHAP. XXV. 1649.

The Jesuits on their part held council at Cordoba, and were at no loss how to proceed. Like other religious communities, they enjoyed a privilege, the existence of which sufficiently proves a vicious administration of justice in the countries wherein it is admitted as a necessary corrective. In case of any serious wrong, they were allowed to chuse a Judge Conservator, who should take cognizance of the cause, and pronounce sentence in the Pope's name, as being his delegate by virtue of the appointment: it was only provided that the Superior Tribunals should recognize the cause as falling properly under his jurisdiction, and that they should approve the choice of the person. That the case required an immediate remedy could not be doubted, and it was equally certain that the privilege had been conceded in contemplation of such cases; but where party feelings were so generally diffused, there was some difficulty in chusing an individual against whom no exception could be made. Peralta, the Dean of Cordoba, was first named; he excused himself from acting as far as the Bishop was personally concerned, because he had himself personal cause of complaint against him; but he consented to judge in the case of his accomplices: Pedro Nolasco, Superior of the Order de la Merced, was then appointed for the more important part of the proceedings. The Audience[24] approved the choice;

They chuse two Judge Conservators.

The Audience appoint a Vice-Governor.

[24] Villalon says that the Jesuits accused the Bishop before the Audience, of designing to make himself master of the Province by help of the Paulistas,.. of heresy, sacrilege, living in a state of concubinage, practising sorcery, and having a familiar spirit! (§ 190.) The treasonable part of this charge, ridiculous as it is, is advanced by Carrillo also; but here, as on other occasions, he abstains from repeating the greater part of the preposterous falsehoods with which the Bishop's *Procurador* supplied him.

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

and considering either that the Bishop's election to the Government was null, (the existence of the charter, by which the right of electing him was claimed being denied by the Jesuits,) or certainly that his subsequent conduct had proved him unfit to be entrusted with power, they nominated D. Andre Garavito de Leon, one of their own body, to be Governor *ad interim*, and appointed the Camp-Master Sebastian de Leon to act as Vice-Governor till his arrival; commanding him to collect an armed force, and therewith reinstate the Jesuits in their possessions at Asumpcion, and reduce the inhabitants of that city to their duty.

Charlevoix, 2, 102—4.

The Vice-Governor marches against the Bishop.

The Camp Master Leon had retired into the country as soon as the Bishop's party began decidedly to preponderate. His excommunication sate lightly upon him; and as he had stood forward manfully against Cardenas, the Jesuits had taken care to provide as became them, for him and his family in their distress. The exiles and fugitives now resorted to him; among others, Hinostrosa and the seceding Canons. Four thousand Guaranies were brought from the Reductions; among the Jesuits who commanded them were Diaz Taño, and Father Juan Antonio Manquiano, who had received rough [25] usage from the

Papel en verso.

---

[25] —— *su Senoria— estando*
tratando de estas materias
con algunos Prebendados,
embio a quatro, o seis monigotes,
y traian a Manquiano
con la sotana en la testa,
y las vadanas à baxo.
Los ministros agarrantes
tomaron u buen trabajo
rascarle la posteriora
aunque fuera con un macho.
Quien vio mas rara figura,
ni mas horrendo espantajo
que aqueste, en quantos se ha puesto
desde el primer hortelano?
Dió el pobre dos mil clamores,
y al Obispo le ha llamado
de su Padre, y su Pastor,
y su Obispo consagrado.
Su Señoria le dice;
que dice Padre Manquiano,
pues ayer era un intruso,

Bishop and his rabble. At the head of this force, Leon advanced to S. Lorenzo, three leagues from Asumpcion, and halting there upon one of the Jesuit's estates, notified his appointment from thence to the Municipality, and remained there three days, during which time he was joined by some partizans from the city. The Bishop prepared for hostilities, and summoned the country to his standard in the King's name. The summons was but slowly answered; he collected however some force, and the Municipality being his creatures, replied to Leon, that if he came as Vice Governor, he must come with a suite corresponding to that character, make his army retire, and present his papers; but that there was reason for suspecting he had no such papers, seeing that he advanced at the head of an army of Indians, who were declared enemies of the Spaniards, and who would ruin the city and all its inhabitants. This danger, if any such there had been, was apprehended too late; Cardenas and his party had set the example of ruling by force of arms, and Leon could execute the charge entrusted to him in no other way, than by forcibly restoring those who had been forcibly expelled. The Bishop's force consisting of about three hundred horse and foot, and four hundred Indians, marched out against the excommunicated army, while he exposed the Sacrament in the Cathedral, and prostrated himself before the altar in prayer. The inferiority of numbers on his side, was perhaps counterbalanced by the greater proportion of Spaniards among them, most of whom had full faith in the merits of their cause.

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

---

y oy Obispo? No Señor, *que si, es Pastor verdadero*
le respondia el cuitado; *de todo aqueste rebaño.*

A precious flock it was, and a worthy pastor! The author of the *Papel* writes like one who had seen and enjoyed the sport.

CHAP. XXV. 1649.

Each party tried the effect of protestations against the other, before the action began; the episcopal force had the advantage[26] at first, for the Guaranies were not yet accustomed to the use of fire arms, and when they laid the match to the lock, they turned away their faces, in fear of their own guns. But they had a Flemish Jesuit, F. Louis Arnote, at their head, who was a good soldier; and by his manœuvres the day was won. Four and twenty Spaniards, most of whom were of the best families in Paraguay, fell on the Bishop's[27] part. Leon and the Jesuits then entered the city without farther opposition; and here if their own historian may be believed, all evil as well as all resistance ceased; but their enemies assert, that the Guaranies committed great[28] excesses. Cardenas, having lost the battle, endeavoured

Villalon, § 191—204.

---

[26] Villalon says that Leon killed two of the Guaranies with his own hand to stop the flight of the rest, and that the Jesuits succeeded in rallying them, by promising that they should enjoy the property of the Spaniards, and take their women for slaves. Could he dream that any person would be so besotted by party spirit as to believe this accusation?

[27] In the Jesuits' army, Villalon says, the loss fell upon the Guaranies, of whom 395 were slain; but the Jesuits buried 394 secretly, and then made a public funeral for the remaining one, persuading the people that they had lost no more. Such is the manner in which this impudent Franciscan repeats or invents the absurdest tales!

[28] It is said that they set fire to the city, and that a natural daughter of Leon was burnt in her mother's house. Among other atrocities, the Guaranies are accused of celebrating their old Pagan feasts round about the church and in the burial ground, and feasting upon human flesh. As these Indians had not grown up under the Jesuits, it is very possible that they may not have been as tractable as their descendants proved, and that some excesses were committed: but this last accusation is manifestly false. (*Villalon*, § 232. *Carrillo*, § 151.) On the other hand, Charlevoix writes as if Leon immediately after he entered the town, marched to the Cathedral, kissed the Bishop's hand, suffered him to remain as long as he could invent any plea for deferring his departure, and then dismissed him with every possible mark of attention and respect. Villalon and Carrillo declare, that he was embarked upon a rotten raft in the hope that he might perish.

still to maintain his post in the Cathedral with his clergy and some of his partizans: some women also took refuge there. They sustained a blockade of eleven days, during which attempts were made, but ineffectually, to smoke them out When all their provisions were consumed they opened the doors and surrendered. The Bishop sustained his part till the last: Leon found him in full pontificals, with the Sacrament in his hand. No time was then lost in putting him on board a boat, and sending him down the river, that he might find his way to the Royal Audience in what manner he pleased.

Charlevoix, 2, 114—17. Carrillo, §. 115—57.

The Judge Conservators pass sentence.

Such of the moveable property of the Jesuits as could be recovered was now restored to them; they were reinstated in their College, the Tower which had been pulled out of the perpendicular was pulled straight again,.. by especial favour of Heaven as themselves would represent it,.. and Leon exerted himself so much in repairing the injuries which the edifice had received, that the General of the Company gave him the title of Restorer of the College, and invested him with the same privileges as the first founder,.. a favour of which the spiritual value was beyond all price. The two Judge-Convervators examined the cause and gave sentence. F. Nolasco declared the Bishop guilty of having libelled the Jesuits in accusing them of enormous crimes, such as teaching heretical doctrines to the Indians under their care, betraying the secrets of confession, and forging royal provisions; he acquitted the Jesuits of all these charges, and pronounced sentence of deprivation against the Bishop, and of reclusion in a Convent, suspending him from saying mass till such time as the Apostolical See might decide otherwise. He excommunicated him for having seized two rafts belonging to the Reductions which came to Asumpcion to purchase goods, and detaining as slaves the Guaranies who navigated them; and he condemned him in damages for the image of Christ in the Jesuits' dress

CHAP. XXV. 1650. which had been destroyed, and for all the other injuries which the Company had suffered in their College and other possessions. The chief persons who had acted under the Bishop were condemned by the other Judge-Conservator, Peralta, one to four years' service in Chili, at his own cost, another to half that term, these persons being contumacious; others, whose guilt was less but who persisted in contumacy, were fined and excommunicated: to those who made submission the penalty was remitted. Garavito upon his arrival condemned in pecuniary fines the magistrates who had taken part with the Bishop, and ordered that the acts which had been past under the usurped authority, should be torn from the records and publicly burnt.

Pieces Justificatives. p. x. xxii. xxviii. Charlevoix. t. 2.

1651. *After fate of Cardenas.* Popular opinion, however, was still so much in the Bishop's favour, that Sebastian de Leon, when his authority ceased, felt it necessary to retire from Asumpcion, and could with difficulty find a safe asylum in the province. And when the Bishop, obeying at length the repeated summons of the Royal Audience, Mar. 17. repaired to Chuquisaca, his entrance into that city resembled a triumph: all the bells were rung except those of the Jesuits' College; a troop of Indian soldiers were drawn out by his friends to receive him with a flourish of trumpets; the street in which the Franciscan Convent stood was hung with silken hangings, and a triumphal arch erected at the entrance, and garlanded with artificial flowers, the work of the nuns; salutes were fired as he approached; banners were planted at regular distances; part of the Friars Minorite attended with the Crucifix and with lighted tapers to conduct him to their church; the remainder received him under a canopy, and the [29] Te Deum was perform-

[29] An authenticated statement of this reception was drawn up on the same day by the Notary Royal, at the desire of the Bishop's Procurador.

ed. These efforts of his partizans were of no avail in promoting his cause. Cardenas was more than seventy years of age; and there was little likelihood that he should live to know the decision of a case which was to be debated at Rome and at Madrid, even if only the ordinary delays of law were interposed. It is said by his advocates that he would fain have gone to Europe for the purpose of expediting the process, but that the Jesuits by their intrigues prevented him: the Jesuits, on the contrary, say that he was advised to this measure, but considered it as a snare of his enemies who wished to get him out of the country; and this is certainly the more probable account. He was allowed to appoint a *Provedor* for his church, or rather to approve one whom the Metropolitan recommended. In this state the diocese continued fifteen years, when the King, as if weary of expecting the demise of one who seemed blest with a patriarchal constitution, appointed him to the See of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and filled up that of Asumpcion, as being vacated by his translation.

CHAP. XXV. 1651.

Villalon. § 242—5. *Charlevoix.* 2, 119. 121. 165.

Whether the question concerning his consecration were ever decided, cannot be ascertained from any printed or accessible documents: it was upon this point that the legal proceedings turned. He revenged himself upon the Jesuits who had raised this controversy against him, by involving them in discussions upon a subject more curious, if not more important. He accused them of having introduced into the Guarani catechism, monstrous heresies concerning the generation of the Divine Word, the immaculate nature of the Mother of God, and the sovereign name of God himself:.. his other accusation, that they intended to deliver over their hundred thousand vassals to the Portugueze, seems to have been treated with the contempt which it deserved; but these charges were thought worthy of serious investigation, and an order was issued from the palace of Buen Retiro to the Archbishop of Chuquisaca, that he should con-

The charge of heresy against the Jesuits.

Letter of Cardenas to the Viceroy of Peru. *Charlevoix.* 2. p. 123.

CHAP. XXV. 1654.

voke an assembly of the most grave and learned divines who were conversant in the Guarani language, and submit the alleged heresies to their judgement. The Bishop being called upon to specify his charges, urged them with his habitual vehemence. Two of them related to the words, by which in the Guarani, as in the Tupi tongue, the relation of son is expressed as implying child of the father, or of the mother. Cardenas insisted, that the Devil could not have comprized more abominable heresies in a single word, than were conveyed in each of these, which deprived Christ our Lord of his quality of Son of God, making him the mere offspring of man in the ordinary course of production; and which denied the purity of our Lady the most pure Virgin, and of the glorious St. Joseph, both of whom he invoked as his patrons and intercessors, that the land might be purged from these execrable offences. The other words whereof he complained, were, he said, yet worse. God was designated in this catechism by the word Tupa, and God the Father by that of Tuba; both being actually the names of infernal spirits, and as such to be found in the proceedings of a council held at Rome, in the year seven hundred and forty-five, by Pope Zacharias, when the prayer used by a certain heretic called Adelbert, was examined and condemned, and these were found among the names of eight spirits whom he invoked, all being the names of Devils, except Michael, which as the Council declared, had been inserted for the sake of accrediting the rest. The Bishop said that if he had not exerted himself to extirpate these heresies, he should have been guilty of abetting them; that he had written memorials upon the subject to the Inquisition at Lima; that he had prohibited the use of the horrid terms in Asumpcion and the country round about; that for this cause the Devils [30] whose names he had proscribed had in their infernal fury raised so many persecutions against him; and he swore a

See Vol. 1, p. 218, note 5.

thousand times by the Triune God, and the Incarnate Word, by the sign of the Cross and by his own Consecration, that these things were as he averred them to be; he denounced them a thousand times to his Majesty as the Defender and Pillar of the Faith, and to the Holy Office; and he protested that he would sacrifice his life a thousand times rather than that these blasphemies against the Sovereign God, the Incarnation of the Word, and the purity of the Mother of God should once be uttered. CHAP. XXV. 1656.

Examination of the charge.

The proposed examination was held at Asumpcion, because there were no persons capable of forming the Council at Chuquisaca, the Guarani not being spoken in that part of the country. Ten persons were summoned, of whom eight were theologians, the other two military men, selected for their perfect proficiency in the language. The Provincial of the Jesuits was one of the persons appointed; he excused himself from attending, lest he might be considered as a party interested, but he sent a justificatory memoir which was read at their sittings. Therein he stated, that the catechism in question had been translated into Guarani by the Venerable Father Fr. Luiz de Bolaños, a Franciscan;.. perhaps if Cardenas had known this in time, he would never have looked into it for heresy:.. that it had twice been examined and approved by a diocesan Synod, and all priests who officiated among the Indians had been enjoined to make use of it, and no other, by virtue of their holy

[30] The Devil however, as usual in this mythology, had outwitted himself; for the Bishop assures his Metropolitan in a postscript, that he had lately placed six thousand Indian souls in a state of salvation,.. none of whom, it is obvious, could have been saved by his means, unless he had been driven from Asumpcion.

CHAP. XXV. 1656.

obedience, and on pain of the greater excommunication: moreover the Bishop was totally ignorant of the language, and might therefore easily be deceived by those who sought to impose upon him. With respect to the words *Tayra* and *Membira*, they were strictly proper and strictly decorous; the most authorized expressions in scripture were liable to the same misrepresentations as were made of these. In the more curious argument respecting the words *Tubá* and *Tupá*, the Bishop was inaccurate; for the names of the two infernal spirits in Adelbert's prayer which Pope Zacharias had condemned, were Tubuel [31] and Tubuas;.. of course the Bishop's argument fell to the ground. It was remarked by some of the members of this Junta, that in those places where the Bishop had prohibited the use of the

---

[31] The Jesuit was right, and the Bishop certainly stands convicted of a misnomer. The whole passage, as it stands in the proceedings of this Council, is curious in itself, as well as for having become of some importance in the heart of South America nine hundred years after it was written!

——— "*Cumque per ordinem legeretur, pervenit ad locum ubi ait; Precor vos et conjuro vos, et supplico me ad vos, Angelus Uriel, Angelus Raguel, Angelus Tubuel, Angelus Michael, Angelus Adimis, Angelus Tubuas, Angelus Sabaoth, Angelus Simihel. Dum vero hæc oratio sacrilega usque ad finem perlecta fuisset, Zacharias Sanctus Papa dixit, quid ad hæc Sancti Fratres respondetis? Sancti Episcopi, et venerabiles Episcopi responderunt,.. quid aliud agendum est, nisi ut omnia quæ coram nobis lecta sunt igne concrementur; auctores vero eorum anathemátis vinculo percellantur? Octo enim nomina Angelorum, quæ in suâ oratione Aldebertus invocavit, non Angelorum, præter Michaelis, sed magis dæmonum nomina sunt, quos ad præstandum sibi auxilium invocavit. Nos autem ut a vestro Sancto Apostolatu edocemur, et divina tradit auctoritas, non plus quam trium Angelorum nomina agnoscimus, id est, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. Zacharias Sanctus Papa dixit, Optimè provisum est à vestra Sanctitate, ut conscripta illius omnia igne concrementur. Sed opportunum est, ut ad reprobationem in scrinio nostro conserventur ad perpetuam confusionem. Bernino. Historia de tutte l'Heresie. T. 2, p. 388.*

Guarani [32] name for God, and substituted the Spanish word, the Indians made no scruple of taking that name in vain, because they had never been accustomed to consider it with reverence, as they did the appellation in their native tongue [33]. The result was that the Catechism was once more approved, and the question was finally set at rest. CHAP. XXV. 1656. *Pieces Relatives a la Junte. Charlevoix. 2. l. lxxxi.*

The Jesuits could not so satisfactorily acquit themselves of the charge respecting mines, which their enemies continued to repeat, and which the rulers as well as the populace were always ready to believe. They requested Garavito before his office should expire, to visit their Reductions, and satisfy himself and the public by a second investigation upon the spot; but Garavito was too well convinced of the falsehood of these reports to undertake so fatiguing a journey. The rumour was revived by an Indian of Yaguaron, who declared that he had seen the mines, that they were near the Reduction of Concep- *Fresh report of mines in Uruguay.* *Charlevoix. 2. 141.* 1651.

[32] A charge resembling this in its nature, but turning upon a metaphysical point of philology, was made against the Jesuits respecting the Chinese words which they used, to express the Deity. It was their fate to be attacked with equal inveteracy by the unbelieving scoffers and philosophists on one side, and by the all-believing bigots and blockheads of their own idolatrous Church on the other.

[33] The Guardian of the Franciscans, who also delivered a written memorial, makes some odd observations upon the effect which may be produced by mispronouncing words, or taking them in a false acceptation: *con que pueden los Doctos atender à estas explicaciones, que en este papel van, sin partir los vocablos, y sin separar los razones; por que si en todas las lenguas que usamos, queremos partir palabras, y truncar razones, las hablarêmos poco honestos y nada modestos. Si el Español divide este palabra* Tabernaculo, *no hablarà limpio, sino espessissimo: partida sera mal dicho que un Santo estè en lo partido y separado del Tabernaculo. Y en Latin decimus* Summus Pontifex, *dirà* Sum mus, *soy raton. Y assi supplico que atiendan los Doctos a esto. Charlevoix. 2. Pieces Justificatives. p.* lxxxvi.

CHAP. XXV. 1651.

tion in Uraguay, that they were exceedingly rich, and he even produced a plan of them. This rumour was current for some years, and at length became so prevalent, that a new visitor, Don Blazquez de Valverde was ordered to verify the fact. The story of the former imposture was now repeated; the fellow endeavoured to escape, was retaken, and being threatened with the torture, confessed that the whole was a fabrication; but he accused his master, a Spanish Captain of the Bishop's party, of having tutored him. This officer escaped punishment by a timely death. His agent was carried back to Asumpcion, mounted on a pack-saddle, and flogged on horseback through the city, .. a ceremony which would have been concluded by hanging him, if the Jesuits had not interceded and saved him from the capital part of his sentence. The reports concerning their gold mines were hardly confuted, before it was asserted that they possessed a silver one. An Indian gave a piece of silver ore to a Religioner at Asumpcion, saying that he had brought it from Uruguay, where the Jesuits worked the mine in which it had been found. The Religioner exhibited it from the pulpit, and the friends of the Jesuits themselves were staggered by this apparent proof, till it was discovered that the specimen had been broken from the pedestal of an image of the Virgin, which was supposed to have come from Peru.

Charlevoix. 2. 129. 142—4.

1655.

Charlevoix. 2. 143.

CHAPTER XXVI.

State of Maranham. Laws respecting Indian slavery: the law for the abolition resisted at St. Luiz and Belem. History of F. Antonio Vieyra. He goes to Maranham as Superior of the Mission, and in consequence of a sermon prevails upon the inhabitants to submit to an arrangement. The Governor defeats all his purposes, in violation of the King's orders. He sails for Lisbon; and transacts the business at Court in person. Vidal is appointed Governor of Maranham and Para, and Vieyra returns to St. Luiz.

While the Jesuits in Paraguay were thus successfully contending against all opposition, and establishing a priestly government among the Guaranies, their brethren in Brazil were exposed to equal hostility without possessing the same means of defence.

Maranham in a worse state than the older Captaincies.

In the old Captaincies, the inhabitants had now acquired habits of settled and civilized life. The long established forms of municipal government, and the activity of commercial pursuits, were alike conducive to political order; and the authority of the Mother Country was sustained by a regular, if not frequent intercourse, and by the appointment of men of high rank and character to the chief command. Such men brought with them more than the mere authority which their appointment conferred; the nobility of Portugal was not yet degraded; and though the vices which corrupted the administration of government in Lisbon, were but too faithfully followed in Bahia, still

CHAP. XXVI. 1647.

some real benefit was produced by the semblance and manners of a Court. But in Maranham and Para, the people were nearly in the condition of back settlers; they receded from civilized society in their habits and manners, and still more in their feelings, approaching in all toward the savage state. Their Governors were generally no better than themselves: command in these regions was so little to be desired, that men of influence would not accept it, or accepted it only as a step to something better; consequently persons were often appointed, who left nothing in Portugal as security for their conduct, and who had neither the sense of family nor of individual character to restrain them from acts of tyranny and meanness. From these causes arose a perpetual series of factions, appeals and seditions, which the wisest policy under such circumstances could neither have prevented nor remedied.

Attempt of the Dutch in the Orellana.

Before the war in Pernambuco was concluded, a squadron of eight Dutch ships under Vandergoes, anchored off the Cabo do Norte. Sebastiam de Lucena de Azevedo, the Capitam Mor of Para, was informed of their arrival and that their intent was, first to seize the fort at Curupa, and then proceed against Belem. Upon this in a strange fit of despondency, he summoned the Chamber, informed them of the danger, and desired that they would look to the defence of the city, and appoint a fit person to the command, for that he would only take upon himself to defend the fortress, for which alone he was responsible. The Chamber, and the greater part of the inhabitants who were present at this extraordinary declaration, cried out, that he was their Capitam Mor, that they looked to him, and under him were ready to defend the city to the last drop of their blood, and they warned him not to incur the disgrace of shrinking from his duty. He nevertheless ordered the troops to retire into the fort, and not satisfied with this, ordered in the *Orde-*

nanza, or train-band also, thus depriving the city of all means of defence. The Municipal officers upon this drew up a protest, and sent charges against him to the Governor General at St. Luiz, accusing him not merely for his present cowardice, but for many prior acts of misconduct and oppression. But when Lucena knew this, and began to reflect upon the possible consequences, he seemed at once to recover his senses; and instead of waiting for the Dutch within his own fortifications, embarked all the force he could muster, and set off to attack them wherever he could find them. He landed at Curupa and found all safe; marched to Maricary, a strong position which Vandergoes had occupied, assaulted him there, and after a severe conflict, drove him with considerable loss to his ships; then he returned to Belem, trusting that this act of successful vigour would acquire him the good will of the people, and efface all former stains. His military reputation was indeed thus reestablished, but other offences were not forgiven, and the repeated instances of the Chamber at length compelled the Governor General, Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, to make a voyage to Belem. Coelho, who was the illegitimate son of a distinguished family, was of high character and exemplary prudence: he endeavoured for some months after his arrival to restore unanimity, by persuading the people to withdraw their charges, in consideration of Lucena's late services; but popular passions are not easily allayed, especially when founded upon resentment for injustice. They insisted that the cause should be heard; and when fair enquiry was made, Lucena's misconduct appeared so flagrant, that Coelho, however much he might have wished to excuse him, could not forbear suspending him from his command, and degrading him to Gurupy, a station seventy leagues from Belem, on the coast toward Maranham, there to await the judgement of the Court. The suspension was confirmed in Portugal, and the culprit was ordered home.

CHAP. XXVI. 1647.

Berredo, § 934—948. 949.

CHAP. XXVI. 1647.

Coelho arrived at Belem in ill health, and dying there, ordered his body to be buried in the doorway of the Church of the Friars of St. Antonio. His death was followed by the usual consequences in these turbulent settlements. Duram, the *Ouvidor Geral* at St. Luiz, who had taken advantage of his absence to commit many irregular acts, grew bolder after his decease, so that Manoel Pitta da Veiga, who acted as Governor, to prevent worse evil put him in irons in the fort of Itapicuru. The new Governor Luiz de Magalhaens, on his arrival released Duram, and confined Manoel Pitta in his stead, for no better reason than that he might deprive him of his office of *Provedor Mor da Fazenda Real*, and confer it upon his own brother. From the time of Teixeira's memorable voyage, the people of Maranham had been fully persuaded that immense treasures were to be found upon the Orellana: hitherto the war had allowed them no leisure for enterprises of discovery; but now when they no longer apprehended a foreign enemy, an expedition was prepared, and the Governor was so sanguine in his expectations, that he gave the Commandant, Bartholomeu Barreiros de Ataide, a commission as *Capitam Mor* for the discovery of the River of Gold, or the Golden Lake; knowing however that human flesh was a more certain source of emolument than these undiscovered mines, he charged him to bring home as many slaves as he could possibly procure. The expedition was fitted out at Belem: both objects compleatly failed; but Barreiros had violated the laws so outrageously in his unprovoked attacks upon the Indians, for the purpose of enslaving them, that he subjected himself to a prosecution, which in its consequences hurried him to the grave. The Governor was implicated in this offence, and bore some part of the disgrace: he had also the deserved mortification of having his conduct toward the Ouvidor condemned, and his brother displaced from the

Death of the Governor Coelho.

1649.

Berredo. 941–8.

Expedition in search of gold mines and slaves.

1650.

Berredo § 949–954.

1652.

office into which he had with such scandalous injustice intruded him. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the frequent disputes respecting the succession and appointments, the King separated the Governments of Maranham and Para, erecting each into a distinct Captaincy. CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

Laws respecting the slavery of the Indians.

The Portugueze Kings had ever been desirous of protecting the Indians, whom they regarded as their subjects, and for whose conversion they were truly solicitous. In spite of this disposition in the Government, the colonists were too long permitted to enslave them without controul: at length a law was past by Sebastian, declaring that no Indians should be considered as slaves, except such as should be taken in open war, made by command of the King or his Governor; or such as, like the Aymures and the fiercer tribes, were accustomed to assault the Portugueze and other Indians for the purpose of eating them. This was confirmed by a second law, wherein it was farther provided, that the Indians who worked for the Portugueze were not to be regarded as slaves, but as free labourers, at whose option it was to labour or not, according to their own inclination. Philip II. [1] decreed, that none should be slaves except those who were taken in hostilities, for which he should have issued orders. Philip III. [1] by two several laws forbade that they should be made slaves in any case. But the evil was too inveterate thus to be removed. There was a strong party in favour of slavery,.. men who were greedy for immediate gain, and religioners, who espousing a wicked cause for a wicked motive, became the advocates of this execrable system because

Mar. 20. 1570.

Figueiredo. Synopsis Chronologica. t. 2. p. 152.

Aug. 22. 1587.

Syn. Chron. t. 2. p. 238.

Nov. 11. 1595.

Syn. Chron. t. 2. p. 271.

June 5. 1605.

July 30. 1609.

[1] A Portugueze would probably say Philip I. and II. as they stand among the Kings of Portugal; but it is more convenient for writers of every other nation to distinguish them as they are usually spoken of.

CHAP. XXVI.

rival orders had distinguished themselves by opposing it. At their persuasion Philip III. was induced to revoke the abolition, and allow that the Indians taken in war, rebellion, or insurrection, should be enslaved: the captors were within two months to register the names and describe the persons of their prisoners, with all the circumstances of the capture, and they were not allowed to sell these prisoners till the war should have been approved by the Government in Portugal. The same law permitted them to purchase slaves from Indians who would otherwise eat them; a price was to be fixed by the Governor, or other person authorized for that purpose, and those who were purchased at or below this rate, were to be slaves for ten years, and then restored to liberty; if the price exceeded the fixed valuation, then they remained in slavery. This law provided also for the freedom of the reduced Indians: in every one of their villages there was to be placed as Captain for three years, a person of good substance and good extraction, especial care being taken that there should be no Jewish blood in his family. He was authorized to go into the interior, and persuade the natives to return with him, and live under the protection of the laws: in these expeditions he was instructed to take with him a Jesuit, if there were one who would accompany him, and in default of a Jesuit, a religioner of any other Order, provided he spake the Tupi tongue. The Indians thus reclaimed were to be settled in villages, consisting of about three hundred houses, at such distance from any *Engenhos*, and woods of the Brazil-tree, that there might be no danger of their injuring them. Lands were to be allotted for their use, and a church built in every village, which should be given to a secular priest conversant in their tongue; if none such were to be found, a Jesuit was then to be preferred, and if there were no subject of the Company, then a regular priest of any other Order might be appointed.

Sept. 10. 1611.

CHAP. XXVI.

These Indians were to be considered in every respect as free men, and paid for their labour at the current price. It is stated in this law that the former edicts had been grossly disregarded, and many Indians enslaved [2], and it was enjoined that all these persons should be set free.

Provisam sobre a Liberdade da Gente Gentio dos Estados do Brazil. MS.

Partly owing to these laws, but more because the greater part of the Indians along the coast had been consumed, the old Captaincies had now for some time depended upon the African slave-trade for labourers, the lawfulness of Negro slavery never yet having been called in question even by the Jesuits. But when the Portugueze became masters of Maranham, they found the adjoining country well peopled, and began the same work of oppression and depopulation which had been carried on for nearly a century in Brazil before it obtained the notice of the Government. It was not suffered to proceed here without interruption. Joam IV. following the natural impulse of his own good heart, renewed the full abolition according to Philip III.'s law; and Balthazar de Sousa Pereira, the new Governor of Maranham, brought out with him orders for emancipating all the Indians who were then enslaved. No sooner had he attempted to execute these orders than the people assembled in insurrection, and drew up their tumultuous force in the square or market-place of St. Luiz; he planted his artillery against them, and made a feint of attacking them; it was merely a feint for the sake of exculpating himself; for presently he dismissed the troops to their quarters, suffered the Jesuits, whom the people accused as the authors of this obnoxious measure, to act as peace-makers, and allowed the insurgents to appeal to the King when he should be better inform-

Joam IV. renews the abolition.

1652.

[2] The law particularly referred to the villainous conduct of Pedro Coelho at Jaguaribe. *Vol.* 1, 376.

CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

ed, and appoint deputies for the purpose of informing him. The Governor of Para, Ignacio do Rego Barreto, took out with him the same instructions; but the measure was even more obnoxious there than at St. Luiz, for the people possessed a greater number of slaves, and were nearer the good slaving-ground. They mutinied also, and he, like Balthazar de Sousa, admitted their appeal, and in the interim suspended a law which he had not the means of enforcing.

Berredo, § 958—969.

The contest which had so long been carried on between the Jesuits and the Spaniards in Paraguay was thus begun in Maranham and Para, when Vieyra the Jesuit arrived at St. Luiz. Something has already been said of this extraordinary man; and as he entered here upon one of the most important parts of his eventful life, it will be proper to look back upon his previous history. Antonio Vieyra [3] was born at Lisbon, on the sixth of February, 1608, and took his baptismal name from the Saint on the day of whose translation he was baptized in the Cathedral of that city. When he was in his eighth year his parents removed to Bahia, where he went to the Jesuits' school. At first he was only remarkable for stopping regularly on the way to worship the images of *N. Senhora da Fé*, or of another Lady called *N. Senhora das Maravilhas*, both which idols were in high repute at Bahia; but he was behind-hand in his studies, and his intellects appeared to be clouded. The boy felt and lamented his dullness; and one day, when it is said he was earnestly praying to the Virgin to remove it, something seemed to crack in his head, with such violent pain that he thought he was dying.

Early history of F. Antonio Vieyra.

[3] His father, Christovam Vieyra Ravasco, was a Fidalgo of the Royal Household; his mother's name was Dona Maria de Azevedo, and the Conde de Unham, D. Fernam Telles de Menezes, held him at the font.

CHAP. XXVI.

His credulous biographer relates this as a miracle; it is worthy of notice as a physical fact, (he himself having affirmed it,) for from that hour he became sensible of, and displayed those powers of mind which made him one of the most distinguished ornaments of his country and his order. A sermon preached by F. Manoel do Couto, determined him, when in his fifteenth year, to chuse a religious life, and it is remarkable that the effect was produced by a fabulous legend which the preacher related of St. Jordan [4]. A Devil said to this holy personage, that he would willingly endure not only all his own torments, but those of all Hell beside, if he might only behold God for no longer a time than the opening and closing of a hand. What then must be the joy of the Beatific Vision! was the application which young Vieyra felt so powerfully, that he determined from that moment to secure it for himself by renouncing the world. The Jesuits were flourishing in general favour at this time; Anchieta's memory was still fresh in Brazil, and Almeida was then living in the odour of sanctity. To ask the consent of his parents, he well knew would be useless, so he ran away from them by night, and the Jesuits [5] opened their doors and admit-

Vieyra. Sermoens. t. 9, p. 212.

May 5, 1623.

[4] Andre de Barros says St. Fr. Zacharias.. upon this point Vieyra himself must be better authority than his biographer. But the legend may very probably (like many others) be related of both saints,.. and with as much truth in the one case as in the other. Vieyra says, "*refero com alguma esperança este exemplo, porque elle foy o que me fez religioso.*"

[5] His determination towards the Company was probably influenced by a ircumstance which occurred to him in early childhood. F. Fernando Cardim, at that time Provincial in Brazil, and Rector of the College at Bahia, was a frequent visitor at his father's house: and he is said, one day when the boy was dangerously ill, to have assured his parents that he would not die, but that God reserved him for great things, to the honour of the Portugueze nation, and of the

CHAP. XXVI.

ted him triumphantly as a novice! During his noviciate, the Powers of Hell, in Catholic language, stirred up the winds and excited the waves against him, by means of his father and mother who opposed his vocation; and he of course remained unshaken like a rock amid the tempest. When he was little more than sixteen, the Jesuits allowed him to take those vows which bound him irrevocably to the Order;..in this instance they were never repented,..but to what guilt and misery have such premature engagements given birth! At the age of seventeen he was chosen to draw up the annual letter of the Province to the General at Rome, and in the following year to read lectures upon rhetoric at Olinda [6]. The five next years of his life were spent in the more congenial employment of ministering among the Indians and Negroes, for which purpose he made himself master, not only of the Tupi, but also of the Angolan tongue. It was his earnest wish to give up the pursuit of all scholastic studies, and devote himself wholly to the Indians; but his superiors were now well aware of his popular talents, and would not thus dispose of a subject, who was qualified to shine in cabinets and courts. Being ordained Priest in 1635, he lectured on theology at Bahia, and when the news of the Ac-

---

Company of Jesus. Expressions of hope would easily be made to appear like prophecy when they were remembered in after years; and if the Provincial only said that the child might live to do honour to the Company, such words from one whom he was taught to revere as a man of God, would deeply impress a religious and imaginative mind. *Andre de Barros, Vida de Vieyra, L.* 1, § 7, 8.

[6] There he composed commentaries upon Seneca's Tragedies and Ovid's Metamorphoses. Both were lost during the wars which ensued, and he himself in riper years regretted the latter. He began also a commentary, literal and moral, upon the Book of Joshua, and another upon Solomon's Song, of which he gave five different explications.

clamation arrived, the Marquis de Montalvam sent him to Portugal with his son D. Fernando Mascarenhas, and F. Simam de Vasconcellos [7] to congratulate the King on the recovery of his royal rights. The Marquis is said to have chosen Vieyra, from a conviction that his talents would be essentially useful to the new Government. This nomination had nearly proved fatal. D. Fernando's brother had adhered to the Castillian King in the revolution; when therefore Fernando landed at Peniche and it was known who he was, the people attacked him, wounded him, and would have murdered him unless the Conde de Atouguia had rescued him from their hands. Disappointed of this victim, they fell upon Vieyra, for whom it was crime enough to have arrived in such company; but happily, instead of putting him to death, as they wished to do, they were persuaded to be contented with arresting him and delivering him over to justice, that he might suffer in the course of law. Thus he was conducted to Lisbon as a criminal; it was then easy for him to obtain audience of the King, and Joam IV. immediately saw and duly appreciated his wonderful talents. Of the political business in which he was employed something has already been said; but the greater part of his life as a statesman belongs to the history of the Mother Country. He was soon appointed Preacher to the King, and his sermons then produced him the highest reputation. They are indeed the most extraordinary compositions of their kind: nothing can exceed the absurdity of their typical and allegorical parts, except it be the ingenuity which is thus perverted; but with these there is mingled a political freedom equal to that of Latimer, and frequently resembling him in manner as well as in fearless honesty,..a poignancy

Andre de Barros. Vida de Vieyra. l. 1. § 7—32.

[7] The Jesuit historian who has so often been quoted in this history.

CHAP. XXVI.

of satire, a felicity of expression, a power of language, and an eloquence proceeding from the fullness of a rich fancy and a noble heart, which have made his writings, notwithstanding all their alloy, the glory as well as the boast of Portugueze literature. On one topic he was decidedly insane, connected with, and springing from the strange belief of the Sebastianists; it brought him under the rod of the Inquisition, and it leavens many of his writings; but upon all other subjects it left his brilliant intellect unclouded,.. and Vieyra must ever hold a place, not only among the greatest writers but among the greatest statesmen of his country.

Vieyra envied for his favour at Court.

The favour which he enjoyed at court,.. for no man possessed more entirely the confidence and friendship of the King,.. naturally made him many enemies: even the Jesuits themselves became envious. It was rumoured that he intended by means of his influence to attempt some change in the constitution of the Company; and in consequence of this charge, whether well or ill founded, he apprehended that they were about to expel him. Upon this the King offered him a Bishoprick, thinking, says his biographer, that a mitre might be the Santelmo of this tempest: but Vieyra replied, that he would not give up his frock for all the mitres in the Portugueze monarchy; and that if he were dismissed from the Company he would never leave their doors, but persevere in soliciting readmittance, if not as a Religioner, at least as a servant of those who were so. This jealousy on the part of his Superiors was at length removed, and Vieyra was employed during several years in the most important political embassies till, in 1650, he returned to Lisbon. Soon afterwards he was sent in his religious capacity to itinerate about Torres Vedras, in company with F. Joam de Sotto-mayor; and the old desire of devoting himself to the Indians returned upon him, partly it may be supposed in consequence of the conver-

sation of his comrade. Vieyra knew that neither the Prince nor the King would consent to part with him; he was most unwilling to offend them, or to shew the slightest disrespect toward persons whom he regarded not merely with a common feeling of loyalty, or of gratitude, but with personal affection, and a devotion which had its root in superstition and madness: yet was his heart so set upon the mission, that he made his arrangements for embarking without their knowledge. Maranham was the scene to which he was destined. There was but one vessel in the Brazil fleet bound for that State, and it was arranged that he and F. Francisco Ribeiro should accompany the last Jesuits who embarked, as if to take leave of them on board. As they were on their way they learnt that the ship was detained to carry out a Sindicant; Vieyra went to the King and obtained permission for it to depart without waiting for this officer: when this obstacle was removed the wind would not serve for crossing the bar; the Captain determined to take the morning tide, and Vieyra and Ribeiro returned home, the better to conceal their purpose. That purpose however was now suspected; and at day-break he received an order from the Palace to wait upon Prince D. Theodosio. The Prince was to be bled that morning, and desired him to wait till the operation was over. Vieyra perceived that this was a device for delaying him: he slipt away, and hastened with all speed to the ship. When he joined her, he found that the Master had been ordered to the Palace, and the Jesuits readily understood the cause for which he was thus summoned.

He prepares to embark secretly for Maranham as a missionary.

There was but one other ship in the river ready to sail. Vieyra dispatched his companion to ask if she were to touch at Madeira, and would land a passenger there; he then landed at Belem, and returned to Lisbon. At the door of the Palace he met the Master, who said the King had sent for him to tell him

The King prevents him from sailing with the fleet.

CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

he would have him hanged if F. Antonio Vieyra sailed in his ship: he learnt also that the Bishop of Japan had been ordered to bring him from the ship, and the Captain to set sail as soon as he was out of it. Upon this he went to the Prince, (the King being at table,) told him resolutely that he was going, and must go, to Maranham; and endeavoured with all the vehemence of a man whose conscience was interested in the result, to obtain his assent: it was in vain. Theodosio assured him that no considerations would induce his father to consent. Vieyra, seeing how little he could prevail upon the Prince, was convinced of this: he had still the hope of obtaining a passage from Madeira, and thought it better to embark for that island without seeing the King, as the disregard of his pleasure would be less flagrant than if he had received a positive interdict from his own lips. Leaving the Prince, therefore, he returned to Belem, and met Ribeiro on the way, with information that the ship would touch at Madeira, and land him there: Ribeiro, however, and another Jesuit who was with him, dissuaded him from his intention, but Ribeiro argued like a man who spake against his own inward judgement: they represented to him the danger of his losing the King's favour; he reasoned that the more he risqued it for the service of God, the more reason was there that the King should continue it towards him, and the more confidently might he expect its continuance, as deserving it the more. Accordingly he embarked. They were weighing the last anchor; the wind freshened at the moment in such a manner that they could not turn the capstern;.. the tide was thus lost, and they were compelled to wait till the morrow. Meantime Vieyra had been seen when going on board by the Provincial of S. Joam de Deos, who happened to pass him in a boat: the Provincial making a visit to the Countess of Obidos, told F. Ignacio Mascarenhas, whom he met there,.. Mascarenhas sent word to the

Conde de Castanheda, the Count to the Prince, the Prince to the King, . . and officers of justice were dispatched in search of him to all the ships which were about to leave the river. In the morning the ship was under weigh, when one of these officers boarded her, and put into Vieyra's hands a paper signed by the King, commanding him immediately to come and speak with him upon business of importance, and enjoining the Captain and Master of the vessel, if he made the slightest demur, to cast anchor, on pain of the consequence of direct disobedience to the royal orders. There was now no alternative. On his way to shore he past the Maranham ship, then under sail, and took leave of his brethren: presently he met F. Manoel de Lima, following the ship in an open boat with all speed of oars and sail; of him also he took leave in great agitation, promising by some means or other soon to join the mission. When he arrived at the Palace, the King and the Prince received him in the best manner, jesting at having intercepted him in his flight, and delighted with having done so. For himself, he declares that he never was more truly grieved; and he expressed his regret, and the sense of duty and conscience upon which it was founded, with all his natural eloquence. But it was now too late: the fleet had sailed, and he gave up all hopes of the mission for that season. The following morning came a note from Manoel de Lima, saying that though he had followed the ship many leagues over the bar, he had not been able to overtake her, and that he was now bargaining for a caravel to carry him to Madeira, where he might yet join her. A new hope flashed upon Vieyra with these tidings, and he made one effort more, making it a matter of conscience with the King and with the Prince how they opposed his strong desire, and warning them that they must become answerable for the perdition or salvation of so many souls, as might depend upon his presence in Maranham. Theodosio

CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

He obtains permission to follow it.

CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

was in ill health, and a fear, which the event proved to be but too well founded, was entertained for his life; this made him more accessible to such arguments, to which indeed his disposition and his habitual piety inclined him. He yielded; and when Joam saw that his beloved son, in that state of bodily infirmity, was troubled in conscience upon this score, his own feelings and sense of religion overcame all other personal or political considerations. If, says Vieyra, I made any sacrifice to God in the course of this mission, it was in accepting the King's permission when it was now conceded, for he gave it me with more than fatherly expressions of affection.

Carta de Vieyra. Andre de Barros. § 105—113.

Powers granted to Vieyra.

It was not merely a passport which the King now granted him; it was a permission signed with his own hand, authorizing him, as Superior of the Mission, to found what churches and establish what missions in the interior he might think good; and enjoining all men in authority, all corporate bodies, and all persons whatsoever, to supply him with Indians, canoes, guides, interpreters, and all things needful for his expeditions. The provision was dated on the twenty-first of October; and Vieyra remarked, as a thing worthy of special notice, that this was the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, who were the patron saints of the State of Maranham. The previous accidents, which he had before thought so unpropitious, seemed now so many means ordained by Providence for the benefit of the mission. The whole circumstances are curiously characteristic of the mind and manners of the age and country, as well as of the illustrious personages to whom they relate: the sequel is not less remarkable. While Vieyra was waiting for a wind, the King and the Prince, living in daily intercourse with him, began to regret the permission which they had given; and his own enthusiasm, as was natural after it had been raised to so high a point of excitement, abated also. His thorough knowledge

The King repents the permission which he has given.

of the political interests of the country for which he was so admirably qualified to act in those perilous times, and his personal attachment to the Royal Family, who felt his approaching departure both as a private affliction, and a public loss, began to prevail over his desires for a missionary life; and when the King, after long struggles within himself, declared that he could not resolve, even after all that had past, to deprive himself of such a friend and counsellor, Vieyra no longer objected to his will: .. neither among men nor angels will this weakness be imputed to him as a fault. What had past was however so public, that it was prudent to avoid the appearance of inconsistency; and that the revocation might seem like a sudden impulse in the King, it was agreed to keep it secret till the last, and that when he was on the point of embarking, or actually on board, he should be stopt by a peremptory order to remain on shore. On the day before the Caravel was to sail, he informed the King and the Prince, and they told him that they would immediately give directions to have the counter-order drawn out: all day he expected to hear of it; but instead, there came at night a summons from the ship to embark at day break. Immediately he sent word of this to the Prince by the Bishop of Japan, the only person who at such an hour could have access to him, and also, because if he had sent a messenger to the palace, it would have given cause for suspecting collusion to some persons who were watching Vieyra's actions, and already had their suspicions. There came no message from the Court, and he set out for the shore, lingering as much as possible upon the way: on the shore however he was informed, that the King had said he should not depart, and that the Sindicant who was to sail for Maranham in this vessel, had orders so to inform him when he should have embarked: he supposed of course that the King had determined

Vieyra consents to remain in Portugal.

CHAP. XXVI. 1652.

upon this mode of proceeding;.. got into a boat, and reached the ship. The Sindicant was on board, but said nothing upon this subject, having received no instructions, and being indeed ignorant of all that had past: the ship weighed anchor and set sail, the tide served, the wind was fair, she crossed the bar, and Vieyra to his astonishment found himself fairly under weigh for Maranham. "From the hour in which the ship left the river," says he in a letter to Prince Theodosio, "I have been confounded at the strangeness of the case, not knowing how his Majesty and your Highness will receive it, since it is not possible that you should know all the circumstances, which were such, that it was not I who embarked, but circumstances which carried me on board." After explaining what those circumstances had been, he pursued; "The sails were set, and I remained in the ship, and out of myself, as I still am, and shall be, till I am assured that his Majesty and your Highness acknowledge the sincerity of my intentions, and that through all the fatality of this event, there has been on my part neither act, nor thought, nor wish contrary to what his Majesty had finally enjoined, and I had promised. I know not, Sir, what to say in this case; but that either it has pleased God that I should have no merit in this mission, or that it should be known that the whole work is his; seeing that first I embarked against the will of his Majesty, but with my own; and now I have departed against his Majesty's and my own, by mere accident or force; so that if there be any will herein, it is that of God alone, which verily I have perceived on many occasions with as much evidence as if the Lord himself had revealed it to me. It only remains now, that I should not be wanting to so clear a call from Heaven; for in fine, God has prevailed: I go for Maranham willingly as to my first intention, by compulsion as to my second, but fully resigned and obedient, and with great hope that this chance

and sails for Maranham without intending it.

Vieyra. Cartas. T. I. C. viii. Dec. 25.

hath not been chance, but the most high disposition of Divine Providence."

CHAP. XXVI.

1652.

This letter was written from Porto Praya, in the Cape de Verd Islands, .. the first land which the ship made. They remained there four days, during which Vieyra preached twice, and with such effect, that the people after they had in vain petitioned him and his companions to remain among them, offered a large bribe to the master of the vessel, if he would slip his cable and leave them on shore. When they reached Maranham, two of the brethren from whom he had parted in the Tagus, came off in a canoe, in the faint hope of finding him on board; .. if, says Vieyra, any thing on earth may be compared to the joy of entering Heaven, it was this. His disposition, and that of the people of Maranham, were soon exhibited in a singular manner. Two persons disputed the office of Vicar-General; the one who was ejected had carried his complaint to Portugal, returned with an order from the King for his re-establishment, and presented it to the Governor: his competitor having procured a local sentence against him during his absence, arrested him upon that sentence, and put him in irons. He appealed to the Governor and the Governor assembled a junta, to which the chief civil officers and Religioners were called. The populace without were clamorous in behalf of the man who held the office, and threatened to burn his opponent, if the decision should be contrary to their wishes. To this opinion thus forcibly expressed, the Junta were disposed to yield, when Vieyra observed, that they had no authority to decide in such cases; that the only persons in Maranham who could put an end to the dispute were the competitors, and that they ought to be called upon for the sake of the public peace to settle it themselves. The proposal was immediately admitted, and the acting Vicar

Vieyra arrives at St. Luiz.

Andre de Barros. § 140—3.

1653.

Dispute for the office of Vicar-General.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

accompanied him to the prison. Vieyra then addressed them both, represented the evil of inflaming the people by their dissentions, and the duty which as Clergymen they were called upon to perform; for how was the Gospel to be preached among the heathen by whom they were surrounded, if the ministers of that Gospel were thus inflamed against each other? I and my brethren, said he, have left Europe for the love of our Redeemer, to work as labourers in this uncultivated land; in the name of that Redeemer I beseech you not to plant more thorns where there are already so many, but to set your flock an example of that charity which you preach. The appeal was made to their worldly prudence as much as to their sense of duty; it produced its full effect, and they referred the decision to him. He pronounced, that as the civil authority of the State was now divided, so should the ecclesiastical be; that the occupant should retain his situation in Maranham, where he was domesticated, and the claimant hold the same office in Para, where he also had his home. Satisfied with this arrangement, and ashamed of the scandal which had been occasioned, they embraced each other, and he who had been most violent in the contest, knelt at the other's feet and took off his fetters.

André de Barros. § 188—196.

First letter of Vieyra to the King.

Vieyra soon saw the wretched state of the country as to morals and religion. Heathens and Christians were living in equal blindness for want of instruction; there being, says he, none who catechize, none who administer the sacraments, while there are those who enslave, there are those who tyrannize, and what is worse, there are those who approve all this, so that Portugueze and Indians are alike going to Hell. Let his Majesty see to this state of spiritual neglect, said he to Prince Theodosio, and let your Highness see to it also, for the sake of Christianity, and for your own souls' sake; for of all these souls an account will be required from the King of Portu-

gal, and from your Highness as Prince of Brazil. I do not ask for appointments, I do not ask provision for those who come, .. God will provide; .. what I ask is that they may come, and that they be many, and of great zeal; for though we who are here are doing and will do all that we can, without sparing toil or peril, the harvest is great, but the labourers are few; and as Christ hath said, Ask ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send labourers into his vineyard, so I ask them of you, who are Lords of this vineyard in his place. The Provincials of both provinces have been applied to, but I do not rely upon them, unless your Highness interpose your royal authority, commanding the Superiors to send us subjects by every ship, and commanding it also by a peremptory order. Be assured, my Prince, that the armies of souls who shall be converted here, will be of more avail for defending and establishing your throne, than the soldiers whom you raise. "There is no King that can be saved by the multitude of an host; neither is any mighty man delivered by much strength."

Cartas de Vieyra. I. viii.

Psalm 33. v. 16.

This was the first outpouring of his heart on his arrival: but the feeling was heightened when he understood more fully the utter neglect of all forms of religion, the miseries of the Indians, and the crimes of the Portugueze. Many of the colonists neither heard a sermon, nor attended at a mass throughout the year; they did not know the holydays to observe them, and those who did know, observed them not; it was a common thing to die without confession. In the whole Captaincy of Maranham, there were but two Churches with resident Priests, one on the main land, the other on the island, which was seven leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and peopled in all its parts. One Priest could not possibly administer to such an extent of ground, especially as there was neither horse, mule, nor ass in all that country. Worse even than the want of

State of the inhabitants, and system of oppression.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

Priests, was the character of what there were; they either came there as banished men for their misconduct, or to seek a living which they could not get elsewhere; and they were virtually under no jurisdiction; for they were in the Bishop of Brazil's diocese, who resided at Bahia, five hundred leagues off, with the Dutch between, and no means of communication except through Portugal. To a sincere and pious Catholic, such as Joam IV., this evil would appear as important as it did to Vieyra. Divested of all superstitious considerations, it was sufficient to excite his serious concern; for where the common observances of religion are disused, its influence will not long survive in more momentous things. But his attention was called to a more crying evil. The Portugueze of Maranham and Para were pursuing the same course of oppression, by which the Indians had been exterminated from the shores of the older Captaincies. The laws allowed, that Indians taken in just war were slaves, and also those who having been made prisoners in war with each other, had been purchased by the Portugueze,.. these latter, as having been destined to be eaten, were called Indians of the cord,..in allusion to the *mussarama*. From hence all the immeasurable evils of a regular slave-trade necessarily arose. Every Captain of a fort made war upon the nearest tribes whenever he chose, with or without a pretext, for the mere purpose of making slaves. The mode of purchasing, served even more easily to cover the most atrocious acts of violence. The traders returned with all they could seize by force or fraud [8], presented them for the forms of examination as

See Vol. 1. p. 219.

[8] One Captain having got the Chief of an Indian village in his power, fastened lighted fusees to each of his fingers,..which were to burn there till he delivered himself from the torture, by giving a certain number of slaves.

Cartas de Vieyra, 1. *C. IX.*

Cord-Indians, and compelled them by threats and torments to give such answers, as were readily accepted by judges who were themselves implicated in similar transactions. But in this general system of wickedness, none were more wickedly treated than those who had submitted to the Portugueze, and living apart in villages of their own, were called free Indians, and as such contemplated by the law. These people were in a more cruel state of servitude than those who were actually slaves; the Governor or Capitam Mor for the time being, regarding them as cattle in whose preservation he had no interest, and by whose labour he was to enrich himself as much as possible during the three years for which he held his office. They were chiefly employed in raising and preparing tobacco, which was accounted the severest labour in Brazil: and many resenting the injustice of their treatment more keenly than those who having been originally taken in war, whether justly or unjustly, resigned themselves to its consequences, died of grief and indignation. The men thus employed, were allowed no time to raise produce for their own families, who were left to starve, .. and the women also were taken from their husbands and children, and distributed among such Portugueze as had interest to obtain them from the Governor. Some ruffian of half or of whole blood, was placed in the villages of these Indians as Captain, to be the instrument of this oppression, and oppress the miserable inhabitants himself, .. and thus the work of depopulation went on. This state was so much worse than actual slavery, that some Indians voluntarily went from their villages to live with the domestic slaves, marry among them, and share their condition, thinking it better to become slaves where some rest was allowed [9]; and some huma-

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

[9] So also of the Encomienda Indians among the Spaniards. Muratori (55) says, *Certamente fa orrore il mirare, come que' miseri son piu oppressi che gli stessi*

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

nity experienced, than to endure this inhuman and unremitting tyranny. The men in office justified these proceedings, saying their appointments had been given them as a reward for their services, that they might enrich themselves, and this was the only means of doing it. The remedy which Vieyra advised was, that no Governor or Capitam Mor should be allowed to engage in any species of cultivation for the purpose of trade, openly or covertly; nor to allot the free Indians for any other work than fortifications, or other business of the King's service; nor to appoint Captains in their villages; but that they should be left under their own Chiefs, who would hire them to serve the Portugueze freely at the customary stipend. If this were done, he said, if the free Indians were really treated as freemen, if the expeditions into the interior were made peaceably, and the religion of Christ Jesus preached without any other intent or object than that which Christ came into the world to seek, which was the salvation of souls, then would the State feel no want either of labourers or defenders, and this work of piety and justice would be the surest foundation for the strength and prosperity of Portugal.

Cartas de Vieyra, T. 1, C. IX.

Dispute with the Capitam Mor.

Before Vieyra arrived at St. Luiz, F. Joam de Sotto-mayor had gone to Belem, where he was teaching Latin, and reading lectures on rhetoric to the Religioners of N. Senhora das Merces. He required assistance in his duties, and Vieyra appointed two Fathers to join him; but as they were stepping into a canoe, they were forbidden to proceed by an order from the Capitam Mor, Balthazar de Sousa, because they had not applied

---

Mori schiavi; e ciò perche i Mori comperati in Affrica si riguardono come mercatanzia e roba propria de chi puo averne: laddove gl' Indiani siccome persone prestate dal Re, possono da un giorno all' altro passare ad altri Commendatori col variarsi de' Padroni.

for his permission. Vieyra who was taking leave of them at the waterside, wrote to the *Capitam Mor*, saying, that the offence had been committed in ignorance, inasmuch as they did not know any such form was necessary, apologizing for the unintended neglect, and requesting that he would be pleased to send the permit while the tide served: no other answer was vouchsafed than an order for the elder Missionary to return to his cell. There was something peculiarly offensive in this arrogance, because Balthazar de Sousa had courted the Jesuits at Lisbon to obtain the appointment for him, and had presented his memorial to the King by the hands of the very Missionary, over whom he now assumed this insolent authority. Vieyra upon this went to him, clearly perceiving that he wished to quarrel with the Jesuits, and being fully determined not to quarrel with him. This temper gave him as much advantage as his natural superiority; and, after hinting that no such authority as he arrogated over the Religioners could exist, he proved to him that the Jesuits had twice called at his door to take their leave. The real offence however appeared to be, that one of these Missionaries on the preceding day had preached without asking permission: it never could have been imagined that permission was required for this, but Vieyra seeing that this was the grief, and finding from Sousa's complaint that the other Orders had introduced the custom, immediately said that though he had intended to pass the Lent among the villages, he would remain at St. Luiz, and preach with his leave on the following Sunday, for the purpose of showing that the former omission had proceeded from mere inadvertency. Just at this time two men in authority came in, who were among the staunchest advocates for slavery; they fell upon that topic, and Vieyra, taking advantage of Sousa's gracious humour, for the weak man had been compleatly propitiated by this offering to his vanity, entered

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

with equal art and ardour into the argument, and succeeded in persuading them that their interest and their conscience might be reconciled at a very slight expense. The result was, that they requested him to make this the subject of his sermon: and the *Capitam Mor* exclaimed, Ah Father Antonio Vieyra, who could have hoped from the beginning of our conversation, that it would have ended thus! But this shows that it is God's work, and that he will prosper it.

Andre de Barros, 2, § 4.

Vieyra's first sermon at St. Luiz.

Sermam da primeira Dominga da Quaresma, t. 12, p. 316.

Vieyra had never before preached in Maranham, but his reputation was so well known, that all the Portugueze came to hear a preacher who was the delight and pride of the Court of Lisbon. He took for his text the words of the Tempter: "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me!" and he began by dwelling upon the worth of the human soul, .. winning the attention of his hearers by his own peculiar manner. Things, said he, are estimated by what they cost;.. what then did a Soul cost our Saviour, and what did the World cost him? The World cost him a word, .. "he spake, and it was made!" A Soul cost him his life and his blood. But if the World cost only a word of God, and a Soul cost the blood of God, a Soul is worth more than all the World; .. thus Christ thought, and thus the Devil himself cannot fail to confess. Yet we value our souls so cheaply, that you know at what a rate we sell them. We wonder that Judas should have sold his master and his soul for thirty pieces of silver, .. but how many are there who offer their own to the Devil for less than fifteen! Christians, I am not now telling you that you ought not to sell your souls, for I know you must sell them; I only intreat that you would sell them by weight: weigh first what a Soul is, weigh first what it is worth, and what it cost, and then sell it and welcome! But in what scales is it to be weighed? Not in the scales of human judgement, .. no, for they

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

are false, "The children of men are deceitful upon the weights." But in what balance then? You think I shall say in the balance of St. Michael the Archangel, wherein souls are weighed. I do not require so much. Weigh them in the Devil's own balance and I shall be satisfied! Take the Devil's balance in your hand; put the whole World in one scale, and a Soul in the other, and you will find that your Soul weighs more than the whole World, "All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Let us suppose that the Devil spake truth in his offer, and that he could give the whole World, and meant to give it; let us suppose also that Christ had not been God, but merely man, and so weak a one, that he could and would have fallen into this temptation: .. I ask you if this man had taken the whole world, and remained Lord of it, and given his soul to the Devil, would he have been a good merchant? would he have made a good bargain? Christ himself hath said, "What is a man profited if he give the whole World and lose his own Soul!" Alexander and Cæsar were lords of the world, but their souls are now burning in Hell, and will burn there for all eternity. Who will tell me now how to ask Cæsar and Alexander what it profits them to have been masters of the world, and if they find that it has proved a good bargain to give their souls in exchange for it? Alexander! Julius! was it good for you to have been masters of the world, and to be now where now you are? They cannot answer me, .. but answer me ye who can! Would any one of you chuse at this time to be Alexander the Great? Would any one of you chuse at this time to be Julius Cæsar? God forbid that we should! How? were they not Masters of the World? They were so, but they lost their own souls. ... Oh blindness! and it seems ill to you; for Alexander and for Cæsar to have given their souls for the whole world, .. and it seems well to you to give your own souls for what is not the world, nor hath the name of it! ... At how different

Ditto, p. 320—2.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

a price now, he proceeded, does the Devil purchase souls from that which he formerly offered for them, .. I mean in this country. The Devil has not a fair in the world where they go cheaper! In the Gospel he offers all the kingdoms of the earth for a single soul: he does not require so large a purse to purchase all that are in Maranham. .. It is not necessary to offer worlds, it is not necessary to offer kingdoms, it is not necessary to offer cities, nor towns, nor villages; it is enough for the Devil to point at a plantation [10] and a couple of Tapuyas, and down goes the man upon his knees to worship him. Oh what a market! A Negro for a Soul, and the Soul the blacker of the two! This Negro shall be your slave for the few days that you may have to live, and your Soul shall be my slave through all eternity, as long as God is God; .. this is the bargain which the Devil makes with you!

Ditto, p. 324.

Vieyra then said it had been his determination not to preach among them, because he could not preach without giving displeasure if he spake the truth: and on the other hand, to go into the pulpit and not speak the truth, was against his profession, his duty, and his conscience, especially in one who had spoken such great truths, with such perfect freedom to the ears of such great personages. He had however been persuaded by persons to whom he owed every respect, to change his determination, and having promised them that he would preach, he had repented that promise ever since. On the yesterday he had said mass in hopes that God would enlighten him; and in reading the portion of scripture for the epistle, God had indeed directed him what to do, in the words of the

[10] "*Basta acenar o Diabo com hum tujupàr de pindoba.*" I do not understand these latter words.

prophet Isaiah; "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions!" The King's proclamation, said the preacher, has been made known by beat of drum, and God now commands that his should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet! Be not alarmed, Sirs! it is God's proclamation: it will be more lenient than the King's. And would you know wherefore I will that you should undeceive my people, and wherefore I will that you should declare to them their sins? Because, saith the Lord, they are men who seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinances of their God: because while they are committing the most enormous sins of injustice, they live with as little fear as if they were in my grace. Of what then, Lord, am I to undeceive this people, and what am I to announce to them on the part of God? See what the same scripture says: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loosen the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free?" Do ye know, Christians, do ye know, nobles and people of Maranham, what is the fast which God requires of you this Lent? It is that ye loosen the bands of injustice, and that you set those free whom you hold captives, and whom you oppress. These are the sins of Maranham; these are what God commands me to announce: "Shew my people their transgression!" Christians, God commands me to undeceive you, and I undeceive you on the part of God! You are all in mortal sin! you are all living and dying in a state of condemnation, and you are all going straight to Hell! Many are already there, and you also will soon be there with them, except you change your lives!.. Then touching upon the calamities of war, famine, and disease which the State had suffered, and which he imputed to their sins, he spake of the punishment of Pharaoh and his host for having refused to

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

Ditto, p. 325—7.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

let the Israelites go:.. "Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters. Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them." How? said he; if the sea covered them, how did the earth devour them? Thus it was: these men, like us, had body and soul; their bodies the water covered, because they remained in the depth of the sea; their souls the earth devoured, because they descended into the abyss of Hell. All went to Hell, without one escaping, because where all persecute and all enslave, all are condemned. Is not the example good? Now mark the reasoning. Every man who holds another unjustly in servitude, being able to release him, is certainly in a state of condemnation. All men, or almost all men in Maranham, hold others unjustly in servitude; all, therefore, or almost all, are in a state of condemnation. You will tell me, that even if it were thus, they did not think of it, nor know it, and that their good faith would save them. I deny it! They did think of it, and did know it, as ye also think of it and know it; and if they neither thought of it nor knew it, they ought to have thought of it and to have known it. Some are condemned for certainty, others for doubt, others for ignorance. They who were certain are condemned for not making restitution; they who were in doubt are condemned for not examining; they who were in ignorance are condemned for not knowing what it was their duty to know. Oh if these graves could open, and some of those who have died in this miserable state might appear among us, how certain it is that you would read this truth clearly by the light of their devouring flames!... Would you know why God does not permit them to appear to you? For the reason which Abraham gave to the rich man when he besought that Lazarus might be sent to his brethren: "They have Moses and the Prophets; it is not necessary that one should come from Hell to

tell them the truth." My brethren, if there be any who doubt upon this matter, here are the Laws, here are the Lawyers, .. let the question be asked. You have three Orders of Religioners in the State, and among them so many subjects of such virtue and such learning: ask them .... examine the matter ... inform yourselves. But Religioners are not necessary: go to Turkey, go to Hell, .. for there can neither be Turk so beturked in Turkey, nor Devil so bedevilled in Hell, as to affirm that a free man may be a slave. .. But you will say to me, this people, this republic, this state cannot be supported without Indians. Who is to bring us a pitcher of water or a bundle of wood? who is to plant our mandioc? Must our wives do it? must our children do it? In the first place, as you will presently see, these are not the straits in which I would place you: but if necessity and conscience require it, then I reply, yes! and I repeat it, yes! you and your wives and your children ought to do it! We ought to support ourselves with our own hands; for better is it to be supported by the sweat of one's own brow than by another's blood. O ye riches of Maranham! What if these mantles and cloaks were to be wrung? they would drop blood! CHAP. XXVI. 1653. *Ditto, p.* 329—31.

Then having dwelt upon the duty of losing all, like Job, if it were required for conscience sake, he told them, that after studying the business well, and following the most lax and favourable opinion, he found how a slight temporal sacrifice might save their consciences; and thus it was. All the Indians in the State were of three kinds, either domestic slaves, or free Indians of the King's villages, or who had been purchased in the interior by that sort of sale which was made with a pistol at the vendor's breast. As to the first class, certain it was that their slavery was in every instance unjust, and it would be no small indulgence to pardon the past injustice. Nevertheless, as many of these slaves had been bred in their houses and with their chil-

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

dren, no one had any right to take them from their service if they chose to remain. Those who chose to remove should be placed in the King's villages, and then serve upon the terms presently to be stated. Every year an expedition for ransoming prisoners should be made, but the business should be conducted fairly, the Governor, the Auditor-General, the Vicars of Maranham or Para, and the heads of the four Religious Orders deciding upon the captives. They who had been taken by their enemies in lawful war, and had really been redeemed from the cord, should be distributed among the inhabitants as lawful slaves at their prime cost. They who had not been lawfully taken in the first instance, should be either placed in the villages already established, or formed into new ones; and the free Indians of all these villages should serve the Portugueze as labourers six months in the year, for two months at a time, and at the customary wages, which, he said, would be laughed at in any other part of the world. The currency in that State, or rather what supplied the place of any better circulating medium, was cotton cloth; and the ordinary wages for which a free Indian served, was two varas, or ells of that cloth per month, which were worth two testoons, or less than a halfpenny per day:.. a thing, said Vieyra, unworthy to be mentioned,..but more unworthy is it that there should be men of understanding and of Christianity, who rather than pay this price, chuse to condemn their own souls and go to Hell!

Ditto, p. 332—4.

After pointing out the temporal and spiritual benefits of such an arrangement, he exclaimed, "What man can there be so mistaken, what man can there be so forgetful of God, so blind, so devoid of faith, so much his own enemy, as not to be contented with what is so just and useful, as not to like it, not to approve it, not to embrace it? Christians, by the reverence which is due to Jesus Christ, and by the love with which

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

Christ suffered himself on this day to be tempted, that he might teach us to overcome temptation, let us totday put down the Devil under our feet; let us resolutely overcome the cruel temptation which has carried so many from this land to Hell, and is carrying us also! Let us give this victory to Christ, let us give this glory to God, let us give this triumph to Heaven, let us give this vexation to Hell, let us give this remedy to the country in which we live, let us give this honour to the Portugueze nation, let us give this example to Christendom, let us give this fame to the World! Let the World know, let the Hereticks and the Heathen know, that God was not deceived when he chose the Portugueze for conquerors and preachers of his holy name! Let the World know that there is still truth, that there is still the fear of God, that there is still a soul, that there is still a conscience, and that interest is not the absolute and universal lord of all! Let the World know that there are still those who for the love of God and of their own salvation will trample interest under foot! Lord Jesus, this is the mind, and this the resolution of these your faithful Catholics from this day forth! There is no one here who has any other interest but that of serving you; there is no one here who desires any other advantage but that of loving you; there is no one here who has any other ambition but that of being eternally obedient and prostrate at your feet! Their property is at your feet, their interests are at your feet, their slaves are at your feet, their children are at your feet, their blood is at your feet, their life is at your feet, that you may do with it, and with all, whatever is most conformable to your holy law. Is it not thus, Christians? It is thus; I say thus, and promise thus to God in the name of all. Victory, then, on the part of Christ! victory, victory, over the strongest temptation of the Devil![11]

[11] *Ditto*, p. 337–40.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

The whole of this extraordinary discourse was so lively, so striking, addressed at once to their understandings and their passions, their interest and their vanity, that it produced all the immediate effect which Vieyra desired. Balthazar de Sousa convened a meeting in the church that same afternoon, and then called upon the preacher to propose formally the plan which he had recommended from the pulpit. It was universally approved, and in order to carry it into execution, two advocates were appointed, one for the Slave-holders, the other for the Indians, who were first to make a list of all the persons held in a state of slavery; then to collect evidence respecting the history of each, which was to be adduced before the members of the *Senado*, or Senate, and the Sindicant, and they were to decide

The people consent to an arrangement concerning the slaves.

---

[11] The conclusion of this passage is untranslatable, and in justice to Vieyra I must here give the whole concluding paragraph in his own inimitable language. "*Senhor Jesu, este he o animo, e esta a resoluçam, com que estam de hoje por diante estes vossos tam fieis Catholicos. Ninguem ha aqui que queira outro interesse mais que servirvos; ninguem ha que queira outra conveniencia mais, que amarvos; ninguem ha que tenha outra ambiçam mais que de estar eternamente obediente e rendido a vossos pès. A vossos pès está a fazenda, a vossos pès estam os interesses, a vossos pès estam os escravos, a vossos pès estam os filhos, a vossos pès está o sangue, a vossos pès está a vida, para que corteis por ella, e por elles; para que façais de tudo, e de todos o que for mais conforme a vossa Santa Ley. Nam he assim, Christaons? Assim he; assim o digo; assim o digo, e prometo a Deos em nome de todos. Vitoria pois por parte de Christo, vitoria, vitoria contra a mayor tentaçam do Demonio! Morra o Demonio, morram suas tentaçoens, morra o peccado, morra o inferno, morra a ambiçam, morra o interesse; e viva só o serviço de Deos, viva a Fè, viva a Christandade, viva e consciencia, viva a alma, viva a Ley de Deos, e o que ella ordenar, viva Deos, e vivamos todos; nesta vida com muita abundancia de bens, principalmente os da graça, e na outra por toda a eternidade os da gloria.*" Ad quam nos, &c.

SERMOENS, *T.* 12, *p.* 339.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

as judges. A deed, expressing the consent of the people to this arrangement, was immediately drawn up in legal form, and signed by the Capitam Mor, and by all the chief persons of the place. The Jesuits desired that the examination might begin with their own Indians, . . for they also had slaves; it was carried on with justice while the impression lasted, and very many of these poor people were restored for a time to that state of comparative liberty which the law provided for those who were settled in villages, as subjects of the King of Portugal.

Ap. De Barros, 2, § 16, 25.

Vieyra, taking advantage of the influence which he now possessed, established a public lesson for the Indians on Sundays, which was made as attractive as the poverty of the land would allow. They assembled at the Jesuit College, and from thence were marched in procession to the Mother Church, the Students of the College singing Our Lady's Litany as they went. A white banner, with the effigy of St. Ignatius Loyola, was borne in the rear, and last of all Vieyra closed the train. When they reached the church he drew them up in two lines, the men on one side, the women on the other, and walking in the aisle between them, he pronounced prayers which they repeated after him; and then he examined them in the mysteries of the faith, for which purpose he drew up a catechism. He introduced also what is called the Devotion of the Rosary, a superstitious practice, in recommendation of which some of the most audacious fables have been propagated that were ever imposed by impudence upon credulity. Vieyra, with all his intellectual powers, believed in these legends as entirely as his hearers, and related them as unquestionable truths in sermons which he preached every Saturday upon this subject. Such sermons, embellished as they were by his consummate eloquence and marvellous ingenuity, delighted the people; the Church was not large enough to contain those who flocked to hear him, and crowds stood lis-

Religious ceremonies at St. Luiz.

CHAP. XXVI. 1653.

tening round the door. In the evening the altar of N. Senhora da Luz at the Jesuits' Church was drest, two of the best singers began the service, and Vieyra in his priestly vestments stood between them, and explained the mysteries of the bead-string. Follies of this kind are as epidemic as fashions; the practice was introduced as a domestic devotion, and hymns in honour of the Virgin and her beads were for a season to be heard in every house.

The Capitam Mor deceives Vieyra, and evades the laws.

But the impression which had been produced upon such a man as Balthazar de Sousa was not of a nature to be lasting. Vieyra had made arrangements for going on a missionary expedition up the river Tapicuru, among the Ybirajarâs, or Bearded Indians, *(Barbudos)* who were supposed to be descended from some shipwrecked Europeans. The Capitam Mor, whose duty it was to supply him with canoes and Indians, according to the King's orders, promised them for the month of June; but when the last ship had sailed for Portugal, and no complaint could be sent home for twelve months, he called a *Junta* of such persons as he thought proper, while Vieyra was absent among the villages, and upon the pretext that the season was too far advanced for ascending the river, made them sign a paper to justify him for preventing the expedition. The reason for this was, that Sousa, who was needy and covetous, had made extensive plantations of tobacco, and chose to employ in his own service the Indians whom Vieyra required. Having thus been disappointed here, Vieyra went to Belem, meaning to ascend the Orellana; but when he communicated his intentions to the Capitam Mor, Ignacio do Rego Barreto, that Governor told him, that a nation called the Poquiz, whose country lay about two hundred leagues from Belem, upon a branch of the River Tocantins, had shown a disposition to settle among the Portugueze, and receive instruction. Vieyra seeing this fair opening, pre-

pared to take advantage of it. But it was not long before the sinister purposes of Ignacio do Rego began to be disclosed; first he endeavoured to bribe Vieyra, saying that he meant to distribute these Indians among the inhabitants, and that the Jesuits might take as many as they pleased for their villages in Maranham and Para. Vieyra replied, the King's orders were that all the Indians who voluntarily placed themselves under his protection should be settled in villages of their own, in such situations as might be most suitable for their conversion and well-being: any other mode of proceeding would be manifest violence and injustice. Another point upon which he insisted was, that before these Indians were brought from their own country, provision should be made for them, that they might not, like so many of their countrymen, perish for want: for this was one cause of the enormous depopulation which was going on. A Governor, when he knew that a horde was willing to come and settle among the Portugueze, did not trouble himself to prepare stores for supporting them till they should be able to raise plantations for themselves, because his term being only for three years, he had no time to lose in enriching himself by their labour: it would be of no advantage to him if he left things in such a train for his successor that the State should receive an addition of several thousand willing and happy labourers; but on the contrary, if he hurried them down, and only fifty survived when five hundred died of hunger, he should get something by the survivors. Ignacio do Rego was villain enough to reply, when the probability of such a mortality was pointed out to him, that the dying of such people was of no consequence; and it was much better they should die among the Portugueze than in the interior, because they would be baptized. By the King's orders Vieyra was to have the sole and exclusive management of all expeditions of this kind, and the entire disposal of the

CHAP. XXVI. 1654.

Indians thus reduced, the Governors being directed to supply him with canoes, men, and every thing necessary. Rego totally disregarded these orders, and with the most flagrant disobedience appointed a blacksmith to command the expedition, who was instructed to inform Vieyra of all which he meant to do, . . an aggravation of the insult rather than a limitation of his powers. It was in vain that Vieyra remonstrated and produced the King's orders, whereby laymen were absolutely prohibited from going on such expeditions, and in vain that he required Rego in the King's name and in the name of God not thus to disturb the affairs of the missions. Such representations were useless; the expedition was to be a slaving party which Rego had planned, the Vicar-General (forgetful of the prison-scene at St. Luiz) was his accomplice, and the blacksmith was a fellow in all respects fit for such employers and such an employment. He endeavoured to prejudice the Poquiz against the Jesuits by saying they would deprive them of their women; and partly by promises, partly by threats, partly by making them drunk, he got about a thousand of the Indians, nearly half the tribe, into his power; some he took for his own share, others he distributed among the soldiers of his party, and turned the rest into a settlement called Morajuba, where no provision had been made for them, but which was near Rego's tobacco-plantations. As soon as Vieyra perceived how this ruffian was acting, he left his companions, and hastened back to Belem to remonstrate with the Capitam Mor; the result only convinced him that in the present state of things it was impossible to proceed with the conversion and civilization of the Indians so long as the civil authority had any power over them.

Vieyra Cartas, t. 1, xi. A de Barros, 2, § 51—54.

Vieyra writes to the King.

His first impulse was to inform the King of all which had past, and propose what he thought the only means of preventing such enormities. His advice was, that the Governors and Chief

Captains should have no authority whatever over the Indians, whether converted or unconverted, except in time of actual war, when they were bound to serve, and that then a certain number should be allotted for military service: that the Indians should have a *Procurador Geral*, or Advocate General, in every Captaincy, annually elected, and independent of the Governor, or Capitam Mor: that they should be exclusively governed by Religioners, as in Brazil, where experience had demonstrated that this was the best and only method of reducing and preserving them: that at the beginning of every year lists should be made of the Indians in the villages of every Captaincy, and of the Settlers, and the Indians then divided among the Settlers by their Procurador and the Superior of the Religious Order; neither Governor nor Chamber nor any person being allowed to interfere, and the poorer settlers being provided first because of their necessity, lest they should perish: that no Indian should work for a settler more than four months in the year, in terms of two months each: and that none should go to work either for an individual or for the King's service, until his wages had been placed in deposit, to be delivered to him when he should produce a certificate of having worked the allotted time: that every week, or every fortnight, there should be a public market or fair for the Indian villages, held in rotation at each, where they should bring what they had to sell, .. a common benefit to them and the Portugueze: that no savages should be brought from the interior till plantations had been prepared for them; nor made to work after their arrival till they were thoroughly recovered from the journey, and had received some instruction: that a body of soldiers, to be called the Company of the Propagation of the Faith, should be formed of the best-disposed and most religious men among the troops, to protect the Missionaries in their expeditions up these rivers, and to be under the Superior's

CHAP. XXVI. 1654.

orders, except in time of actual war: that military titles should not be multiplied in the Indian settlements, but that there be only, as in Brazil, their Chief and *Meirinhos*, and one Captain, and at most one Sargento Mor; but that no Indians holding any title at present be deprived of it: that to prevent jealousies and contradictions, one religious Order should have the whole charge of the Indians, and that Order be not allowed to employ them either as slaves or free labourers in any plantations or works of their own, having only an allotment for the service of the Convent, like the other Orders: it did not become him to say which Order would be most suitable, because he was a Jesuit. But by this means the State might be preserved and improved, and every thing there depended upon Indians.

Vieyra Cartas, I, xii.

Success of the deputies at Lisbon.

Joam IV. admired and loved Vieyra, and Vieyra, though never forgetful of his rank, wrote to him with all the unreserved warmth and sincerity of a friend. But after he had thus given vent to his feelings, the evil appeared to his brethren so great upon mature deliberation, that they unanimously requested him as Superior of the Mission to go himself to Portugal, and expose to the King in person the iniquities which were practised by his officers. Meantime the deputies from Maranham and Para had reached Lisbon, and by their representations obtained a repeal of that decree for emancipation which had excited tumults in both Captaincies. A new edict was sent out, enacting that the existing slaves should be examined by the Chambers of the respective Captaincies, in presence of the Sindicant or the *Ouvidores*, to ascertain who might be conscienciously considered as being in a lawful state of slavery. Those persons were to be in this predicament who had been made prisoners in just war; and it was a cause of just war if the Indians had impeded the preaching of the Gospel, had taken part with the enemies of the Crown, acted against the Portugueze, or failed to act in their

defence, committed robbery by land or water, or impeded the traffic and communication of the settlers; if, being vassals of the King of Portugal, they had refused to pay the appointed tribute, or neglected to appear when summoned either to bear arms against his enemies or labour for his service, or if they had eaten human flesh since they became his subjects, . . all such persons were liable to slavery; as were those also who having been lawful slaves in the possession of other savages, had been purchased by the Portugueze; or being in the cord, had been ransomed, or rescued by force of arms. Expeditions were to be made for the purpose of thus obtaining slaves, and the persons entrusted with the command chosen by the votes of the Camera, the Superiors of the Religious Orders, and the Vicar General: and to prevent all sinister views on the part of the Governors or *Capitaens Mores*, no person holding the chief authority was to engage in the culture of tobacco, or of any other produce whatsoever, and the Indians in their villages were to be under their own chiefs, who were to portion them out among the Portugueze, voluntarily, for the usual wages, the Governor being never to employ them, except for public or approved works. This edict[12], which afforded a triumph to the slave-party by derogating from the powers that had been granted to Vieyra, might have occasioned him to sail for Portugal if that measure had not previously

[12] It was registered in the Chamber of Belem, June the 3rd, and on June the 13th Vieyra preached his Fish-sermon. Berredo says that he was sent to Lisbon on account of this edict. I think his determination was made before its arrival. Andre de Barros in his panegyric, and Berredo in his Anti-Jesuitism, are equally guilty of omissions. But every way unworthy as this Barros was to have been the Biographer of Vieyra, more truth is to be collected from his injudicious and ill-digested eulogy than from the malicious and mutilated account which Berredo gives of these transactions.

CHAP. XXVI. 1654.

been thought necessary. He returned to Maranham, and prepared secretly for his voyage. A few days before the ship was ready he preached at St. Luiz upon St. Antonio's day. The impression which he had produced upon the people in the preceding year had passed away, and the agreement which they had then signed served only as a proof how little men are bound by promises and deeds when the conscience is perverted or laid asleep. He now, in allusion to the famous legend of St. Antonio, said, that since men would not profit by his preaching, he would imitate the Saint and preach to the fishes; then addressing his discourse to the fishes, he delivered a sermon of the keenest moral and political satire.

Berredo, § 982. A. de Barros, 2, § 58.

Vieyra's danger upon the voyage.

On the voyage home, when they were near the Azores, they encountered a dreadful tempest, which, though the ship was going under bare poles, laid her on her beam ends. In this state she remained, water-logged, the men clinging on the outside, and expecting nothing but death. Vieyra's enthusiasm was at that hour raised to the highest pitch; death and eternity were less the object of his thoughts than those poor Indians to whose cause he had devoted himself; and having given a general absolution to his companions, he raised his voice amid the storm, and exclaimed, "Guardian Angels of the Souls in Maranham, remember that this vessel is going in search of their remedy and their salvation! Do what ye can and what ye ought!.. that which is due, not to us, for we deserve no such miracle, but to the poor friendless souls who are under your charge! Look to it,.. for they are perishing here with us!" It was his own firm belief that the prayer was heard, and that the ship [13] was miraculously preserved. The masts were cut away,

Sermoens, t. 4, p. 277.

[13] He relates the story himself in a sermon preached in the Isle of St. Mi-

she rolled and righted, but lay like a log upon the water, and the storm continued: on the following day the crew were taken out by a Dutch privateer, who plundered them of every thing, and landed them upon the isle of Graciosa. The name of Vieyra was so famous throughout all the Portugueze dominions, that he found no difficulty in obtaining credit for means sufficient to support the whole crew, more than forty persons, during two months, and providing them with a passage and sea-stores to Lisbon. CHAP. XXVI. 1654. *A. de Barros*, 2, § 59—79.

Joam IV. was lying dangerously ill at Salvatierra when Vieyra[14] arrived in the Tagus; he was, however, immediately *His interview with the King.*

chael's after his escape. "*A quem acontecèo jà mais depois de virado o navio, e depois de estarem todos fóra della sobre o costado, ficar assim parado, e immovel por espaço de hum quarto de hora, sem a furia dos ventos descompor, sem o impeto das ondas o sossobrar, sem o pezo da carga e da agua, de que estava atè o meyo alagado, o levar a pique; e depois dar outra volta para a parte contraria, e pòrse outra vez direito, e admittir dentro em sy os que se tinham tirado fóra? Testimunhas sam os Anjos do Ceo, cujo auxilio invoquey naquella hora, e nam o de todos: senam daquelles somente que tem a sua conta as Almas da Gentilidade do Maranham. Anjos da guarda das Almas do Maranham, lembrayvos que vay este navio buscar o remedio e salvaçam dellas! Fazey agora o que podeis, e deveis, nam a nos que a nam merecemos, mas áquellas tam desemparadas Almas que tendes a vosso cargo. Olhay, que aqui se perdem tambem comnosco! Assim o disse a vozes altas que ouviram todos os presentes, e suprio o merecimento da causa a indignidade do orador. Obraram os Anjos, porque ouvio Deos a oraçam: e nam podia Deos deixar de a ouvir, porque orava nella o mesmo perigo. Sabe o mesmo Senhor, que por nenhum interesse do mundo, depois de eu ter tam conhecido, e tam deixado, me tornara a meter no mar, senam pela salvaçam daquelles pobres thesouros, cada hum dos quaes val mais que infinitos mundos. E como o perigo era tomado por amor de Deos, e dos proximos; como podia faltar a segurança no mesmo perigo? O mesmo perigo nos livrou, ou se livrou a sy mesmo. Os perigos da charidade sam riscos seguros, e nos riscos seguros nam pode haver perigo. Assim que, Senhor, mudo o estylo, e nam vos dou jà as graças por me livrares do perigo, senam por me meteres nelle.*"

[14] His own passage was very perilous, and he describes it with his usual

CHAP. XXVI. 1654.

summoned thither: the King's illness took a favourable turn, and as soon as he was able to attend to business the Jesuit had audience upon the affairs of Maranham. He spake with his usual ardour. In the hope of converting infidels to the church, he said, and for the love of God, he had, as in that Court was well known, left the love of such a King, the favour of the Queen and of the Prince, persons whom there were few in the

---

power in his *Sermam da Quinta Dominga da Quaresma*, 1655. "In my last voyage," he says, "from the Islands to Lisbon, a passage which in the winter season is one of the most troublesome, the ship belonged to heretic owners, and the pilot and the sailors were heretics: we passengers were some Religioners of different Orders, and a great quantity of those musical islanders, who come here to compose a choir of four voices with our nightingales and goldfinches, canary birds and blackbirds. The weather was worse than ordinary, and the effects which I observed in it were truly admirable. We Religioners were all employed in prayers and litanies, making vows to Heaven and exorcisms to the waves, throwing relics into the sea, and above all in acts of contrition, confessing many times, as if at the point of death. The sailors, like heretics, when the hatchets were lying at the feet of the masts, ate and drank more merrily than ever, and mocked at what they called our ceremonies. The little birds at the same time, at the sound which the wind made in the rigging, as if those cords had been the strings of some musical instrument, exerted their strength in singing. God help me! if labour and fear had not taken off all attention, who would not in this situation have admired effects so various and so opposite, the cause being the same? What,..all in the same ship, all in the same storm, all in the same danger, and some singing, some mocking, some praying and lamenting? Yes. The birds sung because they had no understanding, the heretics mocked because they had no faith, and we who had faith and understanding, we cried out to Heaven, and beat our breasts, and lamented our sins!"

The application which he makes is not the less happy for being obvious. "This is what I saw and went through, and this same thing is what we do not see, being in the same, and worse, and more perilous state. The voyage is from earth to heaven, from life to eternity;..the sea is this world, we are all passengers, &c.

Sermoens, T. 11, *p.* 496.

world to equal; and he had seen his hopes frustrated by the Portugueze, who obstructed the preaching of the faith, despised the missionaries, broke all laws divine and human, and outraged and trampled upon the King's orders. The King might establish a most ample dominion in that country, and acquire millions of vassals; but the avarice which enslaved one drove away a thousand: they who were driven away, dying in their heathen state, and the poor slave remaining little better than a heathen, without sacraments, without instruction in life, and after death even without burial! The Kings of Portugal possessed those regions by the covenant that they should extend the faith there, the knowledge of Christ, and the boundaries of the Catholic Church; and in the name of those wide regions he came to represent to his Majesty this his strict obligation, that he might be pleased to help the poor souls who would flock in shoals to the nets of the Church, if the Portugueze did not drive them away. There was an Original Sin in that country,.. the practice of enslaving the natives: it was the King's duty to deliver them, and it was no new thing for *him* to become a Deliverer. Love of the souls of these poor people, said Vieyra, tore me from Portugal; their wants, their oppressions, their forlorn condition, have made me return; and now, prostrate at your Majesty's feet I lay before you... not gold, not the precious produce of the conquests,.. but injured innocence,.. but lamentations, sufferings, injustice, blood, and murder, which call upon you for compassion and for redress!... He pleaded before a just judge. Joam IV. was a man whose feelings were always right, and who would most willingly have put a stop to the iniquities of the Inquisition at home, and of slavery in the colonies; but Governments unhappily ever find more obstacles when they seek to do good than when they are doing evil. The Deputies from Maranham and Pará were still in Lisbon; neither corruption nor falsehood was

CHAP. XXVI.

1654.

A. de Barros, 2, § 80–3.

1655.

CHAP. XXVI. 1655.

spared in support of the slave-party, and some of the cabinet ministers were in favour of the existing system with all its abuses. The King, however, ordered that a Junta should be assembled of men learned in theology and the laws; the President of the Council of the Inquisition, who was Archbishop elect of Braga, being one, and the Duke of Aveiro presiding at their meetings, as President of the Palace. First they heard all the edicts read, ancient and modern, respecting the liberty of the Indians; the memorials of the Deputies from Maranham and Para, the opinions of the Ultramarine Council, the Pontifical briefs, and whatever other documents might serve to elucidate the subject. Vieyra then pleaded his own cause, requesting that when they had weighed well all that the Deputies could alledge, they would determine upon what should be most advantageous for the Portugueze, always saving the liberty and natural rights of the Indians. He rested the question as much upon worldly policy as upon principles of humanity and religion; and the Junta, after having employed eight days in examining the matter, gave their opinion decidedly in his favour, declaring that the system of the Jesuits was that which ought to be observed. This step being gained, Vieyra wisely procured that the Provincials of the several Orders which were established in Maranham and Para should hold a meeting, and being informed of the decision which the ablest casuists in the kingdom had pronounced, that they should instruct the members of their respective communities to act in conformity thereunto: for nothing had proved more injurious both to Indians and Portugueze, than the factious and jealous opposition of the other Religioners to the Jesuits. His next object was to establish a *Junta*[15] *das*

Arrangements respecting slavery referred to a Junta.

A Missionary Board established.

[15] He touched upon this subject in a sermon preached before the Court on

Missoens, or Missionary Board, who should at all times watch over the interest of the Missions. CHAP. XXVI. 1655.

A. de Barros, 2, § 93—101.

the first Sunday in Lent,.. the anniversary of his triumphant sermon to the people in Maranham; the text was necessarily the same, every Sunday in the Portugueze Church having its appropriate subject and text prescribed to the preacher: he dwelt therefore upon the same topic; the infinite value of the human soul, and wound up the discourse thus. "At this moment innumerable souls are perishing in Africa, innumerable souls in Asia, innumerable souls in America, for whom I come to solicit help,.. and all through our fault and our negligence. Verily there is not a more pious kingdom than Portugal, and yet I can neither understand our humanity, nor our faith, nor our devotion. For the souls which are in Purgatory there are so many Brotherhoods, so many Associations, so many Expences, so many Solicitors, *(Procuradores)* so many who plead for them day and night; and the poor souls who are going to Hell have none of these! The souls in Purgatory, though they are suffering, are secure of Heaven at last; those who live and die in Heathenism have not merely Heaven doubtful, but Hell and condemnation certain, and yet none to assist them! Is not this, then, the greatest work of compassion? Why therefore is there no Brotherhood, why therefore is there no Association, why therefore is there no Junta, why therefore is there no Solicitor for these poor souls?" Then addressing himself alternately to the Crucifix and to the King there present, he proceeded; "Lord, are not all these souls redeemed with your blood?.. Sire, are not all these souls redeemed with the blood of Christ?——Lord, have you not given the conversion of these souls in charge to the Kings and Kingdom of Portugal?.. Sire, are not these souls given in charge with this Kingdom by God to your Majesty?——Lord, is it well that these souls should be lost, and go to Hell against your desire?.. Sire, is it well that these souls should be lost and go to Hell through our fault?—I do not expect this either from the Divine or the human Majesty! Now when there are so many Boards for the affairs of the world, let there be a Board also for the affairs of souls, for they are worth more than all the world. Let us be undeceived! by how much the more the business of the salvation of souls shall proceed, so much better will the affairs of the world proceed also. The Devil* offered all the kingdoms of the world for the perdition

* Alluding to the text of the day.

CHAP. XXVI. 1655.

Vieyra had to contend with the Donatories, the colonial landholders, the merchants, those who held offices in these Captaincies, and those who were pretending to them; but he possessed the King's entire confidence, and the arrangements which he proposed, (being all that he dared contend for,) gave the colonists so much, that where any decent respect for equity was observed, their advocates could not without flagrant and impudent injustice require more. A decree was issued, declaring that all the Indian settlements in the State of Maranham should be under the direction of the Jesuits; that Vieyra, as Superior of the Missions, should direct all expeditions into the interior, and settle the reduced Indians in such places as he might think best: that the chief of every ransoming party must be approved by the Jesuits; that these Missionaries should have a vote upon

Decree in favour of the Indians.

---

of one soul; and Christ, because he acted for the salvation of souls, is at this day Lord of all the kingdoms of the world. Thus it will happen to us also, and thus I promise in the name of God. Let me sanctify the words of the Devil, and place them in the mouth of Christ. He showed him all the kingdoms of the world:.. God is showing us all the kingdoms of the New World, which in his bounty he gave us, and of which through our fault they have taken from us so great a part; and pointing to Africa, to Asia, and to America, he says, All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me!.. Kingdom of Portugal, I promise thee the restoration of all the kingdoms which paid thee tribute once, and the conquest of many other and more opulent ones in this New World, if thou, whom I have chosen for this end, wilt make them believe in me and worship me,.. if thou wilt fall down and worship me. This I promise from the goodness of God,.. this I hope from the great zeal and charity of his Majesty,.. this I trust in from the christianity of all his ministers. And if we shall labour for the souls of others, this means, which is so much for God's service, will be most efficacious towards obtaining the service of our own, in this life with great increase of grace, and in the next with the reward of glory."

Sermoens, T. 2, p. 83—5.

the examination of the ransomed Indians; and that they who were thus ransomed should be slaves for five years and no longer, their labour in that time being an ample compensation for their original cost. The free Indians were not to work more than six months for the Portugueze, in spells of two months each, and at the wages of two *varas* of cotton cloth per month, according to the terms proposed at St. Luiz by Vieyra, and accepted by the people.

Question respecting the Government of Maranham.

When Vieyra was in Maranham the King had written to him, asking his opinion whether it was better to have two *Capitaens Mores* in that State, or one Governor. His reply was, two thieves are worse than one; and one honest man is more easily found than two. Of the two existing Captains, the one had nothing, and nothing could satisfy the other; and he knew not which was the greatest temptation, neediness or avarice. It is notorious, says Vieyra, that every thing in Para except the land itself is not worth 10,000 *cruzados*; and yet from this Captaincy Ignacio do Rego will extract 100,000 in three years, in the way he is going on: all this must be from the sweat and blood of the Indians, whom he treats so entirely as slaves that they have neither liberty not to serve him, nor to serve any one else. When there were any Indians to be allotted, the men in power had them all, and the poor were left to perish. Vieyra said that he confessed a poor woman, one of the settlers brought from the Azores, who told him, that of her nine children five had died of want in the course of three months; and when he attempted to console her for the death of these five, she replied, "Father, it is not for them that I weep; it is for the four who are left, whom I have no means of supporting, and whom I daily pray God to take also!" The principal and only talent requisite for a Governor there, he said, was conscience; and if a Governor could not be found with that qualification, as hitherto

CHAP. XXVI. 1655.

none had been, the State was better without one. A good lawyer sufficed for administering justice, the Camera for political affairs, and for war the Sargento Mor, . . one of the country, not of Elvas or of Flanders. If these persons looked merely to their own interest, still it was with some degree of moderation, and what they gained remained in the country; they did not exhaust the land and then leave it like tenants, which was what the men did who came from Portugal. But the main evil would be cut up by the roots if the Indians were made independent of the Governor.

Vieyra. Cartas. T. 1. x.

Vidal appointed Governor.

Remote colonies tend too naturally toward republicanism for this advice to be followed in its full extent. The King, however, found one man of tried talents and integrity, whom he appointed to the Government; it was Vidal. This point being settled, he would fain have prevented Vieyra from returning; but that he might not seem to act merely from his own inclinations, and that he might incur no scruples of conscience, he referred it to the triennial meeting of the Jesuits of the Province, then about to be held at St. Roques, to determine whether or not a man whose services were so important at home ought to be sent as a missionary among savages. The Rectors of all the Colleges, and the elder Members of the Company, to the number of forty, assembled, and Vieyra demanded a hearing before they formed their opinion. He then protested it was his firm belief that God had called him to that mission, and that the early vow which he had made to live and die among the Indians was by the particular inspiration of Heaven. He exhorted them to remember how much the character of the Company was at stake upon their decision. His resolution, he said, was founded upon no human motives; envy, which had persecuted him once, was now either extinct or ashamed: he was in the fair breeze of favour at Court, and if he turned away from that prosperous fortune, it was because he

The King wishes to keep Vieyra in Portugal.

was impelled by a higher power:..the manner of his former departure had clearly shown that it was the will of a Prince who had for vassals all the Kings of the World. He bade them weigh well the consequences of compelling him to remain in Portugal. "What (said he) will they say whom I excited to the work and carried to Maranham, if they see that I led them to the labour and then returned to rest? What will they say who at my instigation have exchanged their country for the woods and wilds, if I leave them in the woods and wilds and remain in my country? What will the Indians say who regard me as their shield, and to whom I said that I was going to seek relief for them,..what will they say if I remain in the Court, and break my promise that I would speedily be with them again? Oh how false will they think me,..even as great a deceiver as the other Portugueze whom they have so often found wanting in justice and in humanity! Oh how will they call themselves disconsolate, and of all men most unhappy! Oh how will those who are already converted (being an inconstant generation) give up the faith, perhaps, and return to the forest, spreading among all those innumerable nations the fame, or the infamy, that even the Fathers are traitors; seeing the greatest of them all, in spite of his word, had forsaken them! I do not speak of the souls whom this unworthy instrument might convert to salvation;..does this weigh or does it not? I do not speak of the example which the youth who are now growing up in our Colleges might take from my resolution to abandon all for the sake of saving souls;..has this reflection any force or has it not? I do not speak of the manner in which the people of Maranham and Para will scoff at my retreat;..is it fitting that the Company should have to endure this among their other wrongs? May sound discretion, zeal for salvation, love for the objects of the Company, and above all, the Light of the Holy

CHAP. XXVI. 1655.

Spirit, inspire this so holy and religious an assembly with that decision which may be most for the glory of the Most High!" Having thus spoken he withdrew. Some of the elder fathers were so affected by his zeal, and at the same time so unwilling that the Company should lose the full advantage of his brilliant talents, that they knelt to the Provincial, and offered in tears if Vieyra might be ordered to remain in Lisbon, to go upon the mission in his stead; but the Provincial replied, that their instructions were to deliberate whether Vieyra should go, not to provide substitutes for him. The votes were given in secret, and the majority agreed that for the glory of God and the salvation of souls Vieyra ought to go upon the mission: and that the sacrifice which the Company made in thus foregoing the honour which they derived from his genius, would deserve from God the reward of new members who should in like manner adorn it hereafter. The King submitted to this decision, and Vieyra himself rejoiced in it with devout sincerity. His presence was of great importance to explain, and as far as possible enforce, the King's orders; he knew that the Provincial of Brazil had been applied to, to revoke the leave which he had given him of going upon the mission, and the application was from a person whom he could not refuse: some of the Jesuits who were in Maranham would not remain there unless he returned; finally, he felt that it would be an ill example to turn back after he had once gone; and he believed that God had called him to the office, and that in it he might with more certainty expect to work out his own salvation than he could possibly do in the Court. With these feelings, after having been only four months in Portugal, he embarked again for Maranham; and the voyage was so prosperous that in twenty-five days they saw land, and on the thirty-first cast anchor at St. Luiz.

Vieyra obtains permission to return to Maranham.

Andre de Barros, 2. § 107—20.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Proceedings respecting Slavery in Para and Maranham. Plans of Vieyra. Ineffectual search for mines. Successful missions on the side of Seara, and in the Ilha dos Joanes. Insurrection against the Jesuits, their expulsion, and restoration.

Vidal takes possession of the Government.

Vidal had arrived in Maranham a few days before Vieyra, and had probably expressed his opinion of him, for the Chamber waited upon the Jesuit in a body to congratulate him upon his voyage, and thank him for the advantages which he had obtained for the inhabitants of that State. When the terms of the new law were made known, so intolerable was the slightest restraint upon that uncontrolled tyranny and insatiable cupidity to which they had been accustomed to give full scope, that the officers and clergy, who were the usual prime movers of all mischief here, began to stir up a popular tumult; but Vidal by his firmness and timely severity suppressed it at its commencement. The people of Para, meantime, taking advantage of the law of 1653, but without observing any of its provisions, had carried on their slave-trade with great success. Before any of their victims could lawfully be considered as slaves, they were to be examined before the Governor-General, the *Ouvidor* and *Prove-*

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

dor, the Vicar of the Mother Church, Vieyra, as Superior of the Missions, and the Superiors of the other three Religious Orders which were established in that State. Vidal accordingly, that no diligence on his part might be wanting for the due fulfilment of the King's decrees, went to Belem, and Vieyra accompanied him. The number of Indians whom the slave-dealers had brought down was known to be not less than sixteen hundred, and believed to be as many as two thousand: every person who offered any for examination made oath that he presented all whom he had either brought or received from the interior; yet the whole number who were presented fell short of eight hundred, more than half having been concealed, and the men who brought these for examination, beginning their work thus with perjury. A scene of villany ensued which corresponded with such a prelude. Antonio Lameira da Franca, Captain of the fort of Curupa, was the first who came before the Junta; he presented eight and twenty Indians; Vidal examined them through some interpreters of their own tribe, and they replied, one and all, that they had been ransomed from the cord, having been prisoners to another nation, and destined by them to be eaten, as many of their companions had been. Now it was perfectly well known that cord-Indians were very rarely found; it seemed therefore so extraordinary that twenty-eight should have been ransomed at one time, that Vidal withdrew into another apartment, sent for these Indians one by one, and told them that he was the Governor, the Chief of all the Portugueze in that country, . . that they might speak the truth freely, and without fear, and that every man who was lawfully free should immediately be set at liberty; but they answered one by one, as they had done collectively, that they were all cord-prisoners, and had actually been redeemed from slaughter. After this they were past over to the Ouvidor, to whom Lameira made oath that he had thus

Examination of the captives at Belem.

legally procured them, and they repeated the same declaration. Eight days after this examination the Chiefs of some allied Indians on the Orellana arrived at Belem, to request that the Governor would release some of their people whom the Portugueze had taken away. They were desired to look for them and bring them to his presence; and after little search they came before Vidal with the same eight and twenty persons whom Lameira had past as slaves according to the law. The Chiefs pointed out the men who had kidnapped them, and who, being thus convicted, confessed the fact. The Indians were not only free men, but subjects of the King of Portugal, and such useful ones that they had come two hundred leagues from their own country to serve against the Dutch in Maranham, and had assisted in building the fort, and the church at Curupa. The leader of the party, upon being interrogated wherefore he had committed this flagrant offence, made answer that as he knew another person intended to do the same thing, he chose to be beforehand with him. The prisoners were then asked why they had so obstinately borne false witness against themselves; they answered, that their owner had threatened to flog them to death unless they persisted in giving that account, and no other. Lameira and the leader of the kidnapping party were two of the first persons in the State, and both had held some of its highest offices.

Villainy of the captors and of the judges.

Another Portugueze, by name Amaro de Mendonça, was detected in suborning the interpreter. A youth whom he detained in slavery demanded his freedom, and Mendonça without hesitation made oath that he was his slave, being the son of one of his female slaves now dead. Enquiry was made, and the real mother of the youth, a free Indian woman, was produced. Mendonça was arrested for this perjury; the palpable conviction produced in him some sense of guilt or of shame:

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

"the truth is," said he, "that the lad is free, and that God has brought the Governor to this country for the salvation of our souls." But villainous as these men-stealers were, some of the judges by whom their claims were to be determined were not less so. It was notorious that the excessive cruelties which the Portugueze had long exercised upon the Indians in these parts, had completely terrified this unhappy race: under the impression of fear the prisoners said whatever their kidnappers bade them say; and lest they should be emboldened by seeing that some of their countrymen were set at liberty, the Portugueze told them these times would not last long;.. the Governor would soon be removed, and men of a different stamp would succeed him;.. they themselves should be Governors and Chief Captains in their turn. The manner in which the slaves were procured was notorious also. The slave-traders, when they came to an Indian settlement, bought what slaves they found there,.. if there were any they were generally few. They then showed the inhabitants the stock of articles which they brought out for barter, and saying their orders were not to return till all had been disposed of, partly by promises, partly by threats, they made them go and procure more prisoners; and these were the usual wars in which the prisoners were taken,.. wars made for the sole purpose of taking them, and instigated entirely by the slave-dealers. It was certain too that of the prisoners many had been forcibly kidnapped by the Portugueze, or never paid for; for men who carried out only twenty or thirty ransoms brought back forty or fifty slaves: the payment, when it was paid, consisted in hardware to the amount of eleven testoons (about five shillings and sixpence) per head. All this was well known, and could not be concealed: and the characters of the inviduals who brought prisoners for examination were so well understood, that in some instances, as soon as the judges heard to whom

a lot of prisoners belonged, they looked at each other and said, All these will be Cord-Indians. There were however some Portugueze, who being perhaps less ferocious, relied upon the majority of the judges, and threw upon them the larger share of guilt; these persons presented their Indians simply as prisoners whom they had ransomed, and the Indians themselves said they had been taken in war and redeemed, but no account was given either of the nature or cause of the war. Vieyra therefore argued, that as it was not attempted to prove they had been captured in just war, which the law required, the safe opinion, according to all rules in casuistry, was to be followed, and therefore they ought to be set free. But the Superiors of the Carmo and of the Merces voted that they should all be slaves, because among Savages all wars were lawful. The Franciscan Superior began by saying he wished God would reveal to him by an angel whether those wars had been just or unjust: but he inclined to believe they were just, because the Doctors had laid down that there were twelve just causes of war, and among so many it was impossible that these men should not have fallen upon one. To this it was replied, the Doctors had also laid down that there were twenty-four unjust causes of war, and therefore upon his own premises the chances against his conclusion were precisely two to one. He, however, gave his vote that they should be all slaves, but that their children, if they had any, should be free. The Vicar gave no reason for his opinion, but merely pronounced "Slaves! Slaves!" this was his uniform vote, and his uniform manner of voting; and when he was once prest to explain the motives for his decision, he answered, that the men who presented these captives were Christians, and therefore it was not to be presumed that they would do any thing wrong; .. that such had always been the custom in that state; .. that if the Indians were declared free the men

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

who had procured them would lose their labour, and there would be a mutiny among the people. One of the Friars helped him in this precious reasoning by saying, that the Indians lost nothing by becoming slaves, and that slavery was a practice which originated in compassion, .. as if, says Vieyra, it were the same thing to commute death for servitude as to deprive a free man of his liberty. Vidal and the Ouvidor voted with Vieyra; and as a mode of accommodating the different opinions, Vidal proposed that those Indians whose case appeared doubtful should serve seven years instead of five before they recovered their freedom; but there were four votes to three in favour of perpetual slavery.

Antonio Lameira, after his villany had been detected in the first instance, presented a second batch of prisoners, who, like the former, all declared that they had been ransomed from the cord. Vieyra argued upon this case, first, that it was notorious that prisoners of this description were few in number: secondly, that it was morally impossible that all the prisoners belonging to one man, having been procured from different places, should be, without exception, in the same predicament: thirdly, that they had been procured in private expeditions sent out by Lameira, who had no authority so to do, and without any of the circumstances which the law required: lastly, that Lameira had been detected in flagrant perjury, and there was every reason to infer that the man who had thus acted like a villain in one instance was acting so in another. The case was indeed palpable, and so the Governor and the Ouvidor perceived; but the three Friars said the Indians were Cord-Indians by their own confession; the Vicar as usual pronounced his emphatic opinion, "Slaves! Slaves!" and to slavery these poor creatures were accordingly condemned. Of the three Friars who voted thus wickedly, the one was known to be sharer in the trade, and to pass sentence

in his own cause; and the second had been in like manner concerned, but had sold his share of the slaves before the examination, with warrantry no doubt that they should be condemned as lawful prizes. A considerable number of the Indians had been sent to Maranham, and there the examination terminated more equitably; for the Ouvidor and the Vicar, who supplied the places of their brother officers in Para, voted with Vieyra and the Governor; such, however, was the temper of the three Friars in the minority, and so desirous were they of currying favour with the people, that they refused to sign the proceedings. Vieyra sent an account of these proceedings to the King; there had been flagrant injustice, nevertheless some good had been effected, and whatever good was done, he said, was owing to Vidal. This led him to speak of that Governor. "Of Andre Vidal," said he, "I will now say to your Majesty what I have not ventured to say before, that I might not be precipitate, and because I have known so many men as to have learnt that much time is required for knowing one. Your Majesty has very few such men in your dominions as Andre Vidal. He is in every thing what he is as a soldier, .. a true Christian, a friend of justice and of reason, active, zealous for your Majesty's service, a strict observer of your royal orders, and above all, entirely disinterested. For the support which he has given me in these missions I am bound to him; but as touching the service of your Majesty, of which I cannot even here be unmindful, I must say that Andre Vidal is lost in Maranham, and that India would not have been lost if it had been entrusted to him."

Carta de Vieyra. t. 3. IV. Informaçam que deu o Padre Ant. Vieyra.

Cartas, t. I, xiii.

It had not been in Vidal's power to punish the manifest crimes committed by the last ransoming party, nor to redress them at Belem, because his vote upon the examination had no greater weight than that of the nefarious colleagues with whom he was conjoined; but where he possessed means of fulfilling

Success of the Jesuits.

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

the spirit as well as the letter of his instructions, neither the will nor the resolution was wanting. Under his protection Vieyra proceeded diligently with projects worthy of his Order and of himself. The chief settlements of the reduced Indians lay to the north of Maranham, where above fifty[16] villages were established along an extent of four hundred leagues of coast. On this side all was flourishing; his desire was to form stations in like manner toward the South as far as Seara, connecting thus the Jesuits of Maranham with Brazil, and to pursue the same system of civilization up the great rivers, and in the islands in the mouth of the Orellana. It was to be seen whether an expedition conducted wholly by Religioners, without any means either of artifice or of violence, would succeed as well as those in which fraud and force were unsparingly employed. Two Jesuits, with an hundred Indian canoe-men, and no other person in their company except a Portugueze surgeon, went

Andre de Barros. L. 2, § 125.

Expedition up the Tocantins.

[16] There were three on the mainland, within a distance of twenty-five leagues; two villages in the district of Gurupy, within twenty leagues; seven in that of Camuta, within forty; six in that of Para, within fifty; twenty-eight in the Boca do Rio, within an hundred and fifty; four in that of Camuci, within a distance which Andre de Barros could not ascertain. Besides these there were six villages in the Isle of Maranham. Andre de Barros says that the souls in these settlements were more than two hundred thousand: this would average between three and four thousand each, and therefore the estimate must be greatly exaggerated; for we have the census of the Guarani and Chiquito Reductions to compare with it; and though the River tribes were much less warlike and more docile than those of the interior, or of any other part of the coast, they had for that very reason been more rapidly destroyed. Vieyra affirms that since the Portugueze became masters of Maranham, they had in less than forty years destroyed more than four hundred Indian settlements, some of which were as populous as large cities, and more than two millions of Indians. It appears by Teixeira's voyage that the River tribes were very numerous, but this statement must surely be overrated.

three hundred leagues up the river of the Tocantins to reduce a tribe of Topinambazes, ... whose high reputation for courage, as well as their name, marked their affinity to the brayest people who had opposed the Portugueze in the old Captaincies. The Catingas, who were also of the Tupi race, possessed part of the interjacent country; they were old enemies of the Para settlers, and during the night attempted to cut off some canoes which had fallen astern; but when they learnt from the boatmen that there were no other Portugueze in the party than the *Padres Obunas*, or Black Fathers, and for what purpose they were come, these very enemies followed the Missionaries, and agreed to send deputies back with them, who should treat concerning peace, and arrange measures for their conversion. When the Jesuits reached the nation of whom they were in search, and informed them of the new laws which entrusted the Company with the sole administration of the reduced Indians, they persuaded more than a thousand persons, of whom three hundred were warriors, to follow them. They descended the river in sixty canoes; Vidal, Vieyra, and all the people of Belem went out to see them land; and Vidal, stern and inexorable as he was in war, is said to have wept for joy at beholding this wild flock brought within the fold of Christ. The Catingas soon followed, and were settled in the Captaincy of Camuta; and Vieyra himself went in quest of the remainder of the Poquiz, whom he had formerly seen so wickedly sacrificed, and brought them down to live under the direction of their spiritual fathers.

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 134—141, 165.

Good use was made of the prisoners who were set at liberty after the examination in Maranham. F. Manoel de Sousa took them under his charge, and went up the Orellana to restore them to their own countrymen. Men thus delivered became the best ambassadors: and F. Manoel, having his head-quarters at Curupa, made excursions to the rivers Xingu and Tapajos,

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

till the people of Curupa, impatient of laws which restrained them from their old practices, and abetted at least, if not incited, by their infamous Captain Lameira, tore down the royal edict, seized the Jesuits, forced them into a canoe, and turned them adrift upon the stream. Such outrages could not be committed with impunity under a Governor like Vidal; he sent to apprehend the criminals, they were brought before him in irons, and were banished from the State for life. F. Manoel being thus restored, proceeded farther up the river, and laboured among the Juruûnas, or Black-Mouths, a tribe who differed from all of Tupi stock in many things as well as in language. They were above the mean stature, and, unlike all other savages, they abhorred indolence. They distinguished themselves by a black mark, tattooed from the forehead to the upper lip, where it divided, and encircled the mouth with a black setting; the nobler the person the broader was the line, and the Chiefs had the whole face blackened. Among these people the Jesuit had good success: they sang litanies during the whole night of Good Friday, and flogged themselves in procession to his heart's content.

Outrage against the Jesuits at Curupa.

The Juruûnas.

Andre de Barros. L. 2, § 152—163.

Meantime Sotto-Mayor, the man whose society had first induced Vieyra to devote himself to the Maranham mission, accompanied a party of forty Portugueze and two hundred Indians, who were sent to the Serras dos Pacajas in search of mines, and with such confident expectations of success that they took the name of the Golden Expedition. Samples both of silver and of gold had been produced by the promoters of the scheme, who were suspected of having wilfully deceived the Government, when after ten months search their hopes were frustrated: so many persons died of fatigue and hunger during this expedition, that the survivors could not return till a fresh party arrived to bring them back. During this bootless quest

Fruitless expedition in search of mines.

Vieyra. Sermoens. t. 4, p. 400.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 166—7—182.

Sotto-Mayor laboured among the Pacajas and the Pirapés; but as he was preparing means for bringing the latter tribe to a place of settlement, he slipt from a crag, and falling with his breast upon a sharp stone, received a mortal hurt. The body having been buried by the tribe among whom he died, was brought from thence by the Jesuits of Para: they found it, according to their report, exhaling the richest odour[17] of sanctity when the ground was opened, and they removed it to Belem as a treasure which would one day prove a mine to the Church where it was deposited. During the night on which it reached their church the head disappeared;.. the thief, however, had some claim to it, for he by whom it was thus piously abstracted was Manoel de Vide Sotto-Mayor, brother of the dead, and at that time Sargento Mor of Belem. He inclosed it in a leaden case with quicklime, and carried it to Lisbon; after twenty years the case was opened, and the head in its dried state was from that time preserved in cotton as a relic by the noble family to which Sotto-Mayor belonged.

Death of Sotto-Mayor.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 175—8.

The failure of these golden hopes cast a gloom over the people of Para. Vieyra was at Belem when the news arrived, and he made it the subject of a sermon, congratulating his countrymen that their ill-judging wishes had been thus mercifully disappointed. The misery of labouring in mines was such, he ob-

Vieyra seeks to open a communication with Seara.

[17] During the noviciate of this good man it was discovered that he had lost the sight of one eye, and for this defect, according to the Nazarene spirit of Loyola's institution, he was dismissed. But he continued to live the life of a novice, and after a year's perseverance his merits of zeal and ability were thought sufficient to overbalance this accidental defect. (*Andre de Barros, L.* 2, § 171—2.) Two Memoirs upon the State of Maranham, by his brother Manoel da Vide, are in the Pinheiro Collection of Manuscripts, and have supplied me with some valuable facts.

CHAP. XXVII. 1656.

served, that it was one of the punishments to which the Christians in old time were condemned by the cruellest of the Heathen persecutors. Had any been now discovered, by whom but Indians were they to have been worked? and if so many thousands of this wretched people had been consumed in so few years, and in labours which were comparatively light, where were they to be found for the severer and more wasting toil? Vieyra now in concert with the Governor, turned his attention to the southward coast. The Pernambucan war had made Vidal acquainted with the country about Seara, and the articles of commerce which were to be procured there. The *Pao Violete*, or violet-wood, was cut on the skirts of the Serra de Ibiapaba, where those mountains approached nearest to the sea, and much ambergris was cast upon the shores: to secure the trade in these commodities, he wished to build a fort at the mouth of the Camuci; but this could not be done unless terms were made with the Indians. The greater part of those natives who had sided with the Dutch had taken shelter among these mountains, after the expulsion of their European friends, and the bowels of the Jesuits were more easily moved toward them, as sheep who having been marked with the stamp of baptism, had more claim than others to the Shepherd's [18] care. The difficulty was, how to communicate with them: the intervening country, an extent of more than four hundred miles, was possessed by hostile savages, and the voyage from Maranham to

Sermoens, t. 4, p. 410.

[18] As many of these Indians had served in Dutch regiments, and some of them had been born and brought up among the Dutch, they were supposed to be in a worse state than simple paganism, "for they had been conversant," says the Jesuit Barros, "with Jews, Calvinists, Lutherans, and other monsters of the different sects of the north, and the result of all had been a general Atheism, and a Geneva of the greatest monstruosity in their souls!"

Seara was more difficult and tedious than any known course upon the seas. A Tobajara Indian undertook the land-journey, and was dispatched with letters from the Governor, assuring them of the King's pardon for all offences committed during the Dutch war, and another from Vieyra, stating that the Jesuits, their first fathers, defenders, and teachers, were come to Maranham to be their protectors. When nine months had elapsed this messenger was given up as lost, and a vessel sailed from St. Luiz for the Camuci, having on board two Jesuits, forty soldiers, and all things necessary for the intended fortress. The mode of navigation was to creep along the coast, catching the morning land-breeze, anchoring as soon as it failed, and awaiting its uncertain return. In this manner the vessel proceeded till all her provisions were consumed, and then after fifty days fruitless perseverance the crew put back, and in the course of twelve hours found themselves again at St. Luiz. Meantime Vieyra had attempted a longer voyage in the same direction with no better success. He sailed for Bahia, to lay the state of Maranham before the Provincial, and obtain more labourers for the vineyard; after more than seven weeks he also was on the point of putting back in despair, when the Tobajara messenger was recognized coming down the coast in a canoe, with ten Indians from the Serra, bringing letters from their chiefs; the letters were written on Venetian paper, and sealed with Dutch sealing-wax; these articles they had obtained from the Dutch, and probably it was from the heretics also that they had learnt to write: the writers, however, were Pernambucan Indians, who retained enough of their Catholic education to love the very name of a Jesuit, and expressed their willingness to live again under the tuition of the Company. With these messengers Vieyra joyfully returned. This second failure discouraged any farther attempt by sea, and two brethren, one of whom, by name F. An-

CHAP. XXVII. 1656.

CHAP. XXVII. 1656.

tonio Ribeiro, was perfectly conversant in the Tupi tongue, undertook the more perilous journey by land. The first hundred miles lay over a region of sand, called from its white appearance the Sheets; thus far they were accompanied by an escort of Portugueze against the wild Tapuyas; from thence they proceeded with their own party of seventy Indians, who carried that preparation of mandioc which is called war-flour, *(farinha de guerra)* in a sort of basket upon their backs. At the end of the thirteenth day the Jesuits examined their stores, and found that the bearers, not contented with their due rations, had lightened their shoulders by eating up the whole of what they carried: they would then fain have returned, but their masters insisted upon proceeding and trusting to Providence. They supported themselves upon land-crabs, and fish which they obtained from the Teremembés. One horde of these, under a Chief called Tatuguazu, or the Great Armadillo, laid a plan for murdering them in the night; but they discovered his intention, and decamped in time. They carried a canoe with them, without which it would have been difficult or impossible to pass the many rivers upon their way: in crossing the Piraminim the current carried them out to sea; and when, miraculously to their own belief, they had regained the river with the returning tide, they had nearly been swamped in ascending it by showers of sand, which the wind drove in such clouds as to fill the canoe as fast as they could bale it out with hats, hands, and paddles. When they lay down to sleep upon the sand, they were nearly buried in it before they rose. The whole distance which they travelled was computed at about five hundred and twenty miles, along the shore, without a tree to shelter them: but the waves cast up wood enough for fuel. After a painful journey of five weeks they reached the Serra de Ibiapaba.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 189—209.

The Missionaries reach Ibiapaba.

Ibiapaba is a Tupi word signifying the precipitous land *(ter-*

ra talha). The mountains rise from the shores about the Camuci, towering wave above wave, and extend into the interior for more than an hundred and sixty miles. At present this Serra separates the Captaincies of Pernambuco and Piauhi. The height is considerable; but though clouds are said continually to envelope these mountains, water, from some unexplained cause, is very scarce there, and hence it is that the rivers between Seara and Recife are dry in summer, and that the whole intermediate country suffers so frequently from drought. The Missionaries were joyfully received here, a place of worship was soon erected, and Ribeiro indited in Tupi verse a summary of the Romish faith, set it to a tune, and taught the children to sing it. His services were soon required at Seara. Near that fortress, which was about sixty leagues from the station of the Jesuits, there were two villages of converted Indians, and two Tapuya tribes, who, though both at peace with the Portugueze, were at war with each other. A party of the Jaguaruanas, as the one were called, were in the forests cutting violet-wood for the Captain of the fort, when their enemies, the Guanaces, with some force from the villages, fell upon them, and carried off their wives and children. The Captain of the fort, as soon as he heard of this, hastened with a body of soldiers to assist the injured party. They found the Guanaces, about five hundred in number, fortified in a wood; one of the soldiers persuaded them to give up their arms, that they might retire under protection of the Portugueze; but the moment that they disarmed themselves the Jaguaruanas fell upon them, and massacred every man, the authority of the Portugueze not being sufficient to prevent the mischief to which they had given occasion. The evil did not end here: a general cry was raised among all the Seara Indians against the Portugueze; and they were despised for not having been able to protect the people whom they had

Vieyra quoted by Andre de Barros, L. 8, § 211—13.

Koster's Travels.

CHAP. XXVII. 1656.

induced to lay down their weapons, nor to withhold those for whose forbearance their word had been accepted as security. In this movement of indignation the fortress was threatened, and the Jaguaruanas, growing insolent with the joy of revenge, prepared to take vengeance also upon the two villages of converted Indians. In such an emergency the commander saw no better means of relief than by requesting the Jesuits of Ibiapaba would hasten to aid him with all speed. Ribeiro came, and succeeded in restoring peace and confidence. He was less successful in attempting to reform the abuses of the Christian villages, where the soldiers lived in open adultery with the wives, while the husbands were employed by the officers, in that spirit of rapacious avarice which at this time disgraced the Portugueze. He went to Pernambuco to propose some remedy for these things, but a deaf ear was turned to any proposal which could in the slightest degree lessen the emoluments of office, however iniquitously obtained. When Ribeiro returned to the Serra, he received information from Vieyra that the Provincial had sent orders for them to forsake the mission and return to Maranham. He called together the Royalets, told them that such orders had been given, and that he only waited to receive the Provincial's letters; and represented to them that it would be to the service of God and of the King if they also would remove to Maranham. One of the Chiefs replied, that as for the service of the King, Ibiapaba belonged to him as well as Maranham; nor could there be any reason why they should remove in order to become Christians and serve God, for God was in all places. By good fortune the Provincial's orders, though sent by repeated messengers, did not arrive till after eighteen months, and in that time instructions were received from the Court, probably through Vieyra's interference, that the mission should by all means be continued. It was in reality of great importance, for

it opened the communication between Pernambuco and Maranham, which, if the natives in this part were hostile, would be impracticable. Vidal being at this time promoted to the Government of Pernambuco, performed the journey by land. CHAP. XXVII. 1657.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 220—251.

The death of Prince Theodosio was a severe loss to Vieyra; it was soon followed by that of the King; they were his best protectors and his dearest friends, upon whose perfect esteem and perfect confidence he could at all times rely. There still remained to him a powerful and steady friend in D. Andre Fernandez, Bishop of Japan, who was the Queen's Confessor; and it was probably through his influence that the General of the Company appointed him Visitor and Superior in that part of America. The same ship which conveyed this appointment brought out the new Governor, D. Pedro de Mello, a man of higher family than any who had held the situation before him, but in every moral and intellectual quality woefully inferior to his predecessor. At this time he knew the influence which Vieyra still possessed at Court, and therefore affected with peculiar interest to forward his plans. In the preceding year F. Francisco Vellozo and Manoel Pires had conducted a ransoming party as far as the mouth of the River Negro, and brought back six hundred lawful slaves from an expedition of more than four thousand miles. Pires went again in the same direction, having for his companion F. Francisco Gonsalvez, the late Provincial of Brazil; they now went up the Negro, which no Portugueze had ascended before them; they erected crosses where they penetrated, like the first Portugueze discoverers, and returned with six or seven hundred ransomed captives, after a voyage of fifteen months, the fatigues of which proved fatal to Gonsalvez. An expedition up the Tocantins was less fortunate; the Indians who accompanied the Missionaries were attacked, and some of them slain: this was one of the causes of lawful

D. Pedro de Mello succeeds Vidal.

Expedition to the Rio Negro.

CHAP. XXVII. 1657.

war for which the ordinances provided; a force, therefore, of forty-five Portugueze and four hundred and fifty Indians, with two Jesuits to preside in spirituals, were sent against the tribes who impeded the preaching of the gospel: they took some three hundred prisoners, and the Jesuits having accomplished this part of their errand, went a month's journey from the river to the Poquiguaras, of whom they brought away several hundred to settle among the Portugueze; they then ascended the river as high as six degrees, and reduced some hordes of Topinambazes and Catingas; the whole gatherings of the expedition amounted to more than two thousand Indians.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, 955—70—86.

The Ilha dos Joanes.

Vieyra himself was preparing a more important service to the state. In the mouth of the Orellana, between Point Tigioca and the Cabo do Norte, or North Cape, lies the great Ilha dos Joanes, or Ilha do Marajó, as it is now more commonly called by the Portugueze of Para. This island, which is between five and six hundred miles in circumference, seems to have been formerly connected with the main land; but in great part of South America, the inclination toward the sea is so imperceptible that many rivers communicate with each other by natural channels, and a large branch of the Orellana, making its way southward, and joining the Rio dos Bocas and the Rio dos Tocantins, insulates this great track of land. The channel between the island and the Maranham shore is about six leagues wide, and widens to about ten at the mouth: it is broader on the Guiana side, where the great body of waters from the Orellana flows into the sea. The natives of this island, lying so near Belem, had been exposed to the usual aggressions of the Portugueze; but they were well situated for taking vengeance, and had made the offenders feel how impolitic it was to provoke an enemy at their own doors. It was in reliance upon their good will that the English and Dutch had attempted to establish themselves upon the

Pimentel. Arte de Navegar.

great river, and the disposition of the savages toward these heretical interlopers alarmed the Portugueze even more for its religious than its political consequences. Before Vidal arrived the Government of Para had declared war against the Aroans and Nheengaibas, two of the island-tribes, and sent against them an expedition, consisting of seventy Portugueze and four hundred Indians, under Joam Betancor Moniz, a man who had acquired some reputation in such warfare, but who displayed little judgement on this occasion. He entrenched himself on the shore after the native manner, with an estacade, and dispatched part of his force to propose forgiveness and peace to a people who knew themselves to be the injured party, and were in no fear of their invaders. They cut off some of the detachment, and confined Moniz to his position, till sickness compelled him to retreat with farther loss. Vidal, a few days after his arrival, crost to the island, and was so much pleased with the principal settlement of the Aroans, that in his dispatches to the Court he recommended it as a good situation for founding a city, and establishing there the seat of Government: the island abounded with fine pasture, the want of which was much felt in Para; he thought also that it had the advantage over Belem in its climate, its soil, and the security and defensibleness of its port; but he overlooked the dangerous nature of the coast.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

Unsuccessful war of the Portugueze against the Islanders.

1655.

Berredo, § 986—1002.

Vidal, like his predecessor, attempted to reduce the Nheengaibas by force of arms. The Sargento Mor, Agostinho Correa, went against them with an hundred and twenty Portugueze and four hundred Indians; it was one of those cases which the spirit as well as the letter of the law allowed to be a cause for lawful war, and the two Fathers, Joam de Sotto-Mayor, and Salvador do Valle, accompanied the expedition; the state could not send out a stronger force, nor more experienced officers and men: but these natives were found, as they ever had been, un-

Failure of a second expedition.

CHAP. XXVII. 1655.

conquerable, such was their courage, their constancy, their wariness, and the skill with which they availed themselves of the ground, .. for the island was a labyrinth of rivers and woods; the streams intersected it with innumerable channels, and the thickets were impervious to all but an Indian; they were places, says Vieyra, where you could neither besiege the enemy, nor find, nor follow, nor even see them, while they were all the while aiming their arrows, under safe cover of the trees. The better to resist the Portugueze, these Indians broke up their villages, and made every family erect its hut apart, so that they could nowhere be taken at advantage; and the whole island was their fastness, its woods being their walls, its channels their fosses, every habitation a watch-tower, and every inhabitant a centinel ready with his trumpet to blow the alarm. Against such prudent enemies Correa was not more successful than his predecessors; the Nheengaibas knew when to fight and when to fly; they inflicted more evil than they sustained; and the Portugueze, having lost many of their men, were at the end of three months compelled by sickness and hunger to retire from the vain attempt. They had gone better prepared with chains and fetters to secure the slaves whom they hoped to take than with bandages for their own wounds, and Sotto-Mayor and his comrade tore up their shirts for this service. The character of the Jesuits was now so well known, that even when they accompanied an expedition like this the Indians offered them no injury. Before the Portugueze embarked Sotto-Mayor gave his Crucifix to one of the Royalets, telling him that from that moment the God whom he there saw represented took possession of the island and its inhabitants; that that God would soon incline their hearts to peace, and that he left him there in pledge. Sotto-Mayor was loudly censured by his countrymen for having thus with indiscreet enthusiasm exposed the sacred image to

Cartas de Vieyra, T. 2, p. 24.

Sotto-Mayor leaves a crucifix among the savages.

Andre de Barros, 2, § 145—60. Do. 3. § 5.

insult and indecent treatment; it was certainly the act of an enthusiast, but he understood the nature of the men with whom he was conversing. CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

When D. Pedro de Mello arrived to take possession of the Government, he brought news that Holland and Portugal were then at open war. It was immediately apprehended that the Dutch would renew their intercourse with the Nheengaibas, and by their help again attempt to establish themselves at the Cabo do Norte, and in the Orellana; or perhaps make themselves masters of Belem and all Para, an enterprize which might easily have succeeded. The Portugueze, uninstructed by frequent experience, urged the new Governor to attack the Indians with all his force before any Dutchmen should arrive among them: all the persons, civil and ecclesiastical, whose opinions were to be taken upon such matters, admitted the lawfulness and necessity of the war; Vieyra alone recommended that conciliatory means should first be tried, and offered to undertake the charge of negociating. Hopeless as the proposal was deemed, there was yet so much risk in the intended war that he was allowed to try: the only answer, it was said, which his messengers would receive would be at the point of an arrow, as had been the case for twenty years. Vieyra, however, wrote an open letter, which he addressed to all the Nheengaiba tribes, informing them that the new laws, which he had gone to Portugal to procure, had put an end to those wrongs and grievances of which they complained; he pledged his word that the old system of injustice was prohibited, and said that he was ready to receive them, or, if they desired it, to go among them himself; and he referred them to the messengers, who were of their own nation, and Chiefs of some Christian villages, as men who could testify the truth of his letter, and give them full information of the actual state of things. The messengers willingly

Vieyra proposes to treat with them.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

departed upon this errand, expecting nothing less than martyrdom for their reward; and they told Vieyra, that if they did not return by the next moon he might conclude that they were dead or detained in slavery. The moon waxed and waned, and another began its course: the old settlers, who had always augured ill of the embassy, were now satisfied that their prognostics had been fulfilled; and this indeed was the general belief, when upon Ash-Wednesday the messengers entered the College, bringing with them a party of Nheengaibas and seven of their Chiefs. The Chiefs made a long harangue, wherein they attributed the past hostilities to their real cause, the injustice of the Portugueze, and their want of good faith: "but," said they, "when we saw the paper of the Great Father, of whom we had already heard, how for love of us and others of our skin he had exposed himself upon the waters of the deep sea, and obtained for us all good things from the King, .. although we understood no more of the paper than what our kinsmen told us, we gave it full credit; and putting out of mind the wrongs which we have suffered from the Portugueze, we are come here to place ourselves in their hands, and in the mouths of their guns, knowing certainly that under the Fathers there is no one who will do us evil." Vieyra would instantly have gone with them to the Island, but they said that at present their countrymen were living like beasts of the forest: that they would bring down a horde to the water-side, and that as soon as they had made a church, and a house for the Father, they would come for him with a greater escort, .. appointing as the time St. John's day, a name which the Indians knew, and by which they distinguished the winter from the spring. Accordingly, five days before that festival there arrived seventeen canoes of the Nheengaibas, and thirteen of the Combocas, another people of the same island: there came a Chief in each canoe, and so many followers that the fortress and the city were

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

alarmed, and secretly made ready for defence. Vieyra was at this time so dangerously ill as to have gone through some of the last ceremonies[19] of the Romish Church. The Indians, therefore, returned without him; but on his recovery he followed them, in company with F. Thomé Ribeiro, departing from Comuta, one of the *Aldeas*, or villages of the converted natives, (as the Reductions were called in this part of the continent,) with ten large canoes, the chiefs of all the reduced Indians, and only ten Portugueze, that his entire confidence in the savages might be apparent. On the fifth day of their voyage they entered a river, which was then called Rio dos Mapuaeses, from the name of that Nheengaiba tribe which had promised to make the settlement. The Chiefs came out to meet him in a large canoe, which was richly adorned with feathers; they came sounding conchs, and shouting out their *pocémas*, or cries of joy. Some of them stept into the Jesuit's canoe, and the first thing they did was to present to Vieyra the Crucifix which Sotto-Mayor had left among them. It had been reported that they had broken it in pieces, and applied the metal of which it was made to profane uses; but knowing it was an Idol,

Aug. 16.

[19] Two persons, one of whom was a military officer, had brought a scandalous charge against Vieyra, and raised a popular outcry against him. Being at this time, as he believed, upon his death-bed, and with the sacrament before him, he made oath of his innocence, and forgave his slanderers. But though this effectually cleared him in the public opinion, the Superior of the College insisted upon a legal investigation of the charge; the accusers were convicted of having borne false witness, and they confessed their falsehood. They were condemned to perpetual banishment from the State, and to appear in the Mother Church naked from the waist upward, and with a bit in their mouths; but this part of the sentence was remitted at the Jesuits' request.

Andre de Barros, 3, § 17, 22.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

they had reverenced it as such; and the Jesuits and their retinue fully believed that the pacific disposition of the Savages had been produced by this Divine Missionary, as they called the senseless image. From Vieyra's delay they had supposed him to be dead, and had agreed to meet again at a certain time, and go to Belem to ascertain what had happened, and if their fears should be verified, to weep over his grave. Upon landing, the Indians led their visitors to a church neatly constructed of palm-leaves, after the manner of the land; it was immediately dedicated to the Image, and Te Deum was sung. The Jesuit's house was only a few paces distant, well made, with its corridor and its cells, within an inclosure to which there was only one door, according to the form of *clausure* which the Missionaries observed among the Indians.

Ceremonies at the submission of the tribe.

Before the neighbouring hordes could assemble at the summons of their Chiefs, a panic spread among the Portugueze and Indians of Vieyra's company, beginning in some silly omens, and heightened by their talk concerning the perilous situation in which they should find themselves if any treason were intended. When Vieyra understood this he told the leaders that their arguments were very good, and they might provide for their own safety by departing as soon as they pleased; but that the Nheengaibas had required to treat with the Jesuits, and he and his comrade would remain and conclude the business for which they came. The next day the Mamaynas arrived, the horde which had been most dreaded for their ferocity, and all suspicion was presently removed by their conduct. When a sufficient number of Royalets were assembled, the oath of obedience was administered with all possible ceremony; for the Missionaries knew how much these people were influenced by forms. On the right of the Church the Chiefs of the converted Indians were drawn up in their best attire, with no other weapon than their swords; the heathen

Chiefs stood on the left, naked and feathered according to their fashion, and with bow and arrow in hand; the Portugueze were stationed between them. Over the altar was a picture of the Three Kings adoring the Infant Christ; the altar was gaudily drest, Vieyra performed mass, and the Portugueze were edified at seeing the unregenerate natives kneel and beat their breasts during the performance of what in the Catholic superstition is called the Sacrifice. This done, he addressed them through an interpreter, explaining the duties to be incurred and the advantages to be obtained by submitting themselves to the King of Portugal, and receiving the faith of the true God; and asking them if they would accept those advantages, and perform those duties. All answered in the affirmative, except a Chief named Piyé, who replied, that for his part he would not promise thus; . . the question ought to be put to the Portugueze, not to the Indians; for it was the Portugueze who had broken their promise and their duty, while he and his people had always duly observed the good faith which they had once plighted. The Chiefs approached the altar one by one, laid down their weapons at Vieyra's feet, knelt, placed their hands between his, and took an oath of obedience and of peace; then embraced the Jesuits, the Portugueze, and the Christian Indians with whom they had lately been at war. The Jesuits chaunted Te Deum, during which all were on their knees: when they arose, the Christian Indians brought their bows and arrows, which had been laid without the Church; the Portugueze drew the bullets from their harquebusses, threw them in the river and fired with powder, and all the Indians broke their arrows, and cast them into the stream; trumpets, conchs and tambours, and human voices, making the while an uproar of joyful dissonance. A process-verbal was drawn up, to which the Chiefs individually set their mark, every one being proud that his name was to

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

reach the King of Portugal; and each in return received a patent, which, in confirming his rights, was the charter of his vassalage. A huge and well-made cross had been made for the occasion; no Indian of inferior rank was permitted to touch it; the three and fifty Chiefs bore it upon their shoulders to the place where it was planted. It was agreed that during the winter the Indians should remove from the woods, and build houses beside the rivers, and that in the ensuing summer the Jesuits would return and tarry among them. The collective number of the Islanders [20] who were comprized in this pacification was estimated at forty thousand, and there was also present a Chief of the Tucojus, a tribe on the Guiana side, computed at sixty thousand. Having effected this important object, the Jesuits reembarked for Belem, carrying with them Sotto-Mayor's Crucifix; and as Vieyra professed his belief that to this Crucifix the whole success was owing, it was determined when he landed at the city that it should be received in triumph: this, they said, had been the General, this the soldier, and therefore this was now to be crowned with laurels as the conqueror. The magistrates, the clergy, the religioners, and the people went out in procession to receive it, the bells rung, the guns were fired, and thus with every demonstration of public joy this Idol was deposited in the Church of the Jesuits' College, where it was long venerated with especial devotion.

Vieyra Cartas, t. 2, c. 2. A. de Barros, 3, § 24—50.

[20] They consisted of three nations of different tongues, the Mamaynas, Aroans, and Anayas, under which were included the Mapuas, Gujaras, Pixipixis, Paucacas, and other tribes. (*Vieyra Cartas, T. 2, p. 40. Andre de Barros, 3,* § 46.) The Nheengaibas seem not to have been a Tupi race, or Vieyra would not have needed an interpreter when he addressed them. Hervas has collected less information respecting this part of America than any other scene of the labours of his brethren.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

The peace effected with the Nheengaibas secured Para on that side, at a time when any invader might have conquered it by their help. It was believed that the Dutch, with their assistance on the north, or with that of the Tobajaras on the south, might have made themselves masters of these extensive and ill-occupied regions: both tribes had now been conciliated by Vieyra. The time occupied in this important business, and the delay occasioned by his illness, had well nigh produced much evil among the Ibiapaba hordes. They had sent the sons and brothers of their Chiefs to Maranham, among them the son of their eldest Royalet, by name D. Jorge Gomez Tieuna, or da Sylva, who was to visit Portugal. A long interval elapsed; the Tobajaras received no tidings of their relations, and a rumour obtained credit that Tieuna had been thrown overboard by the Portugueze, and that his companions were made slaves: the savages declared they would wait till Easter, and if no intelligence should have arrived by that time, they would take vengeance upon the Missionaries who resided among them. Tieuna had returned from Lisbon, laden with presents, and was at this time, with all his companions, on the way from Maranham, in company of Vieyra, who had resolved to visit and regulate the mission himself. After a painful journey of three weeks, the shortest time in which it had ever been performed, he reached Ibiapaba on the Wednesday of the Passion Week, barefoot and foot-foundered, having suffered dreadfully from weather, fatigue, hunger, and worse than all, the swarms of mosquitos and other insects, whom the rainy season brings into life. Notwithstanding his exhausted condition, the ceremonies of the week were immediately commenced, and on Good Friday the Passion was represented in the morning, and the funeral of the Redeemer after sunset, the youth and children of both sexes carrying crosses in the procession, and wearing crowns of thorns.

Vieyra goes to the Serra de Ibiapaba.

A. de Barros, 2, 264.

CHAP. XXVII. 1658.

But it was not to preside at these religious pageants that Vieyra had undertaken so painful a journey; he came to investigate the state of the mission, and place all things upon a regular establishment. The instructions of the Dutch pastors had not been forgotten by the Pernambucan Indians; and there seems reason to suspect that the doctrines of the Reformed Church had made upon them a deeper impression than could easily be effaced by the mummeries of Romish superstition. They are accused of being dogmatists, . . of having sucked in venom from the Calvinists, and instilled it into the other tribes; for this reason Vieyra removed them to Maranham. The œconomy of the mission was then regulated: the Tobajara Chiefs set the example of confining themselves to one wife; it was arranged that the children should go regularly to school, and that religious instruction should be given twice a day; and an overseer from among the Indians was appointed, with the significant title of the Arm of the Father. Having effected these things Vieyra embarked either at Camuci or Seara, and returned by sea.

The heretical Indians are removed.

A. de Barros, 3, § 55–68.

Hitherto no open opposition had been attempted to those laws under which the missions were flourishing, and by which the State had been delivered from its most active enemies. But the advocates of the former system were not reconciled to the change: the Chamber of Belem wrote to that of S. Luiz, proposing that they should unite for the purpose of depriving the Jesuits of their temporal authority over the Indians, and re-establishing the old practice; the proposed union was acceded to, and being thus encouraged, the Chamber addressed a remonstrance to Vieyra, representing the distress to which the State was reduced by the restrictions upon slavery. The King's revenues and his tenths, they said, were so much diminished that no person would farm them, and they were collected for the Government at great loss; it was necessary to call upon

The Chamber of Belem remonstrate against the system of the Jesuits.

the people to supply meal for the soldiers, and the appointments of the Vicar, and the pittance allotted to the Capuchins, could not be paid: men of noble lineage, who had aided in conquering that State, could not bring their children to the city, because they had no slaves to row their canoes, . . the only communication, as was well known, being by water; at the last Christmas their families had not appeared at mass, because the daughters were without fit clothing, and the parents, for want of slaves, had not wherewith to purchase it: many persons in Belem had no one to fetch them a bundle of wood or pitcher of water, and were perishing for want of men to cultivate their land; . . these evils all arose from the want of slaves, when there were so many in the interior who might be ransomed! Such was the general distress, that even the principal men in Belem wore no better clothing than black cotton cloth, which bore the enormous price of three *testoons* the *vara*, being three times its former cost. The price of slaves was raised so excessively, that at the sale of a late settler's effects they had been purchased at seventy *milreas* per head. The remedy for all these evils was to send an expedition into the interior, and purchase captives; and they entreated that his Paternity would administer this remedy to their sufferings.

Berredo, § 1023–8.

Vieyra in his reply to this memorial observed, that they imputed to the want of slaves inconveniences which clearly arose from other causes: . . first, from the nature of the country, which was so inundated and intersected with rivers that all communication was difficult and laborious: secondly, that game and fish, upon which the people chiefly depended for subsistence, became less abundant every year: thirdly, there was no market, no shambles, no arrangements of any kind for facilitating a supply of the necessaries of life, so that every family was compelled to provide all things for itself, . . to have its huntsmen, its fisher-

Vieyra replies to their memorial.

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

men, its spinners and its weavers, to raise its own bread, and keep its own boats and boatmen. The fourth cause was to be found in the circumstances of Portugal, which greatly enhanced the cost of all foreign commodities, while sugar and tobacco were fallen in price: and a fifth existed in that vanity which would not, as in former times, limit its expences by its means. As for slaves, it was apparent that however great the supply, the mortality was greater; every day's experience had shown this in Para; and in Brazil no remedy had been found till the inhabitants procured Negroes from Angola, the natives being less capable of labour, less able to endure illness, and so near their own country, that they either fled into the woods, or died for grief when they could not effect their escape. Great and successful efforts had nevertheless been made for procuring Indians; in the last six years more than three thousand free settlers had been brought down, and more than eighteen hundred slaves. They complained that none of these had fallen to the share of the people of Para, and that they were sold at a price beyond what the inhabitants could pay. To this he must answer, it had been proposed that the Indians should be distributed among the different Captaincies of the State in proportion to the population, and sold at the price which had been paid for them in the interior, which, at the highest cost of iron, never amounted to four *milreas;* but they had neither chosen to submit to this arrangement, nor agree to the price. He concluded by informing them that a mission was preparing to some Topinambazes upon the Iguassu, which was to be attempted by way of the Tocantins; and that if they wished to try the Araguaya branch of that great river, where there were said to be many slaves, the expedition should take that course, for it was his desire in all things that he could to consult even their temporal interests.

Berredo, § 1030.

This reasonable reply drew forth a second paper from the Chamber, wherein they complained that the free Indians whom the Missionaries brought down were of no use, and that the greater number of slaves were sold at S. Luiz and Gurupy. They could not, they said, perform impossibilities, and it was impossible to have shambles or market in that country. The expedition which he proposed promised nothing but destruction to those who should embark in it: but they required him not to be avaricious of the interior, which God had given them, and which they had conquered and subjected to his Majesty: they demanded that they might enter the Madeira, the River Negro, the Cambebas, and many other parts where there were slaves in abundance, who would be eaten if they were not ransomed; this would be doing God service, for some of these slaves might have their souls saved by being in the hands of the Portugueze, even though they should pine themselves to death. Finally, they affected to dispute the temporal authority which had been vested in the Jesuits, and required him to produce his powers. The flagitious principles and the mutinous spirit of the Chamber were unequivocally manifested in this reply; .. in reality these measures were designed as preparatory to an insurrection. They sent Antonio de Albuquerque Maranham (son of that Jeronymo by whom S. Luiz was won from the French) to be their *Procurador* at Lisbon, and they dispatched deputies to Maranham with copies of the correspondence to D. Pedro de Mello. The people had stood in much fear of this Governor when he arrived, from a supposition that as he was superior in rank to any of his predecessors, he would possess greater authority. His conduct had at first increased that fear by its insolent injustice. Though he possessed ships and numerous slaves, his avarice was insatiable: he took bribes, he suffered his servants to commit crimes with impunity; and made himself first universally dreaded, then

The Chamber dispute his power.

Berredo, § 1032—6.

Pedro de Mello encourages the discontented party.

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

universally detested, till at length he perceived that the people in their hatred might ere long forget their fear: then dreading their vengeance, he began to court popularity; and the surest method of obtaining it was by taking part with them against the Jesuits. For this purpose, while he affected a lively concern for the welfare of the missions, he secretly encouraged measures which were designed to overthrow them. Incited as the people were by his secret manœuvres, one apprehension alone withheld them from immediate insurrection, and deterred him from instigating them to it;.. they knew the principles of the Bishop of Japan, and knew also that he possessed as much influence over the Queen Regent as he had enjoyed at court during the lives of Prince Theodosio and the King. Tidings of his death [21] arrived at this juncture. The intelligence was not more afflicting to Vieyra than it was welcome to the Friars, and the Slave-party: nor could it ever have arrived at a more unfortunate time, for a Friar came out in the same vessel who by some sinister means had obtained certain letters written by Vieyra to the deceased Bishop, and depicting in true colours the moral state of these Captaincies. The rancorous spirit of the Mendicants was now gratified: they made the letters public; and the people, inflamed by their spiritual guides, sure of the connivance of the Governor, and now also relieved from all fear of the Court, as-

Death of the bishop of Japan.

Vieyra's letters to him are made public.

[21] In the Life of Vieyra it is affirmed, that not long after his return from Ibiapaba his spirits for three days were so depressed as to make him believe some affliction had befallen which touched him nearly, and under this persuasion he performed a funeral mass for the friend, whoever he might be, who had departed. The time was noted, and the next ships brought advices that during those days the Bishop of Japan, his best surviving friend, and the chief support of the Missions, had been struggling with his last sickness.

Andre de Barros, L. 3, § 77—80.

sembled tumultuously, elected a *Juiz do Povo*, and declared their intention of proceeding against the Jesuits. D. Pedro affected to temporize, and to reason with the insurgents. According to his own statement, he had only five or six domestics on whom he could depend, to oppose more than as many hundred persons; and the tumult in the city, he said, was like the day of judgement. In this state of things, he put on a religious habit called the *Capinha de S. José*, and in this dress, while the mob were assaulting the College, he preached moderation to them from a window, advancing arguments which, he says, none but St. Joseph could have inspired, and which might have moved the very stones. He might as well have addressed the stones. A Governor in the short cloak of St. Joseph, preaching patience to a mob, was in reality fomenting the mutiny which he pretended to allay. There was thus neither civil nor military power to repress the multitude, and the fear which perhaps they might have felt, of ecclesiastical censures, was removed by the Vicar, who assured them that they were not incurring excommunication by their outrages against the Jesuits; and to confirm his opinion, he invited them to come daily and recite the *terço*, or third part of the rosary. The feeble remonstrances of the Governor were belied by all his actions: he had signed some blank papers, and given them to Vieyra to be filled up with such orders as might be necessary for the affairs of the mission: he now formally annulled any such orders, and protested against the use of his signature. Being thus encouraged openly as well as covertly, the mob dragged the Jesuits from their cells, compelled the Superior to resign his authority over the Indians into the hands of the Chamber, then forced him and his brethren on board ship, there to be kept prisoners till the Missionaries from all the other stations could be seized and deported with them.

Insurrection at S. Luiz.

Berredo, § 1032—36. *Do.* 1039—58—60. *Expulsam dos Padres.* *M.S. Pinheiro Collection*, t 6, No. 13. *Carta de D. Pedro de Mello.* *Berredo*, § 1041. *Andre de Barros*, 3, § 86—7.

Vieyra was on the way from Belem to Maranham, when

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

he was apprized of the insurrection by a letter[22] from D. Pedro, who advised him not to repair to the city, but to take shelter at Gurupy, where the *Capitam Mor* might be trusted. Here the municipality were well disposed, and when Vieyra declared his intention of returning to Belem, that if possible he might prevent the insurrection from breaking out there also, they insisted upon giving him an escort of three armed canoes. Immediately on his arrival at Belem, he addressed a memorial to the Chamber, informing them fully of all that had occurred, and requiring them not only to continue in obedience to the laws, but bear in mind that the principal object of those laws, as the King had himself explicitly declared, was the propagation of the faith, and the discharge of the King's own conscience. By means of the humane dispositions of these laws, and their due observance, he said, that great object was rapidly being effected, so that every day new souls were aggregated to the Church, and new vassals were subjected to the Crown. He reminded them how much during twenty years the State had suffered from the Nheengaibas, and that now no less than nine villages of that formidable nation had placed themselves under the tuition of the Jesuits. The Indians of Ibiapaba also, with whose alliance the Dutch might at any time become masters of Seara and all the country northward, had given him their oath of vassallage, and received Jesuits to be their teachers; the road to Pernambuco was thus opened, the sea was safe, and trade flourishing. All these advantages would be lost if the promise which had been pledged to the Indians were broken;

Vieyra calls upon the Chamber of Belem to maintain the laws.

[22] Berredo has inserted this letter, to prove the sincerity of the Governor. In my judgement, D. Pedro de Mello's letter exhibits duplicity as well as superstition and weakness.

and he exhorted the Chamber to remember that there were men among the Indians who could read the laws, and understand them as well as themselves. The Topinambazes had been brought down from the interior,.. a people whose reputation would ensure the reduction of other tribes. He spake of the expeditions which had been undertaken, and of others which were planned: the Missionaries, he said, preached with the Gospel in one hand and the laws in the other, and it was only through their reliance upon the laws, and their confidence in the Jesuits, that the Indians could be won: the laws and the Jesuits, as they believed, would secure them against the old oppressions which were so vividly remembered and resented so deeply; but if they should now see that neither the laws, nor the Jesuits could protect themselves, in what or in whom were they to trust for protection? As yet the news of the mutiny was not known, and the Chamber might easily retain the people of Para in obedience, especially if they would cut off the communication with Maranham, as was done with places infected with a plague, and intercept the agents sent from thence for the purpose of seducing them to a participation in guilt. The Chamber replied, that they had sent memorials to Lisbon, representing, that they were satisfied with the spiritual conduct of the Jesuits, but that the temporal jurisdiction which they assumed had reduced the Captaincy to the utmost distress; upon this ground they had appealed against the existing laws, and required that a judge might be sent from Portugal to decide between the people and the Jesuits, and to do justice. Meantime, while their petition was pending, they would endeavour with hearts, lives, and properties, faithfully to serve the King. The reply evinced how little they were displeased with the tumults at Maranham, and the advices which they received from D. Pedro de Mello encouraged them to proceed in a similar

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

Berredo, § 1043—51.

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

course: for though the Governor exhorted them to observe the laws, he spoke of the compulsory resignation which the Jesuits had made of their powers, as a measure which would be ratified at Lisbon, and for which he had prepared the Court.

Insurrection at Belem.

No precautions were taken to prevent the welcome intelligence from becoming public, because there was no desire to restrain the people. The Chamber had not affected to conceal their wishes, and the *Capitam Mor*, Marçal Nunes da Costa, (for after Vidal's promotion the State had been again divided) was one of those men who care not by what means they enrich themselves. As soon as the news was divulged the people assembled tumultuously and surrounded the College: Vieyra, who if he had not been intrepid by nature would have been rendered courageous by the cause in which he was engaged, came forward and faced the tumult. But reason and eloquence are of no avail against a headlong multitude;..he was seized, ill-treated, and insulted;..and one of the principal persons of the city asked him in mockery where were all his learning and all his genius now, if they could not deliver him in this extremity! The other Jesuits were put in confinement, some on shipboard, some in the city; he was separated from the rest, and closely imprisoned in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. An Indian woman, who remembered with gratitude for what cause he was persecuted, was the only person who ventured to make way through the centinels and carry him food: they threatened to burn her hut,..she answered, that if they did she[23] would dress

Vieyra is seized and expelled.

[23] Marianna Pinta was her name. The Jesuits, in gratitude for her conduct, educated her only son with such care that he was ordained, and became a *Cura* in this very city of Belem. The General of the Order sent her from Rome a

his victuals in the street. It was determined to rid themselves at once of Vieyra by sending him to S. Luiz, and dispose afterwards of the other Jesuits as Maranham might set the example. When he arrived at that island he was immediately removed to a caravel, and closely confined there: he demanded a conference with the Chamber, either in their usual place of meeting, or on the shore, where he might be heard from a boat; their answer was, that they would have no conference with a man who dealt with the Devil. The dispatches which he had written to the Court from Gurupy had been seized by the ruling party, or perhaps delivered to them by the Governor, and the triumphant faction revenged themselves for this faithful exposition of their conduct by heaping upon him fresh indignities: he, though treated more cruelly than any of his companions, betrayed not the slightest mark of impatience or irritation; the evil consequences to the Indians, which he foresaw, wrung him to the heart, and made him envy the brethren who had fallen asleep in their labours; but as far as regarded himself, an heroic mind, a clear conscience, and an enthusiastic sense of duty, produced in him that peace which passeth all understanding. The Jesuits had been plundered as well as outraged; their dwelling-house, and even their church at S. Antonio de Alcantara, were destroyed; their property was sequestered, and when they were put on board two caravels for deportation, the Governor, laying aside the mask, took from their effects the amount of three hundred and twenty milreas, as the price of their forced passage. A privateer captured one of these vessels shortly after

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

Andre de Barros, 3. § 111—19—24. *Berredo*, § 1055—7. *Expulsam dos Padres*, M.S.

Carta de Irmandade, which entitled her to a share in the stock of good works belonging to the Company; and she was buried in the College-Church, at the Company's expense. *Andre de Barros*, 3, § 117—118.

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

they had sailed, and re-landed the Jesuits on the Isle of Maranham; the other, in which Vieyra was embarked, escaped, and reached Lisbon safely.

Transactions at Curupa.

Vieyra, before his arrest, had sent letters to the Missionaries at their different stations, exhorting them to stay by their flocks as long as possible, even if it should be necessary to secrete themselves in the woods. Those who were in Para learning that Paulo Martins Garro, the Captain of Curupa, refused to follow the mutinous measures of the two capitals, thought it better to take shelter under his protection. This officer seems to have been appointed by Vidal as a fit person to restrain an ill-disposed settlement, when the former mutiny was quelled. The ruling faction at Belem had now resolved, like their confederates at S. Luiz, to expel the Jesuits without farther delay; and that they might rid themselves of the whole by one deportation, they sent the Maranham *Procurador do Povo*, Antonio Barradas de Mendoça, to excite an insurrection at Curupa, and bring prisoners from thence the Fathers who had taken shelter there. The enterprize proved more difficult than this representative of the people had expected. For no sooner had he left Belem, than Manoel da Vide, espousing with natural ardour the cause of that society in which his brother Sotto-Mayor had been so distinguished a member, found means to deliver the Jesuits from their confinement, and escape with them to Curupa, where this accession to the well-disposed party arrived in time to defeat the *Procurador's* project. The *Ouvidor*, with some persons attached to his department, arrived shortly afterward, and finding that Barradas was about to return with the news of his failure and collect a stronger force, he prevented him by attacking his canoes, which he captured, and put him and his secretary in irons. The people at Belem had vented their first fury upon Manoel da Vide's house and chattels; they

were roused to greater rage when intelligence of the suppression of the revolt at Curupa was communicated to them in an official dispatch by the *Ouvidor*, who at the same time suspended the tribunals, and commanded the *Juiz do Povo* and the *Procurador*, to lay down their offices on pain of the severest penalties. It has often been seen, amid the most illegal and unjustifiable proceedings, that men profess a respectful obedience to the law, and affect scrupulously to observe it; they hope that this may be pleaded in their justification should the day of reckoning arrive, of which they always live in secret fear; meantime it serves to gloss over their conduct in the eyes of others, and in some degree to themselves also. The *Juiz* and the *Procurador* obeyed the injunction, and resigned their offices: the Chamber immediately reappointed them, and evaded the other order of the *Ouvidor*, by obtaining a legal opinion that he had no authority to suspend the Tribunals. The people then embarked ninety Portugueze and four hundred Indians, in twenty-six of the largest vessels which were used in that country, and sent them under Pedro da Costa Favella, to reduce the Captain of Curupa, and bring away the Jesuits. The arrival of this force encouraged the malcontents. One of the Captain's sentinels was killed: the Jesuits, who lodged in the Carmo Convent, being cut off from the fort, were taken; and Pedro da Costa called upon the *Ouvidor* to release his prisoners; but the fort held out, and not thinking it prudent to engage in farther hostilities, he fell down the stream. As soon as he reached Belem, the Fathers were removed from his boats to the ship which had been made ready for transporting them, and which would have sailed immediately, if the hatred of the people had not prevented it: for it so happened, that when they were seized at Curupa two of their number were absent upon a mission up the Orellana, a detachment had been sent to apprehend them, and the vessel

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

Berredo, § 1068—76. *Expulsam dos Padres*, MS.

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

was now detained till they also should arrive, that the Slave Party might at once cast out the whole of the hated order.

Ruy Vaz de Sequeira appointed Governor.

Meantime Vieyra and the Jesuits who were deported with him reached Lisbon, one of the leaders of the hostile party going in the same vessel as *Procurador* for the people. The Queen Regent, in the first impulse of indignation, gave order that two hundred soldiers should be embarked, to seize and punish the authors of this scandalous insurrection. Upon reflection it was thought better to employ policy than force, the facility with which force might be resisted in such a country being duly considered. Ruy Vaz de Sequeira had already been appointed Governor, .. a soldier who had distinguished himself at Elvas, and was thus rewarded for his services. Patience, dissimulation, and firmness, were required from the man who undertook the charge at this arduous time; and in neither of these qualities was he deficient. It happened to be Lady-day when he arrived at Maranham, .. one of the greatest festivals in the Romish church. The Vicar-General was preaching when the signal was fired for ships from Portugal, and the church was instantly deserted. Some Friars went off to look for some of their fraternity, whom they expected by this fleet; and as they past the Governor's ship, in which they supposed the Jesuits had returned, they threatened them with popular vengeance, in the most insolent language of vulgar brutality. When it was ascertained that neither Jesuits, nor Sindicant, nor troops had been sent out, the *Juiz do Povo* and the *Procuradores*, went to congratulate Sequeira on his arrival; they told him that if either Jesuit or Sindicant had been on board, the people would have risen to resist him, and they demanded leave to require certain conditions from him in the Chamber. Sequeira, in pursuance of his instructions, dissembled so well as to make it believed that he was also hostile to the Company, and he made no attempt to land, till the Chamber signified

their readiness to acknowledge him. They received him on the shore, under a canopy as usual, and conducted him first to the Church, afterwards to their Council Hall, where he presented his patent. The *Juiz do Povo* then produced a written paper, requiring him if he had any instructions concerning the Jesuits, to manifest them now, otherwise, in the name of the people, he protested they should be null and void; and they insisted also, through him their representative, that the Governor should at no future time adopt any measures respecting the Company without their consent and approbation. The Chamber showed him a resolution to this effect which they had entered in their books; he signed it without hesitation, .. and then the people, who had discovered some inclination to turbulence at the commencement of these proceedings, kissed his patent.

Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.

D. Pedro de Mello was nearly related to Sequeira, .. he had previously assured the prevailing party, that every thing would be according to their wishes; and he now assured his successor, that it was impossible to re-establish the Jesuits, and that the mere attempt would endanger his own personal safety. But circumstances were less unfavourable than this weak and guilty man pretended. Sequeira soon found, that the nobles (as they are called) and the lower class of settlers, were ill in accord: the former had originally instigated the insurrection, and taken an active part in it; but affecting always to act under compulsion, in the hope of screening themselves from responsibility, they had made men of inferior rank assume the direction of affairs, idly supposing that they could retain the secret management themselves. The event was in this as in all similar instances, that the agents having more courage, and as little principle, chose to preserve the authority of which they had got possession, and the prime movers of the mischief were now repining under a tyranny which they had themselves set up. Under such

Temporizing policy of the new Governor.

CHAP. XXVII 1662.

circumstances it was not difficult to reestablish order, especially for one who accounted every kind of craft allowable in state affairs. The Jesuits from Curupa had reached Belem only three days before Sequeira arrived at S. Luiz, and on the day after his landing, a boat came with news of their arrest,.. a day too late for the messenger to receive the reward of his good tidings as he had expected. Francisco de Seyxas Pinto had come out in the fleet as *Capitam Mor* of Para. Sequeira proposed to send him immediately to Belem with forty soldiers, who to prevent farther tumults should bring the Captain, the Ouvidor, and Manoel da Vide from Curupa, and convey them with the Jesuits to Maranham. The Chamber insisted that no Jesuits should approach S. Luiz, and the Governor finding it necessary to yield, gave orders to bring the other parties, and place the imprisoned fathers under Pinto's inspection at Belem ;.. a measure which answered the great object of securing them from the populace. It was supposed that a peremptory order for restoring the Jesuits to their College would not have been resisted in Para, but that the knowledge of such an order would have excited an immediate rebellion in Maranham.

Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.

Proceedings at Belem.

The news of Sequeira's proceedings reached Belem, and the people persuaded themselves that the expulsion of the Jesuits would be confirmed ; they argued, that in the then existing state of Portugal, the Government would never send out orders to execute or chastise a whole people ; and being sure of impunity, they began to think themselves worthy of reward. Francisco de Seyxas conducted himself so as rather to encourage than correct this imagination. He ventured after a while to propose that till the Jesuits should be embarked, they might be permitted to officiate in the churches ; the people would not allow this, holding it a point of honour not to be less mutinous than their associates at S. Luiz ; and intimidated at this refusal, he

suffered those Fathers who were still on board ship, to remain in that miserable state of durance, .. an act of cruelty for which political cowardice affords but a disgraceful excuse. This condescension to the popular temper was not less visible, when Manoel da Vide and the Ouvidor, having heard that an escort was on the way to bring them down, set forth without waiting for its arrival, and presented themselves at Belem. A guard was sent on board their bark, which proved a needful precaution; for at midnight two canoes went off with intent to seize, and probably to murder them, so violently were the multitude incensed against them for the brave manner in which they had stood forward against the sedition. The next day they were brought on shore, and imprisoned separately, with a rigour which gratified their enemies as much as it surprised their friends. When the soldiers returned, bringing with them the Captain from Curupa, all three were embarked for S. Luiz, orders being given that they should have no intercourse with each other upon the voyage.

CHAP. XXVII. 1661.

Berredo, § 1092. *Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.*

Sequeira meantime was persuading the people to reestablish some order in their municipal government, and gradually convincing them that they reckoned erroneously upon the weakness and difficulties of the Government at home. He sought more especially to win the soldiers, and this he effected by means of affability and just discipline. One of his edicts forbade any person to draw his sword in a quarrel, .. soldiers, on pain of corporal punishment; inhabitants, of an arbitrary fine: the first offender was a soldier who from the personal offices which he performed about the Governor, might have expected some indulgence; intercession was made for him, but the sentence was fairly executed, and such an act of justice produced great effect in a country where justice had been unknown, except during the short administration of Vidal. The most sedulous, though

Mello seeks to counteract the measures of his successor.

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

secret opposer of his measures, was D. Pedro de Mello, who thought his own misgovernment might be palliated, if he rendered it impossible for his successor to govern better. He spake ill to the Governor of all the people; and to each of the better people, ill of the Governor, assuring them that he had brought out a list of persons marked for punishment. But Sequeira had already strengthened himself; the friends of good order attached themselves to him, and he had gained others among those who were weary of anarchy, fearful of punishment, or ambitious of reward. Relying upon them, he now represented how expedient it was, both for the interests of the people and their late Governor, his kinsman, that D. Pedro should have the credit and merit of terminating a disgraceful state of disobedience, which had begun under his administration, and of restoring the Jesuits, whose expulsion was sacrilegious as well as illegal,.. for the very perpetrators, seeing the condition of the Indian villages, could not dissemble the greatness of their religious crime. And he offered to resign the Government into D. Pedro's hand while this should be done, for the benefit of all parties, being content himself to act as mediator. On the evening preceding a meeting of the Chamber, he went with a paper which he intended to lay before them, to D. Pedro's house, and communicated this proposed mode of proceeding, which might have appeared as beneficial to his kinsman, as it was honourable to himself. But no sooner had he departed from this confidential interview, than the Ex-Governor imparted the plan to his household, and dispatched his agents, the most active of whom was a Franciscan, to warn the Chamber, and excite the people to go on as they had begun. Some of the members informed Sequeira, and the treacherous conduct of his predecessor was thus fully proved.

Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.

Sequeira did not think it advisable to try his strength against

the opposition which was thus rallied. The Junta could not however be prorogued, because some business was to be settled there relating to the price of corn and of slaves; so he went to the meeting with a guard of twenty harquebussiers, on whose obedience he could rely. A crowd had assembled round the hall, ready for mischief, as the Friar and the other agents of D. Pedro had prepared them: Sequeira turned to the Captain of his guard, and in a loud voice ordered him to occupy the door of the Chamber, and if any person laid hand on the bell-rope to ring the alarm, or raised a cry in the square, immediately to fire upon him, without waiting for a second command. This decisive order produced the proper effect of presently clearing the square. The Governor then entered, and addressed the Chamber. What he had intended to propose concerning the re-establishment of the Jesuits, he should postpone, he said, having understood that there still existed great difference of opinion upon that subject; but they must understand that from this day he should begin to govern. Proceeding then to business, the Members of the *Camara* were called over, and when the *Juiz do Povo* was named, Sequeira demanded if there were any royal authority for the existence of such an officer in that city. It was admitted that there was not, and custom was pleaded as authority sufficient: the Governor then ordered the notary to draw out another list, and omitting the name of the *Juiz*, to insert the *Procurador do Povo* in its stead. The *Juiz* began to defend himself, but Sequeira cut him short, saying, he was not now called upon for his defence, but that he should be ere long. The next day he ordered all persons who held any appointment from the Crown, or from the former Governors, to produce their commissions; the *Juiz do Povo* appeared among them, and his office was immediately annulled, as having no legal existence. It had been introduced in Maranham by D.

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

Pedro[24], for the sake of its popular title; and it was under the sanction of this officer that the most tumultuary proceedings had taken place.

Sequeira effects the restoration of the Jesuits.

Sequeira beginning now to exercise as well as feel his power, prohibited all persons from having Indians of the villages in their service, or from going to the villages. He purchased a girl from a party of natives who visited him, and he had her baptized in public with the utmost solemnity, being present at the ceremony himself,.. an act which has been justly commended as well-timed, when a criminal negligence of this duty was beginning to prevail, and the Portugueze, as one of their own countrymen observes, seemed to suppose that Christ had not shed his blood for the Indians as well as for them. Know-

[24] The cause of its introduction is curious. D. Francisco Manoel de Mello had lately published his Epanaphoras, the first of which is a history of the disturbances at Evora in 1639. The *Juiz do Povo* figured in those transactions; D. Francisco Manoel speaks of him as in some measure dividing with the *Escrivam do Povo* the functions of the Roman Tribunes of the People. A copy of this book had been sent to D. Pedro de Mello, who was of the same family; he circulated it in S. Luiz, and, like a weak man, instructed the people to look for lessons of insurrection, where they should only have learnt lessons of patriotism. It was this book which made him propose the election of a *Juiz do Povo*, and many of the most tumultuary proceedings during the anarchy were undertaken in imitation of the patriots at Evora! This curious circumstance is mentioned in the manuscript memoirs which in this part of the history supply the defects of Berredo's partial and faithless narrative. Having thus been led to speak of the Epanaphoras, I take this opportunity of observing, that the romantic story of the discovery of Madeira by Roberto o Machino and Ana de Arfet, which has been related in grave English works as matter of historical fact, has no better authority than a novel in this volume. D. Francisco Manoel has not (as has been asserted) printed a narrative composed by Francisco Alcaforado,.. he has only referred to such a manuscript,.. and both the matter and manner of the story mark it decidedly for a fiction. D. Francisco Manoel is also the *Melodino*, some of whose poems have lately been translated into English.

ing how much depended upon the attachment of the military, he lost no opportunity of gratifying them when it could be done consistently with justice and policy. One of the principal inhabitants, in contempt of the edict, drew his sword in a quarrel; he was condemned to pay an hundred milreas within four and twenty hours, and the fine was divided among the soldiers, at the rate of four ells of cloth to each, .. the commodity in which it was paid. Thus rapidly gaining ground, he employed the Vicar-General to influence the minds of the people in favour of the Jesuits. Men of their party, who did not yet venture openly to show themselves, consulted with the Governor at night; and he scrupled not to go out alone and meet them in solitary places, sometimes not knowing[25] the persons with whom he conferred. Sometimes he went out in disguise, that he might discover the popular mind by listening wherever groups of people were assembled; and thus he became at last perfectly acquainted with every man's opinion. At length the people themselves, being won by his management, required him to call a meeting, to take into consideration the question of restoring the Jesuits. Holy-Ghost Sunday was appointed, on which day in the preceding year the worst outrages had been committed: the Church of the Misericordia was the place, and the Governor personally saw that it was properly prepared and adorned for the occasion. After hearing mass in the Mother Church, they May 29. adjourned to the place of meeting, where the soldiers were drawn up; the Church was full, and a crowd was assembled before it; the Governor then ordered that a proposal for readmitting the Fathers of the Company should be read with a

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

[25] The author of the manuscript relates this upon Sequeira's own authority.

CHAP. XXVII. 1662.

loud voice at the door: a great majority voted in the affirmative, but D. Pedro, who was present, got round him a knot of turbulent spirits: they endeavoured to rouse him to resistance, declaring that they would stand by him; and a tumult would have arisen, if Sequeira had not given orders to ring the bells and fire a salute, at the same time taking hold of his treacherous predecessor and leading him away. D. Pedro retired to hide his disappointment and shame among his friends the Franciscans, and remained with them till he embarked for Portugal. The people, who in such cases are always ready to convert the golden calf of yesterday into the scape-goat of to-day, excused themselves by imputing all the past disorders to his misconduct;

June 2.

and the Governor politickly gave ear to their excuses, and proclaimed in the King's name a general pardon,.. this being the easiest way of preserving his authority over people whom it might have been difficult or impossible to punish. Nothing more was determined at this meeting than that the Jesuits should be re-admitted into their Colleges; the other points were left for after-consideration: but if any person meantime should attempt to counteract what had been thus agreed, it was declared that he should be punished as a disturber of the commonwealth; if a citizen, in a fine of a thousand *cruzados* for the soldiers, and five years' service in Africa, whatever might be his privileges; and if a man of lower rank, that he should receive

Berredo, § 1099.

corporal punishment, and be banished for ever from the state. The people were still farther conciliated by having a ransoming party dispatched to the Orellana,.. and these arrangements were concluded when the detachment arrived, bringing from Curupa as prisoners the persons who had so bravely and with such hazard discharged their duty, and who were now released

Expulsam dos Padres. M.S.

from durance, and treated as their courage and fidelity deserved.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Barreto Governor of Brazil. Tumults in Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. Small Pox in Brazil. Peace with Spain. The Guerens ravage the borders of Bahia, and the adjoining settlements: they are expelled by the Paulistas. Discovery and conquest of Piauhi. Foundation of Nova Colonia. Disputes with Spain concerning the left bank of the Plata. Pestilence.

1657.

Barreto Governor General. 1662.

After the triumphant termination of the Pernambucan war, Barreto, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the victory, was appointed to succeed the Conde de Atouguia as Governor General of Brazil. He had now the less gratifying task of calling upon the people to raise their proportion of the annual sum which was to be paid the Dutch: the manner in which it was done shows that a considerable degree of practical constitutional freedom existed at this time. His instructions informed him that the proportion to be supplied by Brazil was 120,000 *cruzados* yearly, for the sixteen years: it was probably considered in this assessment, that as no persons had been so much interested in the contest as the Brazilians, none would so readily, or ought so justly to discharge their full share of the reckoning; but as nearly half the contribution was looked for from this country, the demand shows the relative wealth and importance of Brazil. Barreto convoked the Senators, and

CHAP. XXVIII. 1662.

these yearly magistrates, upon hearing the royal commands, replied that they would propose the matter in the Chamber to the good men of the Council, whose opinion, according to law and custom, was taken on such occasions in the presence and with the consent of the people [1]. They were called upon at the same time to contribute toward the dowry of the Infanta D. Catharina, on her marriage with the King of England. The *sizas* in Portugal had been doubled for two years to raise this sum; but 600,000 *cruzados* were still wanting, and a free gift was requested toward the deficiency. The Chamber readily consented to the assessment, and voted toward the dowry an annual contribution of 20,000 *cruzados*, for the like term of sixteen years. Six persons were named to consult with the *Vereadores*, and apportion the tax. Of the 140,000 *cruzados* which were to be raised, Bahia took 80,000 upon itself; the remaining sixty were divided [2] among the other thirteen Captaincies.

---

[1] This is curious language in the history of a Portugueze colony. It is literally from Rocha Pitta, and is one proof of many, that Portugal and Brazil, to obtain a full relief from all their political grievances, have only to remove the abuses under the filth and rubbish of which their wise laws and old liberties are smothered. I add the original passage. "*Convocou o Governador a Palacio os Senadores, que aquelle anno tinham o governo do Corpo Politico da Republica, e propondolhes a carta, e ordens Reaes, achou nelles o agrado e zelo que a Nobreza da Bahia sabe ostentar em todas as accoens do serviço dos nossos Monarchas. Responderam, que proporiam a materia no Senado da Camera aos homens bons, e da Governança, com cujo parecer por dereito e estylo se costuma tomar assento em negocios semelhantes, com assistencia, beneplacito, e concurso do Povo, esperando que nam haveria duvida mais que na forma em que se haviam de repartir por todas as provincias do Brazil os* 120,000 *cruzados.* AMERICA PORTUGUEZA, *L.* 6, § 8.

[2] The proportions would have afforded a fair standard for estimating the relative state of the different Captaincies; but Rocha Pitta has not given them, and he is here the only authority.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1658.

Rio de Janeiro, with the parts to the South, was at this time separated, like Maranham, from the general Government, and Salvador Correa de Sa e Benavides was appointed Governor General of the Southern Repartition. He had rendered signal service to Portugal by recovering Angola from the Dutch; the city of the Rio was founded by one of his family on the ground which he had won from the French, and the victory had been purchased by the life of another member of the same distinguished lineage; he had therefore every claim, hereditary and personal, to the respect and affection of the people over whom he was placed. But Salvador Correa retained for the Jesuits that attachment which his ancestors had naturally formed when they were the associates of Nobrega and Anchieta, and had seen their patriotism and political wisdom so well approved. In the tumults excited against them he had stood their friend, and when they had been expelled from Santos and S. Paulo, he exerted himself strenuously in their behalf, and succeeded in re-establishing them in their College and possessions. The Paulistas resented this conduct so strongly, that the Chamber of S. Paulo wrote on one occasion to the *Camara* of S. Vicente, urging them to arrest him, upon a charge that he intended to desert to the Spaniards. This calumny, which was confuted by the whole tenor of his life, produced no effect: but when he departed from the Rio for Santos on an expedition in search of mines, the opposite faction took advantage of his absence. A kinsman, by name Thomé Correa de Alvarenga, who had formerly been Governor, was left with the command. The malcontents, abetted or excited by the members of the Chamber, assembled tumultuously at daybreak in the Town-hall, passed a vote for deposing Salvador and his deputy, and for depriving all the family of the public offices which they held, and declared that Agostinho Barbalho Bezerra should administer the govern-

Sept. 17. *Rio de Janeiro separated from the general government.* *Chapter 22, p. 207—11.* *Vol. 1, p. 301.*

1659.

Insurrection against Salvador Correa.

1660. Nov. 8.

CHAP. XXVIII 1660.

ment jointly with the *Camara*. Thomê Correa, the *Sargento Mor*, the *Provedor*, and other persons attached to the Governor, were seized and imprisoned. Barbalho, a man of rank, character, and integrity, took refuge in a Convent; he was dragged out, and compelled by the fear of immediate death to accept the illegal appointment: the officers of the garrison were convened, and in like manner compelled to recognize the election: passports were then offered to the partizans of the deposed Governor, provided they applied for them within two days; after that term elapsed, any persons who should be detected in forming a party in his favour, or even corresponding with him, were to be imprisoned and degraded for ten years to Angola. The leaders of the mutiny wrote to the Paulistas informing them what they had done, and soliciting them to unite with the people of the Rio in refusing obedience to the Governor, if they would escape from the greatest misery; for Correa, they said, had always earnestly endeavoured to procure the liberty of the Indians, .. a measure which would be ruinous to S. Paulo; and they warned the Paulistas not to suffer him to enter their city, for he spoke the Tupi language perfectly, he was beloved by the Indians, and if he should appear in the fields of Piratininga, many thousand archers would be at his command, and enable him to give the law. The insurgents of the Rio laboured at the same time to persuade the Paulistas that in resisting the Governor they would not be acting illegally; his patent, they pretended, only gave him authority in matters concerning the mines; and moreover, he had neglected the custom observed from time immemorial, of having it registered in the *Camara* of S. Vicente. This latter argument had great weight; the hostile party at S. Paulo availed themselves of it, and compelled the Chamber to pass a resolution that the Governor should be resisted if he attempted to enter the town.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1660.

Salvador Correa was at Santos when he received intelligence of these proceedings. He forthwith registered his patent, and sent an official copy to the *Vereadores* of S. Paulo, which enabled the better part of the inhabitants to recover their ascendancy and restore order. He directed Barbalho to continue in the Government by virtue of the authority which he now delegated to him, not of his illegal appointment; and he issued a proclamation, containing offers of pardon and threats of punishment to the criminals. He then proceeded to S. Paulo, where in a short time he won the good will of the people by the active measures which he pursued for the public benefit, improving roads, stationing ferry-boats, and erecting bridges. These things made him so popular, that when he would have left the town and repaired to Ilha Grande, under pretext of accelerating the building a ship, but in reality for the sake of approaching the Rio, the inhabitants petitioned him not to remove; but concluded their petition with a declaration, that if he were resolved so to do, their persons, properties, and lives were at his service, and they were ready to accompany him to his capital. Such forces were not needed. The people were gradually returning to a sense of duty: the *Camara*, as being most implicated in the revolt, persisted in it with most obstinacy; they governed in their own name for a few months, then substituted Joam Correa, the son of Salvador, in his father's place, as an easy step toward the submission which they now perceived to be inevitable. Orders ere long arrived for arresting the *Procurador do Povo* and the officers of the seditious Chamber, and sending them to Lisbon; and the Governor shortly afterwards returned, to the great joy of the well-disposed inhabitants.

He conciliates the Paulistas, and restores order.

Annaes do Rio de Janeiro, MSS. Mem. Hist. sobre o Rio, &c. Patriota, T. 2, No. 1.

Barreto held the government six years, and was succeeded by the Conde de Obidos, D. Vasco Mascarenhas. In his time the

1665.

Carmelites established at Bahia.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1665.

Reformed Carmelites of S. Teresa came to try their fortunes in Brazil. The people of Bahia and the Reconcave presently enabled them to build a small *Hospicio*, as it was called, upon a spot bearing the appropriate name of *Preguiça*, or Sloth; but alms and endowments were ere long poured upon them in such abundance that they erected one of the most sumptuous Convents belonging to the order. This was a fatal year to Brazil. The small pox broke out in Pernambuco, and spread along the coast to Rio de Janeiro. The mortality was dreadful; families of forty or fifty persons sickened at once, so that there was not in the whole establishment one who had strength enough to assist the rest, go for medical assistance, or seek such remedies as were at hand. The medical practitioners were not numerous enough to attend the multitudes who now required their aid, and indeed they had little aid to give; the disease till now had scarcely been known in Portugueze America; they knew not how to treat it, and those persons who were left to nature had probably the best chance. It is in visitations like these that the Religioners of the Romish Church act with an heroic charity which entitles them to the admiration as well as the gratitude of mankind. The follies, the errors, and the evils to which their institutions give rise may then be forgotten or forgiven; for the spirit of religion, which at other times is concealed under mummeries, or perverted into a noxious and destructive principle, casts off its trammels, and appears unencumbered and unpolluted in its beauty and its strength. The Brethren of the Misericordia, and of the different Orders, performed now the most painful offices of humanity; they visited the sick, administering to their bodily as well as their spiritual necessities; they fed the poor, and they carried the dead upon biers to bury them in the church-yards, which at other times were not used as places of burial, but the churches were filled with victims of the pesti-

Small pox in Brazil.

lence, and could contain no more. The disease became less fatal as it proceeded southward; but its ravages were dreadful. Many *Engenhos* in the Reconcave lost all their Negroes, and wealthy proprietors were thus at once reduced to irremediable poverty. So great was the mortality that hands were wanting for agriculture; many years of famine followed; and Rocha Pitta, writing about half a century afterwards, declares that the effects of the visitation were still felt. *Rocha Pitta, 6, § 20—6.*

Vidal had been removed from Maranham to the Government of Pernambuco, less to the advantage of Pernambuco than to the detriment of Maranham and Para. The long war had left rankling enmities in this Captaincy, with worse habits of insubordination and lawless violence. He is accused of having acted tyrannically towards men who were entitled to all the attentions of justice and of favour, as being his countrymen, and having been his comrades in the field: the charge may be interpreted to mean that he administered justice impartially; for it was consistent with his known character to act thus, and such conduct would be the heaviest grievance of which such a community would complain. He banished some, and he displaced others; but he was not here, as in Maranham, acting with uncontrolled authority, according to his own sense of duty; the parties whom he offended were too many and too powerful for an individual who had only his own merits and his past services to support him. Barreto listened to his accusers, deprived him of his government, ordered Cardozo and another Camp-Master to govern in his stead, and sent troops from Bahia to arrest him, and a *Dezembargador* to sit in judgement upon him. Matters however were not carried to this extremity, for Vidal, finding that resistance could only end in ruin, made some required submission, and was allowed to retain his Government till its term expired. He was succeeded by Jeronymo Mendoça Fur- *Vidal Governor of Pernambuco. 1661.*

Rocha Pitta, 6, § 11—12. *Succeeded by Jeronymo Furtado.*

CHAP. XXVIII. 1661.

tado; this Governor also disagreed with the Pernambucans: the charges against Vidal are vague, and inconsistent with the whole tenour of his life; against Mendoça they are specific and probable: he is accused of the vice which most easily besets men in his situation, . . a gross and scandalous regard to his own emolument, and an utter disregard of every thing else. This became so intolerable at last, that the chief persons in Olinda determined to seize him and send him prisoner to Portugal. During four months they waited in vain for an opportunity, for he apprehended the danger, and kept upon his guard: they secured him at length by a stratagem which might have involved them in serious consequences, inasmuch as it savoured of sacrilege. It was the custom for the Portugueze of rank to accompany the sacrament when it was borne to the dying; under this pretence the opposite party took the host abroad, and carried it by the Governor's door; he came out, attended it to the church from whence it had been taken, and was seized on his return by the *Juiz Ordinario*, Andre de Barros Rego, in the name of the King, the Nobles, and People of Pernambuco. He laid hand on his sword, and his servants and officers attempted to defend him: they were overpowered and ill-treated; and the *Juiz* assured the Governor that if he made the slightest resistance he would be put to death, the people being as determined to rid themselves of his tyranny as they had been to throw off the yoke of the Hollanders, which had not been more oppressive.

Discontents at Olinda.

Insurrection against the Governor.

A French squadron of eleven sail, belonging to the newly-erected East India Company, was at this time lying in the harbour of Recife, having put in for refreshments on the way to their colony in Madagascar. The Governor had entertained them with great splendour, and made a public festival in their honour: at this festival a rope was stretched across the prin-

CHAP. XXVIII. 1666.

cipal street in Recife, and a ring suspended from it in the middle; sixteen Cavaliers, well mounted, and in gala array, ran at the ring, and this trial of skill was so difficult when practised in this manner, that only two succeeded: a pigeon was afterwards substituted in its place, and the two successful competitors vied with each other in the cruel attempt at piercing it. The sports concluded by the Cavaliers taking leathern shields on the left arm, and pelting each other with oranges. This had past a short time only before the arrest of the Governor; the people had not been made acquainted with the intention of arresting him, and upon the first news of what had occurred, they supposed he had been detected in a plot for betraying the province to the French; their old jealousy of this nation revived in all its force; they remembered their former attempts upon Brazil, a danger of which the recent struggle with Holland made them more apprehensive, and they cried out that the French should be put to death. Of those who happened to be on shore, some took shelter with the Capuchins, and were besieged in the Convent; others were seized and disarmed: but the leaders of the insurrection interfered in time to prevent worse consequences; they scoured the streets on horseback, delivered the prisoners, and made excuses to the Commander. The Governor was sent prisoner to Lisbon: the manner of his arrest would have secured him at least a favourable hearing under any European government; but unhappily his elder brother Francisco, who was *Alcaide Mor* of Mouram, deserted at this time to the Castillians, for which crime he was beheaded in effigy, and the possessions of an old and honourable family were confiscated. Jeronymo was suspected of being privy to the treason; he was put to the torture; and, though no confession could be wrung from him by these abominable means, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in one of the fortresses in India, and in

Rennefort. Hist. des Indes Orientales, pt. 2. c. 4. Do. c. 6. Rocha Pitta, 6. § 46—51.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1668.

that imprisonment he died. The people of Olinda thus escaped unpunished, and even without reproof.

Peace with Spain.

The Conde de Obidos, having held the general government five years, was succeeded by Alexandre de Sousa Freire. The long struggle with Spain had now been terminated by a treaty which formally recognized the independence of Portugal; but while the mother-country was at peace, and all danger from external hostility had ceased, Brazil was again disturbed by its indigenous enemies. The back settlements of Bahia and Ilheos were infested by the savages, and they became bold enough seriously to distress some parts of the coast. Near the southern boundary of the latter Captaincy, six considerable rivers, communicating with each other about five leagues inland, surround a track of some twelve leagues in circumference, and where they enter the sea, make the three bars of the Morro de S. Paulo, Tobatinga [3], and Boypeba; the first of these has depth for large vessels, the last for small craft; the Tobatinga will only admit boats. These labyrinthine waters form in the midst of the territory which they compass and intersect, two principal islands, Tinhare, or the Morro, which has six leagues of coast, and is three and a half in depth; and Boypeba, which contains about

Settlement of Cayrû.

[3] *Tobatinga* signifies *white-face*: the fitness of the appellation appears from the description of this coast in the Brazil Pilot. "Bound for Brazil in the September monsoon, land must be made in latitude 12° S. This land is distinguished by banks of white sand along the coast, appearing like linen hung out to dry,.." *que parecem estendedouros de lancoes.*" *Pimentel, p.* 281. *Brazil Pilot, p.* 5. Pyrard also (*Part* 2, *p.* 197) says that this land is "*fort blanche, et paroist comme des draps et des toiles que l'on seiche, ou bien de la niege; c'est pour cela que les Portugais l'appellent la terre des linceuls.*"

Boypeba is interpreted *Cobra espalmado* (*Jaboatam. Preambulo. Digr.* 4. *Est.* 5, § 75,) the Flat Boa, or the Great Spread Serpent,.. a significant name, which attests that the savages who bestowed it were no stupid race.

ten square miles. Between these, in the wide waters which separate them upon the coast, and about six leagues from each, is the Island of[4] Cayrû, about eight miles in circumference, consisting of high and rugged ground, ill adapted for cultivation. The main land, for an extent of some sixty or seventy miles, from the River Jaguaribe to the Gequia, is very fertile. In the early times of Brazil, Sebastiam de Pontes, a wealthy man who possessed two *Engenhos* in Bahia, established himself upon the Una, one of the principal streams in this rich district, and built a third *Engenho* there. Some Portugueze accompanied him, and he acquired influence enough over the natives to afford grounds, or pretext, for an accusation that he was called King, or Royalet of Brazil: upon this charge he was sent to Lisbon, thrown into the common prison, and forgotten there, till after many years of hopeless captivity he was carried from the dungeon to the grave, and buried as a pauper! Early in the seventeenth century the town of Cayrû was founded as the capital of a district which included the Isle of the Morro, and the country between the rivers Gequia and Jaguaribe: the island was chosen for its situation, as being safe from the savages. During the contest with the Moors in Spain, relics and miracles were found the best defence for a new city, the hope and belief of miraculous protection attracting settlers enough to protect themselves. The practice continued in the peninsula after the motive had ceased; in Brazil the cause existed at this time,

[4] A corruption of Aracajuru, *Vaso e casa do Sol*, the Vessel and House of the Sun, because from the main the first rays of the sun are seen on its high lands (*Jaboatam. Preambulo.* 4. 5, § 79).. another instance of the highly figurative language of the natives.

CHAP. XXVIII.

and Cayrû was favoured with a succession of such [5] prodigies as are easily provided by craft for credulity. The Governor

[5] An *Ermida*, or Chapel of N. Senhora da Luz was founded upon the Morro, or highest point of the island: the builders were much inconvenienced for want of water, and the "good Chaplain," Simam Barreto, thought there was no means so likely to remedy the inconvenience as by praying to Our Lady, in whose service they were employed. Having finished his prayer, he walked upon the brow of the hill, and coming presently to a plashy piece of ground, plucked up a few flags, pulled out a handful or two of earth from below their roots, and behold a miraculous spring, which proved sovereign in diseases! When the building was completed the inside could not be fitted up for want of money; but the Goddess had already been bespoken, the carpenter had brought her home, she had been painted and drest, and was at that time in the Chaplain's hut, waiting for installation when her altar should be ready. F. Simam naturally applied to her in this emergency; *Senhora*, said he, the money is all gone, and your devotee and benefactor *(o vosso devoto e bemfeitor)* cannot so soon supply more. If you chuse to remove directly to your own house, give us wherewith to make it ready; it does not look well that your Chapel should be finished, and that you should still take up your abode in my unworthy and indecent hovel! After this reasonable representation to *Nossa Senhora*, which was made with all dutifulness upon his knees, he arose, and walked the whole day upon the shore to look for ambergris; and coming home at night he found a piece of more than four pounds weight, the produce of which supplied all that was wanted.

This "good Chaplain" was an adept in his art. In 1628 some Dutch vessels, detached from a squadron which had committed great depredations upon the coast, appeared off the bar as if threatening the island; but they suddenly put back and sailed away, because when they approached, the whole hill seemed covered with men drawn up in good military order, to the number of more than two thousand, being "no doubt commanded by the Empress of Angels and Queen of Men." F. Simam however, not being apprized of this manœuvre of the Goddess, took her image from the altar to save it from the hereticks, placed it with all its ornaments in a chest, hid it in the thicket, concealed himself with it, and passed the night there sleeping upon the chest, either for the sake of giving protection, or deriving it. In the morning he opened the chest to console himself with a sight of N. Senhora, and behold N. Senhora was gone! It was certain that no thief had been there, not only because it was impossible for any

General Oliveira built a fortress, within which a miraculous spring was enclosed, and the inhabitants of the new district not only furnished slaves to work at the building, but came in person and laboured zealously to complete it. They had the fear of the Dutch before their eyes; but the place was of no import-

Jaboatam. Preambulo, Digr. 4, Est. 5.

---

human agency to have opened the chest without his knowledge while he was lying upon it, but because all her valuables were left there. Instantly divining that a miracle had been wrought, he ran to the Chapel, and found the Magna Mater in her place!

S. Antonio at this time was equally upon the alert at the Barra de Tobatinga, where there was a Mother Church, and a town, both under his invocation. The Dutch squadron appeared, and the people, with Catholic propriety, before they made any preparations for opposing the enemy, went into the Church to implore the assistance of their Portugueze Saint and Patron. S. Antonio was not at that time commander-in-chief of the Portugueze army, .. an office to which he was afterwards appointed; he might otherwise perhaps have thought himself called upon for personal service, like Santiago, or St. George. However, he exerted himself in a manner not less miraculous. The people went to their posts, and to their utter astonishment saw the enemy hoist in the boats which they had made ready for landing, make sail, and depart. Of course they returned to the church to give thanks for their deliverance, and there was S. Antonio in the act of supplicating the crucifix; he had moved from his place, and laid himself upon his face on the altar, with his head at the foot of the crucifix, imploring "beyond all doubt" in this manner for his faithful people the deliverance which they had actually received.

There seems to have been an intention of bringing some other Saints into profitable odour at Cayrû. On the eve of St. Matthias's day, for twenty years after the town was founded, music both of voice and instrument was heard from midnight till day-break, moving as it seemed in the air, in a direction from East to West, and so exquisitely sweet as to charm all hearers, and prove that it must proceed from celestial quiristers. The relater appeals to many living witnesses for the truth of this account. S. Francisco Xavier also had his miracle-makers here; he had a chapel on the Island, and during several years the inhabitants of the main saw many green lights moving round it in procession.

Jaboatam, Preambulo. Dig. IV. Est. 5, § 81—6.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ance as a military or naval station, and the attack came from a more tremendous enemy.

Vol. 1, p. 40. The Guerens infest Bahia and the adjoining provinces.

The neighbouring country had been found in possession of the Tupiniquins, . . a people ill-requited for the friendly disposition which they had shown toward the Portugueze. Such of them as escaped the tyranny of their European friends were driven out by the Guerens, a branch of the Aymores, who occupied this track, while their kindred hordes were devastating the Ilheos and Porto Seguro. When the Aymores in these Captaincies had been conciliated and tamed by the Jesuits, the Guerens seem to have withdrawn into the interior, and the Portugueze whom they had driven from this territory returned, but with sufficient caution to make their chief settlement on an island. They who ventured to establish themselves upon the main had reason to rue their confidence. For while the Pernambucan war continued the Guerens reappeared; they came, it is said, from a part of the country six hundred miles inland, and usually chose the morning for their attacks, that they might have daylight for their retreat, being under no apprehension of pursuit. It was only in the three winter months that the settlers could fancy themselves safe; during the rest of the year they were never for a moment secure. The Savages came on running, set up a dreadful war-whoop, and in an instant every person whom they had marked was pierced with their unerring arrows. Whole families were thus cut off together; and when the nearest neighbours hastened to their assistance, all the assistance which could be rendered was to lay them in the grave. An alarm was given that the Savages had been seen going toward the house of the

Vol. 1, p. 287.

1660. *Sargento Mor*, Bartholomeu Lopes da Franca; the neighbourhood repaired to his succour; they found the slaves, who had been surprized at their labour, lying dead in the field, the master of the family, his wife, and his four sons lying dead round their

dinner-table, quilled with arrows, and every domestic in the house in the same condition, not a soul being left alive. Barreto during his government endeavoured to stop these ravages by giving every family a guard of soldiers, from three to eight in number;.. during eight years that the experiment was tried, not a soldier ever got shot at a Savage, or even sight of one, though some of the soldiers were pierced with arrows when they imagined themselves safe in their own quarters. This shocking state of things continued many years, the few settlers who did not take shelter in the islands being compelled to convert their dwelling-houses into so many fortifications. Alexandre de Sousa thought the most advisable remedy was to erect a fort, and man it with a company of infantry drafted from the garrison of Bahia, and to be relieved every three months: the spot chosen was near the Mother Church [6] of Cayrû, a place which the Guerens had never yet reached in their incursions. Manoel Barbosa de Mesquita the Captain of this garrison, went one day with seven of his soldiers to the Church, it being a great festival, where the women of the country were assembled in holiday attire, with their sons and husbands in fitter plight for attending them upon this public display than for defending them in case of danger. An alarm was given that the Guerens were approaching, and presently their terrific war-whoop was heard. The first impulse of the affrighted congregation was to fasten the church-door,.. Manoel Barbosa made them open it to let him and his men out, that they might make their way to the station: the danger of the attempt was.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1660.

Death of Manoel Barbosa.

[6] It appears from the context that this church must have been upon the main land: when Rocha Pitta therefore says *Villa* in this place, he must mean the district,.. as the Americans at this time use the word *town*, making it sometimes synonimous with *township*.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1670.

imminent, but there was a possibility that some of them might effect their purpose, and this was the best or only chance for preserving the lives of all in the church. He had two pistols, a sword and buckler, and his men also were armed: the advantage of fire-arms, the dread which they occasion, and perhaps too the fear with which Savages are usually impressed by the resolute presence of men, however few in number, whom they know to be their superiors in power and knowledge, might have rendered the attempt as successful as it was adventurous; but five of his soldiers, as soon as they had discharged their pieces, ran away; the other two perished with their Captain, not however till they had made some havoc among the enemy, and till the leader of the Savages had fallen by Barbosa's hand: his death made the Guerens, according to their custom, retire; so that the object for which this brave Portugueze devoted himself was accomplished, though not in the manner[7] which he had intended, nor by the means upon which he calculated.

Jaboatam, Preambulo, Dig. 4, Est. 5. Rocha Pitta, 6, § 64—9.

The Paulistas called in against the Guerens.

Manoel Barbosa was of good extraction and high character; he had married only a few months since into one of the noblest

[7] Jaboatam's account (*Preambulo, Digr. 4, Est. 5,* § 93,) differs from Rocha Pitta's, and is much less probable. He says, that as the congregation were returning from church, Barbosa was informed that the soldiers in the Estancia had been cut off, and was advised to go back with the people into the church, and there fortify himself. But he replied, no man could be a captain without soldiers, and he must follow his men; and upon this absurd point of honour (if such it can be called) he went on to meet the enemy and be cut to pieces. Rocha Pitta, though he expressly says the savages would have had no difficulty in breaking open the church, in which case all the women would have been massacred, does not perceive that Barbosa took the only means of preventing this shocking catastrophe, and represents him as sacrificing his life to a false point of honour, instead of a true sense of duty.

families of Brazil; these circumstances, and the heroic manner of his death, made a deep impression in Bahia: the evil had now, as it were, come home to them, and the Governor, with the advice of the chief persons, came to the only wise resolution, that there was no other way of securing the country than by completing the conquest of it. It was determined that the most vigorous means should be employed to crush these Savages. The Reconcave had so long been free from all such enemies, that there were neither leaders nor men who understood the proper mode of warfare. They applied therefore to the Paulistas, and engaged a body of these determined men, under a famous leader, by name Joam Amaro, who were to receive eight thousand *cruzados*, and be supplied with provisions and all things necessary. Before these arrangements were completed Sousa's term expired; he was succeeded in the Government by Affonso Furtado de Mendoça, and a year or two more elapsed before the Paulistas could muster their forces and arrive at Bahia, that city being not less than a thousand miles from S. Paulo. The Governor then, in obedience to the law, convoked the chief persons of the Captaincy, civil and religious; and they unanimously pronounced that the intended war against the Savages of the *Sertoens* [8] of Cayrû was just and lawful, and that all who should be taken prisoners in this war would legally become slaves. The Treasury was not able to defray the expence of so costly an expedition, so the inhabitants taxed themselves, and raised a large sum by voluntary contributions; a detachment from the garrison was ordered upon this service, and the

CHAP. XXVIII. 1671.

1673.

[8] This word requires explanation. *Sertam*, or *Certam*, (as it is sometimes spelt,) in the plural *Sertoens*, means the interior of the country. An inhabitant of the interior is called a Sertanejo. I do not know the origin of the word.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1673.

whole force sailed for Cayrû, under Joam Amaro's command. It does great credit to the Brazilian administration, that no petty considerations of private or local interests prevented them from giving this Paulista the entire management of the expedition. He brought with him such a body of experienced man-hunters as no other place in the world could have supplied, a large proportion of them being trained Indians, who, though less intellectual than their Mamaluco masters, were little less intrepid, and in activity, ferocity, and endurance, nothing inferior. The *Ordinança*, or local-militia of the district, joined them when they landed; and they went through the Sertoens westward to the River S. Francisco, and northward to the boundaries of Bahia, killing and capturing the Savages, destroying all their settlements, and opening roads, so as to make a communication with that Captaincy through the interior. The prisoners were sent to the Capital, and were in such numbers that the most promising subjects did not sell for more than twenty *cruzados* each, . . the greater number for less than as many shillings. Most of these poor creatures were bought for the service of the *Engenhos*, and in a short time grief, indignation, ill-usage, and hard labour destroyed so large a proportion of them, that the owners are said to have found them a bad purchase even at such a price. The necessity of the war was evident; and it is equally evident that the principles which mitigate the evils of war by the exchange and ultimate release of prisoners are not applicable to such wars as this. But if Joam IV. under whose law the captured savages suffered this slow death, could have foreseen that such consequences would result, humane and pious as he was, he would have paid head-money for the prisoners from the revenues of the crown, and have placed them under the tuition of the religious orders. Joam Amaro was not satisfied with once marching through the country; he did his work

Destruction of the Savages.

CHAP. XXVIII.

thoroughly, explored it in all parts, and cleared it of the savages so that they were not heard of again for more than half a century. In reward for his services he received a large grant of lands, and the lordship of a town which he was permitted to found, and which he began on the side of Bahia, under the name and patronage of S. Antonio,..a name which has by popular consent been properly superseded by his own. But a Paulista leader was incapable of existing in a state of inaction; he sold his grant and returned to his native country, probably to pursue his old course of desperate but stimulating adventure. Many of his comrades obtained allotments in the new conquests.

1673.

Rocha Pitta, 6, § 70—72. 79—85.

Discovery and conquest of Piauhi.

The spirit of adventure by which the Paulistas were so pre-eminently distinguished, was found also in Pernambuco at this time. Domingos Affonso, a man of low fortunes, by dint of industry and enterprize had acquired wealth, reputation, and the rank of Captain: he possessed a large grazing estate on the northern side of the S. Francisco, at a station called O *Sobrado*, or the Terrace, and from thence sent out his people to explore far inland. The interior of Pernambuco, although capable in favourable, or even in ordinary years, of supporting large herds of cattle, is subject to droughts of long and fatal continuance: in such seasons its extensive and open *campinas*, and the sandy soil of those wide plains which are thinly sprinkled with trees, and called *taboleiros*, are parched like a desert, and vast tracts of country are rendered uninhabitable for man or beast. It is wonderful how soon the first rains cover them again with herbage; but such visitations are frequent enough, and tremendous enough in their effects, to render this Captaincy the least habitable part of all Brazil. When therefore Domingos Affonso heard of an adjacent region abounding with the richest pasture, and not liable to the like calamity, it became an object of great importance to obtain possession of so valuable a land; and he

Koster's Travels, 91.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1673. soon found companions of his own stamp who joined with him to undertake the conquest. He himself assumed the surname of Sertam, in love of this adventurous course, and in confident hope of its beneficial result to his own interests and to the honour of Portugal, .. a feeling to which no Portugueze is insensible. The country which he entered obtained the name of Piauhi, from a river which though not of such magnitude that it might deserve to give name to an extensive province, is the largest on that side from which the Pernambucan expedition entered. Six other rivers, which like the Piauhi are reduced in the dry season to a succession of pools in the midst of their parched beds, join it in its course, and their united waters form the copious river Parnaiba, which dividing itself into two channels, whereof the one retains the same appellation, and the other takes that of Igarassû, flows into the sea between Seara and Maranham. The party had proceeded far into the country, fighting their way and driving the natives before them, when they met a troop of Paulistas, with their usual auxiliaries, under Domingos Jorge. It was a joyful meeting; they communicated their adventures and discoveries to each other; the land was wide enough for both, and they separated taking different courses, to complete the conquest of the country and clear it of the savages. They succeeded so well, that grants in this fertile territory were immediately coveted and solicited from the government of Pernambuco, settlers removed there, and in a short time Piauhi became the great grazing country of this part of Brazil.

River Parnaiba.

Pimentel. Brazil Pilot, p. 31.

Rocha Pitta, 6, § 73—77.

Search for mines.

The settlement of Piauhi and the expulsion of the Guerens were events of sufficient importance to distinguish Affonso Furtado honourably among the Governors of Brazil: but he hoped to signalize his administration in a manner which would procure him higher rewards at court. An inhabitant of the *Sertam*, as

1674.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1674.

the Brazilians call the interior of their country, came to him with intelligence that he had discovered a silver mine: he produced some bars of this metal, which he said had been extracted from the ore, and he affirmed that the vein was as rich as the richest mines in the Spanish possessions: the situation he refused to discover, but engaged to show the place when he should have received an assurance from the Court of an adequate reward; it was in a part of the country very remote from that wherein the mines of Roberio Diaz were believed to exist unknown. The man was of good character, nor was there any reason for doubting his story, seeing that he only stipulated for advantages which were to depend upon the fulfilment of his promise. The Governor gave him full credit, and sent his own son Joam Furtado de Mendoça to be the bearer of this welcome advice to Lisbon. The ship was wrecked on the coast of Peniche, and the specimens and dispatches, with most of the crew, were lost: but Joam Furtado escaped: his oral representations were deemed sufficient at court, and every thing necessary for working the mines was immediately shipped for Bahia. Before the vessel arrived the discoverer died in his own country; and it appeared that no person was acquainted with his secret, nor with any clue which might lead to the spot. The expedition however was not wholly in vain: fine amethysts were discovered, imperfect topazes, and crystals of great magnitude; but the disappointment, and the unmerited censure which seems to have been cast upon him for engaging the Government in expences upon such uncertain grounds, preyed upon the Governor's spirits so as to affect his health and bring him to the grave. Before he died he assembled the *Senado da Camara*, the nobles and constituted authorities, to appoint his successors till the pleasure of the Court should be known. The Chancellor of the *Relaçam*, the senior Camp-Master, and the senior Judge of the Camara

Vol. I, p. 358.

Death of the Governor.

1675.

Three persons appointed to succeed him.

Rocha Pita, 6, § 88-90.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1676.

(a descendant of Caramuru) were chosen, and were afterwards continued in their joint administration.

Three bishopricks erected.

The religious concerns of Brazil were not neglected at Lisbon. The vigilance of a single Pastor, says Rocha Pitta, could not suffice for a flock of such innumerable sheep scattered over so wide a territory. Bahia, hitherto the only diocese, was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see, and Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranham, were made Bishopricks. In the ensuing year, four Franciscan nuns from the convent of S. Clara at Evora arrived to establish their order in the capital of Portugueze America. Noble families who could not portion their daughters suitably to their rank, wanted a nunnery in which they might dispose of them by shutting them up;..such institutions are always acceptable to a bigotted people, and thus pride and superstition united in soliciting this establishment. It was opposed by men of sounder judgement, upon the ground that in a colony thinly peopled and of such prodigious extent, all institutions which checked the progress of population must be injurious. These representations delayed the evil, but could not prevent it: Pedro, the Regent of Portugal, who had seated himself upon his brother's throne and married his brother's wife, while that brother was living in confinement, was a man whose conscience stood in need of those opiates which Popery administers to its benefactors:..so leave was given to build the nunnery at Bahia. When the Founders arrived the building was not ready for their reception:.. to have lodged in any other habitation would have derogated from the sanctity of their character, they therefore remained on board: every carpenter and mason in the city was put in requisition, and in three days the cells and offices were in a state of sufficient clausure. These Nuns came out at the expence of the *Senado;* their arrival made a jubilee in the city, and alms poured in upon them for the completion of the edifice. At the expiration of nine years

Rocha Pitta, 6, § 99.

1677. *A nunnery established in Bahia.*

they returned to Portugal, and were accompanied to the shore with civil, military, and religious honours. The number of sisters had been limited to fifty: but it soon became a cheap mode of rewarding services to allow those who had claims upon the government the privilege of placing one of their family as a supernumerary in the Convent. Such institutions are better receptacles than Bedlam for the largest class of maniacs. Under proper modifications they might be introduced into Protestant countries, with great benefit to the community; not merely as asylums for the weary spirit and the broken heart, but as palliatives for one of the greatest evils in our state of society, by affording an honourable retreat for well-educated women. But Catholic nunneries, fenced about as they are with the magic circle of superstition, and serving as prisons into which the young and the enthusiastic are decoyed or forced, ought never to be tolerated in a Protestant state. CHAP. XXVIII. 1677. *Rocha Pita*, 6, § 103—107.

The joint Governors accomplished the term of three years, and were succeeded by Roque da Costa Barreto. The first event of his administration was the settlement of the Italian Capuchins at Bahia; the second led to a long train of consequences. The treaty with Spain, which recognized the independence of Portugal, acknowledged its right also to all the former possessions [9] of the Portugueze Monarchy, Ceuta alone excepted, which, not having been recovered from the Spaniards, remained in their hands. But the limits of these two Powers, 1678. *Roque da Costa Barreto Governor.*

[9] Charlevoix asserts, (*T.* 2, *p* 191,) that in the Treaty of 1668 it was agreed that the Province of S Vicente should be the boundary of Brazil on the side of Paraguay, and states his case as if the Portugueze proceeded in direct infraction of this article. There is no mention whatsoever of Brazil in the Treaty; (*Du Mont. T.* 7, *Part* 1, P. 70) and if there had been, the point in dispute was not which province was the boundary of Brazil, but what was the boundary of S. Vicente.

CHAP. XXVIII 1674.

in their American conquests had never been determined: while both countries were under the same sovereign the question was of little importance; it was equally immaterial while they were at war; but peace immediately revived the dormant cause of contention. Easy as it had been for Pope Alexander VI. to divide the undiscovered world by a line drawn upon the map, when that line was to be applied from a sheet of paper to the whole continent of South America, the ablest cosmographers found it difficult to ascertain its course. North of the equator, the Portugueze claimed to the Wiapoc or River Pinzon, and on that side there was no dispute with Spain: Southward they laid claim as far as the Plata; this was evidently an established opinion among them at a time when the point was not contested. In the interior, the Paulistas had made the limits the justification of their enterprizes against the Reductions, certainly not the cause; and it was in Paraguay and S. Paulo that the importance of the question was first felt. The Court of Portugal now thought it expedient to secure the debateable part of the coast, and the new Governor of the Rio, D. Manoel Lobo, brought out instructions to form a settlement on the left bank of the Plata, and erect a fort for its protection. Colonists were sent out from Lisbon; the number was increased by some indigent and criminal [10] subjects from the Rio, and the Governor, after a short stay at his capital, followed to oversee and expedite the works.

Question respecting the boundary of Brazil.

Foundation of Nova Colonia.

Rocha Pitta, 7, § 6. Silvestre Ferreira, p. 11.

D. Philippe Rege Corbulon, Governor of Paraguay, received the first intelligence of the expedition while its object was as

Alarm of the Spaniards.

[10] Charlevoix says that fourteen vessels were fitted out at the Rio for this grand establishment; and that the flower of the best troops in Portugal were sent off from Lisbon on this service. This is more likely to be misrepresentation than error.

yet unknown: the report was, that it was destined to occupy either the Isles of S. Gabriel, or some part of the adjacent continent, and that a land force was at the same time to attack the Reductions of the Parana and Uruguay, by which means they would be prevented from sending assistance to Buenos Ayres. No such intention existed; but the rumour would easily be believed by a people who had suffered so much from the Paulistas. Corbulon immediately dispatched one courier to the Governor of the Plata, D. Joseph de Garro, and another to the Parana Reductions. From the latter he was informed, that though they were not in a state to be in danger of surprize, they were by no means capable of resisting regular forces. For although the Jesuits had been successful in their dispute with Cardenas, his frequent memorials and the persevering charges of his Procurador Villelon, aided as they were by the party who opposed whatever might ameliorate the lot of the natives, had produced some effect; so that the fire arms with which the Guaranies had been entrusted were taken from them, pursuant to a decree of the Court, and deposited in the arsenal at Asumpcion, to be again distributed to them when called upon for the King's service, or threatened by the Paulistas. This decree had been revoked, but meantime most of the musquets had disappeared, and in the present emergency only two hundred and sixty could be allowed for all the Reductions, the troops in Paraguay, few as they were, not having enough for their own use. Two of the Guarani Corregidores however were honoured with the rank of Camp-Masters, and they were instructed to send out reconnoitring parties toward Brazil. Three detachments of four hundred men were dispatched; the one ascended the Parana in light canoes, while another proceeded by land toward S. Paulo,..doubtless with sufficient caution; no hostile movements were discovered, because no hostility had

CHAP. XXVIII. 1679.

1661.

Reconnoitring parties sent from the Reductions.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1679.

been intended. The third made for the sea shore, and having reached it coasted along southward; near Cape S. Maria they fell in with a party of shipwrecked Portugueze belonging to a vessel which had been sent before the Rio de Janeiro fleet, and the Captain with eighty men was proceeding along the shore toward his place [11] of destination. The Guaranies, who considered all Portugueze as their natural enemies, would willingly have taken vengeance for old wrongs by putting the whole party to death; but obeying the instructions of the Missionaries, they contented themselves with bringing them prisoners to Yapeyu, or Los Reyes, the nearest Reduction, which was about four hundred miles distant. On their arrival at Yapeyu, the Portugueze Captain required the Rector to supply him with guides and means for joining his General, who as he then learnt had arrived with his fleet at the Isles of S. Gabriel. He was referred to the Superior of the Missions, and wrote to him accordingly, complaining of the treatment which he had received, and reminding the Jesuit how greatly the Order to which he belonged was beholden to the Kings of Portugal. F. Christoval Altamirano, the then Superior, was a native of Santa Fé, descended from one of the first conquerors of Paraguay; he therefore had no predilection in favour of the Portugueze. He replied, that the Company indeed owed much to the Kings of Portugal, but not less to the august house of Austria; that it did not become him, a simple Religioner, to decide upon state affairs; and that his Catholic Majesty had a Governor at Buenos Ayres, to whom

The Guaranies capture the crew of a shipwrecked vessel.

Charlevoix, 2, p. 185—7.

[11] To Buenos Ayres, says Charlevoix, where the Captain supposed that the designs of the Portugueze had not yet been discovered. Charlevoix seems to have forgotten, that according to his representation of things, this would have been delivering up himself and his people to imprisonment; and he seems likewise to have overlooked that there was the River Plata in the way.

the determination naturally belonged. Accordingly the whole party were sent down the Uruguay to Buenos Ayres, under an escort of four hundred Indian soldiers. They were received with much civility, except that their escort were made to exhibit before them a sham fight between the Spaniards and Portugueze, in which the latter were defeated. When these festivities were ended, the Governor courteously informed his guest that he could not permit him and his men to depart without rendering himself amenable for a breach of duty.

Charlevoix, 2, p. 187—9.

Meantime the Portugueze expedition had arrived at its destined port, and laid the foundation of Nova Colonia, the new colony. It was situated immediately opposite Buenos Ayres, where the islets of S. Gabriel contribute to shelter a haven capable of receiving vessels of no great burthen. The Spanish Governor, while the Guarani troops were sent toward the frontier, had dispatched a brigantine to reconnoitre the river: the Captain examined every creek and bay below Buenos Ayres, to the very mouth of the river, but neglected to examine the Isles of S. Gabriel, not dreaming that the Portugueze would establish themselves directly in front of the city. He returned therefore without intelligence; but a few days afterwards, some men who were going to cut wood on the northern bank, behind the largest of these Isles, perceived buildings there, and hastened to inform the Governor. An officer was forthwith ordered to perform the formality of demanding who the settlers were, and with what design, or by what right, they had intruded upon the territories of his Catholic Majesty. D. Manoel Lobo replied he had been instructed to occupy the spot, which appertained not to the Spanish but to the Portugueze demarcation. He was then required to evacuate ground of which it was affirmed the Kings of Spain had been in possession during more than a century. The Spanish Governor in the next place convened a council of

The Portugueze required to evacuate their new settlement.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1679.

all the theologians and lawyers in Buenos Ayres, and referred to them the question concerning the demarcation: they drew up a memorial in favour of their own claims, and supported it by the authority of Dutch maps, which were sent with the memoir to D. Manoel Lobo. A Portugueze map was produced on the other side, and the opposition of arguments and authorities ended by a reference on the part of the Portugueze to their own Court, and by a determination on that of the Spaniards to refer it at once to the last resort. For this purpose, while the tribunal at Lima and the Audience at Chuquisaca were passing sentence concerning the limits, troops were levied in Tucuman and in La Plata, and three thousand Guaranies were collected in the Reductions, with a well furnished hospital, five hundred baggage mules, as many oxen for drawing the artillery, and four thousand horses, designed like the horned cattle of the Caffres to be driven forward upon the enemy, if they should give battle in the field. This Indian force assembled at Yapeyu, where some Spanish officers were expected to join them and take the command; they waited for them many days, till the Missionaries seeing they were fast consuming their stores, and that sickness was beginning to prevail among them, determined to proceed without farther delay. Two hundred men were already dead, or invalided; their loss was supplied, and three hundred more were raised to fill up the companies, as should be needful: a third of this force embarked in thirty rafts upon the Uruguay, and the others marched along the banks, keeping pace with the rafts, that they who required rest or medical treatment might be received on board: in this manner they arrived within three leagues of Nova Colonia, and were placed under the command of the Camp-Master, D. Antonio de Vera Muzica.

A Guarani force raised against the Portugueze.

Charlevoix, 2, § 189—94.

1680. Muzica's force consisted chiefly in hese Guaranies. He had from a thousand to fifteen hundred men besides, of whom three

hundred were Spaniards, the rest being Negroes, and men of different shades; it was not deemed expedient to draft a larger detachment from Buenos Ayres, lest the Portugueze, by way of diversion, should make an attempt upon the city. But the Portugueze garrison was composed of only two hundred men, divided into four companies; and the works which in the course of seven months had been thrown up, were more fitted to protect them against the Minuanes, (for which, indeed, they were chiefly intended) than to resist a regular besieging force. D. Manoel Lobo dispatched letters soliciting aid to the Rio, to Bahia, and Pernambuco: the nearest of these points was far distant, and the enemy lost no time in assaulting his feeble fortifications. Garro came in person to direct the attack: his arrangements were curiously injudicious; for he proposed that the four thousand horses should be driven before the troops to receive the first discharge of artillery from the works, and that the men, having thus been screened, should immediately rush forward to the escalade before the guns could be reloaded: he desisted from this strange project when the Guarani Camp-Master represented to him that the horses, instead of running forward against the wall, would certainly turn back, throw his own people into confusion, and afford the Portugueze the fairest opportunity of sallying and defeating him. The Portugueze were taken by surprize; the besiegers approached the walls unseen, before day-break, and were to have assaulted the place simultaneously as soon as the signal should be given by firing a carabine; but one of the Guaranies, venturing to ascend the ramparts, found the centinel asleep, and cut off his head; another centinel, who happened to be awake, saw this, and fired his gun: the Guaranies, for it was too dark to distinguish from whence it came, mistook it for the signal, and one of their columns, under the Cacique Ignacio Amandau, leaped over

CHAP. XXVIII. 1680.

the works. The culverin which the garrison fired upon them was overcharged, and burst; this added to the alarm of the garrison,.. the greater number took shelter in the fort and in the magazine; others took to the boats, in hopes of reaching some of the vessels which were still lying in the roads; one boat full was captured: the Guaranies swam off against another,.. it was too heavily laden, so that these amphibious enemies easily overturned it, and drowned the whole party. The panic of these men had not infected their companions, and the remaining Portugueze demeaned themselves in a manner worthy of the national character. Lobo was lying on a sick bed, but his officers did their duty with consummate courage: the Captain Manoel Galvam, particularly distinguished himself; his wife fought by his side, refused quarter after he was killed, and received the death which she sought: she was not the only woman who chose on that day to perish with her husband. So desperate a defence made the Guaranies give way, and they would have fled, if their Cacique and Camp-Master Amandau had not brought them back to the charge by blows, as well as entreaties and threats. Their numbers and perseverance were finally successful, and only ten persons of the Portugueze were left alive, including the Governor: nine of these had taken possession of a rock upon the shore,.. a post sufficiently defensible to give them time for capitulating, and saving their lives. The Spaniards could scarcely prevent the Indians from killing the Governor in his bed, so heartily had they been taught to hate the Portugueze. He was sent to Lima with the other prisoners, and died there.

Silvestre Ferreira, p. 12. Rocha Pitta, 7, § 8. Charlevoix, 2, 195—8.

It was now seen how well the Jesuits had acted for the interests of Spain in forming the Reductions; the efficient force for this service had been supplied from thence, and without the smallest expence to the Government. Congratulations and

CHAP. XXVIII. 1681.

compliments flowed in upon the Provincial, and the new Governor, D. Andre de Robles, who arrived at this time to supersede Garro, proposed to the Court that a new Reduction should be established in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. His project was approved, and orders came out for drafting a thousand families from the old Reductions to form the new establishment: but upon the earnest representation of the Jesuits, this order, so incompatible with their system and with the well being of their hierocratic commonwealth, was revoked. Meantime reinforcements from Recife and Bahia arrived at the Rio on their way to Nova Colonia; but tidings of its capture had arrived before them. The dispute was now transferred to the Cabinets of Madrid and Lisbon,.. whither indeed it ought to have been referred before the blood was shed. Neither government was desirous of war, and it was agreed that the question should be decided by commissioners, or by the Pope if the chosen arbitrators should not accord: that during the interim, Nova Colonia should be provisionally restored to the Portugueze, and occupied by them, the disputed territory being meantime common to both nations, and the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres entitled to hunt there, fish, feed their cattle, cut wood, and burn charcoal, as they were accustomed to do before the difference [12]. The Com-

Charlevoix, 2, § 199—200.

Sobre o Territorio da Colonia, MS.

[12] I am not acquainted with any Spanish account of these transactions. The Jesuits' story, which in this case is theirs also, is told by Charlevoix, and his statement differs *toto cœlo* from that given by Rocha Pitta, and by Silvestre Ferreira da Sylva. They affirm that Pedro demanded immediate satisfaction from the Court of Madrid in a high tone, threatening to declare war if it were not granted, and to command his army in person; that the army was made ready, and that Carlos II. in consequence sent the Duque de Giovenazzo as Embassador Extraordinary to Lisbon, and concluded a treaty by which he agreed to restore Nova Colonia to the Portugueze, with every thing which had been

CHAP. XXVIII. 1681.

missioners did not agree, and the Pope never pronounced sentence. This might have been foreseen, and was probably expected by both parties. Each seems to have been equally contented, one with the actual possession which it obtained, the other with the conditional terms of the restitution, which salved its dignity, and left it at any time the right of resuming its claims. D. Francisco Naper de Lancastro, who had been second in command under Lobo, and taken prisoner with him, was sent to reoccupy the place, in defending which, though unsuccessful, he had bravely distinguished himself. He enlarged the works, drove away the savages from the adjoining territory, and brought fields and gardens into a flourishing state of cultivation.

Rocha Pitta, 7, § 13—14.

---

taken in it, and promised also to punish in an exemplary manner the Governor of Buenos Ayres for the aggression which he had committed. This, however, was not done, because the Portugueze Government interceded, and obtained his pardon. (*Relaçam do Sitio da N. Colonia, p.* 14—16. *America Portugueza*, 7, § 9—12.) Charlevoix denies all this, and affirms that Pedro only requested of the Spanish court permission to occupy Nova Colonia upon sufferance, as a harbour where the Portugueze might take shelter, in case of need, from bad weather, or from pirates: that this was granted as a favour, on condition that the territory was still to be considered as belonging to Spain; that not more than fourteen Portugueze families should reside there; that the houses should be built with wood and covered with straw, and that no fort should be erected; finally, that the Governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right at any time to inspect the place and the ships which put in there. Meantime the Commissioners were to examine, whether the Portugueze had any right or not to form a settlement upon the Plata,.. or the matter should be referred to the Pope. The Portugueze moreover were to restore 300,000 Indians, and all the cattle which the Paulistas had driven away from the Reductions. (2, 203.) These opposite statements are equally overcharged, and bear the grossest and most ridiculous marks of partiality. Several manuscripts respecting Nova Colonia are in my possession, (for reams have been written upon the question,) and from these I have collected a more credible and consistent account.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

Meantime the term of Roque da Costa Barreto's government expired, and he left Brazil "poorer in purse but richer in good name than many of his predecessors, having had as few examples in this disinterestedness, says Vieyra, as he would find imitators: the treasure which he bore away with him, therefore, was in no danger from the perils of the sea, neither would time consume it." He was succeeded in the general government by Antonio de Sousa de Menezes, of the Silver Arm, so called from the costly and inconvenient substitute which he wore for a limb lost in the Pernambucan war; he was of high family, and far advanced in life: it was hoped that years had given him discretion, and that being childless he would not be greedy of wealth. Unfortunately he had become familiar at Lisbon with Francisco Telles de Menezes, a native of Bahia, whom the Conde de Obidos had sent prisoner to Portugal; but who, being acquitted upon that accusation, had purchased for a trifling sum the post of Alcaide Mor of Bahia from the person upon whom the King had conferred it, and returning to his own country, scandalously abused his office by perverting it to the gratification of his private enmities. Neither rank, character, age, nor infirmities exempted those whom he disliked from indignities, outrages, and imprisonment[13]; for the Governor was entirely ruled by this insolent and tyrannical favourite. Many of the first persons of the city were cast into the common jail, and others only escaped by taking refuge in the Jesuits' College, which enjoyed the privi-

Vieyra Cartas, T. 3, p. 294. Do. p. 299.

Do. T. 2, p. 276.

[13] It was hoped that when the Archbishop arrived his interference might mitigate this tyranny; but, says Vieyra, he well knows that among all our Lord's miracles he never cured any person of folly ... *que entre os milagres de Christo nenhum se lê que curasse doudices:* and much as he loved his flock, he soon perceived that a shepherd's staff could not defend them against the wolf.

Cartas, T. 3, 318.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

lege of a sanctuary. A noble Bahian, by name Antonio de Brito de Castro had given some such provocation to a nephew of the Alcaide as might have been followed by a challenge in countries where duelling is the mode: in Portugal and the Portugueze dominions such things are resented by assassination; and the offended party, at the suggestion of his uncle (one of the chief magistrates of the city) stationed himself with some armed attendants in a house by which Antonio de Brito was to pass, and fired at him and his brother as they went by. The two brothers resolutely entered the house, drove out the cowardly assassins, and compelled them to leap a wall and take shelter in the College precincts; but Brito's arm was shattered in the fray, and he never perfectly recovered its use. This was an old quarrel; new wrongs had now exasperated the long-rankling hatred, and Brito resolved to gratify at the same time the general feeling and his own vindictive spirit, by putting the Alcaide to death. Francisco Telles was warned of the danger by a letter, which advised him as he valued his life not to stir from his house that day: he carried this letter to the Governor, who offered him a guard; but relying upon his connections, and upon the terror which his authority inspired, he refused it. Scarcely had he left the Palace before he was attacked by eight men in masks, who fired upon his attendants, killing one of the servants and wounding others; he rose in his palankeen either to seek safety by flight, or to defend himself, when Brito approached, took off his mask that the Alcaide might know from what hand the blow came, and stabbed him mortally in the neck; the other assassins stabbed him in several places, and then walked deliberately to the Jesuits' College, Brito showing his face openly, as one who avowed and gloried in what he had done. The city was now thrown into a state of utter anarchy. The Governor was justly indignant at this outrage, but he acted according to the

blind impulses of passion, regarding law and justice as little as the criminal whom he sought to punish. Though the leader of the assassins had ostentatiously exhibited himself as a man, who beyond all doubt believed that he was committing a brave and honourable and meritorious action, the Governor, upon a suspicion which had no other ground than an old enmity on his part, ordered the Secretary of State, Bernardo Vieyra Ravasco, to be thrown into the common prison, and not permitted to communicate with any person. Ravasco is said to have possessed the highest character, and the most distinguished abilities, being, it is affirmed, the ablest man either in Brazil or in the Mother Country. He was brother to Vieyra, who after some sufferings and many vicissitudes of fortune, had lately returned to Brazil to pass the remainder of his life at Bahia. Vieyra was now between seventy and eighty years of age, nearly blind, his other senses impaired, and his memory also, but his intellect unclouded and vigorous as ever. This man, as venerable for his virtues as for his years and distinguished talents, the pride of his order and his country, went to the Governor as soon as he heard of his brother's imprisonment, and said he came to ask a boon, in which it appeared to him that he should render a service while he received a favour, for it was a matter of justice and of conscience. The Governor, not waiting to hear more, fell into a fit of rage, and replied, that though he was no Jesuit he had a better conscience than himself, and believed in God better than he did; and as the last reproach of obloquy which rancour could suggest to the heart of a Portugueze, he insulted Vieyra with the appellation of Jew. The old man calmly made answer that he had been treated in Palaces with different language, .. not for his personal deserts, but for the sake of the rochet which he wore. This reply drew forth a fresh torrent of indignities, which were terminated by the Governor's turning

Rocha Pita, 7, § 15—25. *Vieyra, Cartas*, 2, 305—11.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1660.

him out of the door, and forbidding him to enter it again. Antonio de Sousa completed his injustice by sending a complaint to Lisbon that F. Vieyra had insulted him; and he now asserted that the murder of the Alcaide had been concerted in the College by Vieyra and the other Jesuits, and that Ravasco had been summoned to this council of assassination.

A. de Barros, 4, § 144—66.

The city send their complaints to the King.

In this temper he drew a cordon of soldiers round the College, entered the houses of the inhabitants at night, and sometimes twice in the night, if he thought that any persons whom he wished to arrest were harboured there, and upon the merest suspicion, or pretext of suspicion, he persecuted persons whose innocence was as notorious as his own tyranny. This became intolerable at last. The *Vereador*, one of the principal fidalgos of Bahia, who had been seized and degraded by the Governor, and declared incapable of holding any office, was commissioned to go to Portugal, and in the name of the City supplicate the throne for redress. Gonçalo Ravasco de Albuquerque, the Secretary's son, accompanied him: guards were stationed to prevent their embarkation, but they eluded them; and escaping from this oppressed city, effected their voyage [14] in safety. The Governor's complaints had arrived before them, and Gonçalo met with an appalling reception, wherein the King expressed his high displeasure against Vieyra for having insulted the Governor. When the old man received this intelligence, grief and indignation overpowered him, and he was seized the same day with fever and delirium. A letter from his constant friend the Duke de Cadaval proved the best remedy; Vieyra had still faithful friends at Court, though he had no longer any

[14] *Esta frota vay mais carregada de queixas que de caixas*, was a pun current at the time.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

personal influence with an ungrateful Prince; they were not wanting in this need, and the representation of the state of the city came with such force and from such authority, that the Ministry which for two years had been deaf to the cries of Bahia, gave ear at length. The discontent indeed was general, and threatened fatal consequences: the citizens even began to feel a want of provisions, because the country people were unwilling to carry their produce to a place where there was no longer any security either for persons or for property. It was not doubted that some serious commotions would soon have broken out, if Pedro, who was now become nominally as well as actually King by the decease of his imprisoned brother, had not sent out the Marquez das Minas, D. Antonio Luiz de Sousa Tello de Menezes,.. names which attest his descent from three of the most illustrious families in Portugal. The title which he bore had been promised to his ancestor Francisco de Sousa, when Roberio Diaz solicited it, and this unjust preference of the Governor to the Discoverer is believed to have made Roberio frustrate the expectations of the individual who had intercepted the honour which he thought his due, and of the Court which had refused the reward to which he laid claim. The old promise however was remembered as constituting some claim in the Sousa family, and after an interval of fourscore years it took effect in the person of Francisco's grandson, whose son the second Marquis of the Mines was now appointed to supersede Antonio de Sousa before the expiration of his term, and to remedy the consequences of that Governor's misconduct. The public discontent was allayed by the removal of the public grievances; but individuals underwent all the vexations and protracted miseries of dilatory law. The Sindicant who accompanied the new Governor brought with him some of the prejudices and injustice of the old one. Upon evidence which originated solely in malice, he found Ravasco

The Governor is superseded by the Marquez das Minas.

Vol. I, p. 358.

1670.

Caetano de Sousa. Memorias dos Grandes de Portugal. p. 161.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1683.

guilty, sequestered him from his office, and even refused obedience to a letter from the King, directing that he should be absolved from this iniquitous and groundless charge. In the same spirit he condemned Vieyra, and referred him to his Superiors as a criminal upon whom they were to inflict punishment; but the Superiors expressed their indignation at this abominable perversion of justice; the case was re-examined before a competent tribunal, the innocence of the two brothers was substantiated and fully acknowledged by the Court, and the General of the Company, as if to mark the opinion of his Order respecting Vieyra, appointed him Visitor of the Province.

Andre de Barros, 4. § 172—6. 182—5.

1686. *Pestilence in Brazil.*

Bahia had scarcely begun to enjoy a regular and benignant administration when it was visited by pestilence. The disease began in Recife, where it carried off more than two thousand persons; it soon reached Olinda, and spread itself over the Varzea; and the contagion arrived at Bahia as soon as the news. From twenty to thirty persons died daily;..of two hundred who sickened in one day, only two persons recovered, so generally did it prove mortal. Not a house escaped without some sick, and in some houses not an individual. In the country it was neither so general nor so destructive. The disease exclusively affected the white race, and of them more particularly the sailors; they were mostly Europeans, and perhaps individuals and families were liable to it in proportion as they were more or less acclimated. For many years after it had ceased to be endemic, strangers who came from other countries, or from the interior to any of the cities where it had raged, still fell victims. The more robust the subject, the more certainly did the disease prove mortal. The streets were full of funeral processions, and the churches were crouded with dead, till at length no persons were found to accompany the Host to the apartments of the dying,.. a custom by which contagion is propagated in Catholic coun-

tries as surely as by the fatalism of the Mahommedans. The Marquez displayed exemplary liberality during this dreadful visitation: he followed the sacrament to the bed-side of those who were in extremity, attended the victims who were of good family to the grave, and where such marks of honour would have been less acceptable, he left money in liberal sums behind the pillows of the sick. D. Francisca de Sande, an opulent widow, opened her house as an hospital when the Misericordia could no longer contain the stricken, fed them at her own expence, and nursed them herself;.. a letter from the King, acknowledging this heroic charity, was thought sufficient reward. As the negroes and every variety of the mixed race were exempt from the contagion, none of that distress was experienced for want of attendance by which such calamities are so cruelly aggravated in Europe. When the inefficacy of medicine was perceived, and many of the medical men had fallen victims to the disease, and to the inadequacy of their own skill, it was determined that a Saint should be called in. The choice fell upon St. Francisco Xavier; he was carried in procession from the College through the principal squares and streets, and as at this time the pestilence was abating, having spent its force and consumed its objects, it was not doubted that this was owing to Xavier's interference. The *Camara* therefore, with the acclamations of the people, elected him *Padroeiro Principal*,.. Chief Patron of the State: application for ratifying the appointment was made in due form to the Board at Rome, under whose cognizance such cases fell; it was confirmed through the influence of Cardinal Carpenha, and all the prerogatives and privileges were conceded to the chosen Saint which are granted to Saints in such situations by the Constitution of Pope Urban VIII. Accordingly from that time forth S. Francisco Xavier

CHAP. XXVIII. 1686.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1686.

has been Patron [16] of Bahia, and his yearly festival is celebrated in that city on the tenth of May, being the anniversary of the day on which his image was carried in procession and staid the plague,..according to the belief in which a superstitious and deluded People have been confirmed by an idolatrous and deceitful Church.

Rocha Pitta, 7, § 33—46.

[16] Xavier was already Tutelary Saint of Navarre, Naples, the whole East Indies, and Palermo;..considering how young a Saint he was, this was good preferment, and he was in a fair way of becoming as great a pluralist as St. Peter or St. George, who are the most eminent of all Saints in this line. But the Magna Mater far exceeds them all, being Tutelary Goddess of thirty-five cities, states, and regions in particular, and of the whole world in general. Xavier had not obtained his appointment at Bahia when the Jesuit Antonio Macedo wrote his *Divi Tutelares Orbis Christiani: Opus singulare, in quo de Sanctis Regnorum, Provinciarum, Urbium Maximarum Patronis agitur.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

Affairs of Maranham. The Jesuits deprived of their temporal authority, and the Friars admitted to a share of the Aldeas. Report of Mines upon the River Tocantins: the expedition in search of them frustrated by the death of the Paulista Pascoel Paez. Conspiracy against the Governor Pedro Cesar. D. Gregorio dos Anjos first Bihsop of Maranham. The Jesuits restored to their full power, and Slavery once more abolished. Monopoly established. Insurrection of Manoel Beckman, and second expulsion of the Jesuits. Gomes Freire de Andrada Governor. Suppression of the revolt. Betrayal and execution of Beckman.

Affairs of Maranham.

While these things occurred in Brazil, the younger and more turbulent state of Maranham was the seat of many changes and disturbances. Considering the habits of the people, their lawless condition, and the inability of the Government to enforce obedience, Sequeira had effected much in persuading them to re-admit the Jesuits: but they were only re-admitted to their spiritual functions; their temporal authority was suspended till the pleasure of the Court should be obtained, and meantime the *Procuradores* of the people were busily employed at Lisbon in pleading the cause of slavery and oppression. Their [1] represen-

[1] In the charges which they have presented against us, says Vieyra, (*Cartas.*

CHAP. XXIX.

tations and falsehood were powerfully opposed by Vieyra, and the arguments of this eloquent man, urged as they were with the strength of reason and the warmth of a generous heart, might again have proved triumphant, if one of those court-revolutions to which absolute governments are liable, had not deprived the Queen Regent of power, and given the reins of government into the hands of her son Affonso VI, .. then indeed of sufficient years to assume them, if manhood had brought with it discretion. Vieyra was included in the disgrace wherein her friends were involved; the Inquisition was let loose upon him, and that detestable tribunal took advantage of a harmless insanity to revenge themselves for his former efforts in behalf of the New Christians. The Slave-party and the Friars gained the King's ear when there was none to expose their faithless statements, and the King, on the same day that he confirmed the general pardon which Sequeira had granted, deprived the Jesuits of all temporal authority over the Indians, and directed that the spiritual management should be divided among the different orders of Religioners, it being just, he said, that all should labour in the Lord's vineyard. A member from each order in rotation was to accompany the ransoming parties, and he was prohibited from ransoming slaves either for himself or for the community to which he belonged; nor might the community possess any slaves purchased in that expedition till a year after

Triumph of the Friars and the Slave-party.

1663. Sept. 12.

New edicts respecting the Indians.

T. 3, *p.* 103,) there is not a word, nor a syllable, nor a letter, that does not contain a lie; but the minds of their friends are so disposed that all this is received as if it were gospel truth. The Devil and his agents laboured hard to prevent me from coming to Portugal upon this business; here I am at last, and still they obtain their end, .. a proof that the Devil is not less powerful in Lisbon than he is in Maranham.

its termination: by which rule it was vainly hoped all collusion might be prevented. All civil officers were in like manner forbidden to ransom slaves on their own account. The edict, in granting permission for the Jesuits to reside in the state upon these terms, excepted Vieyra, saying it was not thought convenient for the King's service that he should return there. A third decree enjoined the restitution of their churches and possessions to the Jesuits, the King declaring that he did this as Master of the Order of Christ, in whom the right of presentation was vested, and in proof of his satisfaction with their good conduct and zeal for the service of God.

Berredo, § 1123—26.

An epidemic disease raged at this time among the reduced Indians with fatal violence, and they who perished were more fortunate than the survivors. The Portugueze consoled themselves with the hope that there would be no longer any restriction upon their slaving parties, and that as in former days, the natives would be left to their mercy; and Sequeira, without waiting for instructions from home, indulged them in their guilty desires. One of these kidnapping missions, under the Sargento Mor, Antonio Arnau Villella, and the Mercenario Friar Raimundo, went up the Urubu, a river so called from the birds which frequent its banks. These conductors had neither character to win the confidence of the Indians, nor prudence to be upon their guard against an injured and revengeful people. The Caboquenas and Guanevenas persuaded them to land and dispatch a party into the interior in their company, to bring down slaves. Arnau fortified himself with a palisade, and sent ten soldiers with more than an hundred Indians in their service upon this rash errand. The whole detachment was cut off. The wily savages, pursuing their success, bound some of their companions, and leading them as slaves, presented themselves before the palisade, telling Arnau that his men had purchased

A slaving party cut off by the natives.

CHAP. XXIX. 1664.

these captives, and were gone forward to procure more: the incautious commander admitted them; and falling upon him and his men with their killing-sticks, the significant name by which their weapons were called, they slew him, and all who could not reach the boats. The conquerors proceeded with more than forty large canoes to attack another party, at the Aldea de Saracá, built beside a lake from whence it took its name, and which discharges its waters into the Urubu; but here they were defeated with great slaughter. This was but the prelude to a severer vengeance. Sequeira would have gone against them in person, if it had been proper to absent himself so long from the seat of government: he appointed Pedro da Costa Favella in his stead, who embarked with four companies of infantry and five hundred Indians, in thirty four canoes. They halted at the great Aldea dos Tabajos, upon the river of that name, where the force was increased by a junction with many allied tribes, who having fled from the two fierce nations against whom the expedition was directed, eagerly joined it for the hope of revenge. That revenge was complete. Three hundred villages of the offending tribes were burnt, seven hundred of their warriors slain, and four hundred, who were made prisoners, were paraded through Belem in chains.

Vengeance taken by the Portuguese.

Berredo, § 1109—17. 1134—38. Manoel Guedes Aranta. MS.

The edict which deprived the Jesuits of their temporal jurisdiction vested it in the *Camaras*, and gave them also the right of appointing to the command of the slaving-parties. Favourable as these decrees were to the pretensions of the people, they imposed some restrictions upon avarice and rapacity, and were not received without some dissatisfaction. Sequeira too was dissatisfied that the appointment of the commanders should not be in his power, and that he was not permitted to enrich himself by the sweat and blood of the captured Indians, as his predecessors had done: so he proposed that the promulgation of

Sequeira suspends the new edicts.

these laws should be suspended till the King's farther pleasure might be obtained, and that the Chamber of Belem should send *Procuradores* to consult upon the subject with those of S. Luiz. But the people of Belem were not disposed to cooperate with their neighbours; they were disgusted because Maranham, which had set the example of expelling the Jesuits, and, as they affirmed in a memorial to the King, by threats as well as persuasions urged them to follow it, should first have consented to re-admit the obnoxious Order: envy also had some share in their resentful feelings;.. when slaves were to be distributed, Maranham received a proportion of five to one; they complained that this was the more unjust, because it was Para which supplied canoes, stores, guides, and interpreters for every expedition: and they wished that their Captain, remaining subject to the Government of Maranham, like those of Pernambuco and the Rio to the general Government of Brazil, should like those subordinate Governors have authority to act upon his own judgement, without waiting for instructions from S. Luiz. In this temper they refused to concur with Sequeira's proposal, and declared that they were well satisfied with the law as it stood. The Governor upon this suspended Francisco de Seyxas from his command, for having encouraged the people in their refusal. A new *Capitam Mor* was appointed, and the dispute was for some time allayed. But at length the *Procurador*, Adam Correa, called upon the *Senado* no longer to tolerate the suspension of a law so beneficial to the general interest; a *junta* was convoked, to which the *Capitam Mor* and the Auditor were summoned; but when Correa proposed that the law should forthwith be proclaimed and put in force, he found himself in a minority. Being, however, sure of the people's support, he and his party raised the royal standard on the great holyday of the *Corpo de Deos*, forcibly released the *Vereador* from prison,

The Chamber of Belem oppose him.

1666.

CHAP. XXIX. 1666. where he had been some weeks confined, and published the law in defiance of the Governor. Sequeira felt how imprudently he had given occasion to this excess, and with some loss of credit compromised the dispute by having the law proclaimed in both capitals, with a reservation upon the obnoxious points.

Berredo, § 1139–49.

1667. *Antonio de Albuquerque Governor.*

Things were in this state when the term of Sequeira's government expired. Dissimulation and craft, applied to a laudable object, had obtained for him a character of prudence at the beginning of his administration; but it was afterwards perceived that he pursued his own selfish interests rashly as well as rapaciously. He was succeeded by Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, son of the first Governor General of that state, Francisco Coelho, and Donatory of the Towns and Captaincies of Camuta, and Cumá or Tapuytapera. The new Governor was of stern character and offensive manners: he did not dissemble his disapprobation of Sequeira's conduct; Sequeira was offended, and when he embarked for Portugal sent him a message, saying that if it pleased God to grant them both a safe return to Lisbon, he should there expect such satisfaction as a soldier was entitled to demand. Antonio de Albuquerque brought out a confirmation of the suspended laws, with this alteration only, that the annual allotment of Indians should be made by the senior Judge, instead of the *Camara*. It soon appeared that he, like his predecessors, regarded the laws no farther than they suited his own convenience. Excesses such as those which Vieyra had brought to light were committed by the slaving-parties; and as the Governor nominated the Chiefs himself, who under the pretext of missionary expeditions, carried on the slave and the spice trade for his emolument, the Chamber of Belem, though they had themselves been guilty of the worst excesses, stood forward in behalf of the Indians, and commenced an op-

Disputes with the Chamber of Belem.

position to him as friends of humanity! At first they complained of those only who commanded the expeditions;..a moderate and legal course, though it was well known at whom the complaints pointed. Their next act had a character of personal defiance. They assembled the Principals of the reduced Indians to inform them of the alteration in the law, and in their presence they notified to Antonio de Carvalho, a bastard of the Governor, and his Lieutenant at Camutá, that the villages in his Captaincy were subject to the same regulations. This produced an angry reprimand from the Governor, reminding them that Carvalho was to be treated as his son, and that Camutá was his property and inheritance. Growing more discontented, and bolder in their discontent as the Governor's conduct gave them more advantage, the *Senado* having occasion to congratulate the Regent Pedro, accompanied their address with complaints. 1669. They also called upon the Governor to punish the persons who now, in contempt of the King's edicts, were oppressing and enslaving the free Indians; and they required him to send up the rivers and recall the expeditions which he had sent out. Not daring to refuse the demand, he affected to concert measures with them for sending a fresh expedition upon this errand, and secretly threw so many impediments in the way as to frustrate it. The *Camara* pretended now that they had a right to summon their Governor before the King's presence, there to be confronted with one of their *Vereadores*, or of their Judges, as his accuser, and answer to the accusation; and they applied to the Duque de Cadaval to assist them with his influence in this extraordinary pretension. The Duke was as much distinguished for his virtues as his rank, and the Chamber perhaps expected that one who was the constant friend of Vieyra would befriend them when the liberty of the natives was the ostensible ground of their complaints. They also accused Carvalho to their

CHAP. XXIX. 1669. *Capitam Mor*, Antonio Pinto de Gaya, of heavy crimes, demanding that he should be arrested, and his process made and sent to Lisbon with him. Unwilling to act in a manner which would affect the Governor so nearly, although he himself had wrongs to complain of, Pinto refused to appear forward in the business, but replied, that if the Chamber would instruct one of the ordinary Judges to perform the arrest, he would give him the aid of the military in case resistance should be attempted. Accordingly the *Sargento Mor* accompanied a civil officer to Camutá. Carvalho relied upon his father's power, and set the summons at defiance; he was then forcibly seized and brought before the Chamber; there he was charged with crimes of the most enormous nature, most of which he confessed, and to the astonishment of the tribunal, declared that he had committed them by his father's order. The confession was written down and signed by the criminal. The Chamber then sent information to the father of what they had done, apprized him that they should proceed farther, and observed maliciously, that he who so severely punished less offences must needs approve of them for following his example in this instance. The Governor restrained his indignation that he might indulge it afterwards with surer effect: he waited till the annual office of the men most active in this transaction should expire, when he might proceed against
1671. them as private persons; then set off secretly for Belem and entered the city by night: but they who had offended him were on the watch, and fled in all haste up the river. In the bitterness of his anger he pursued them as far as Curupa, a voyage of eight days; but they eluded his pursuit; and when he returned
Berredo, § 1159—80. to S. Luiz he was superseded by Pedro Cesar de Menezes.

1672. *Pedro Cesar Governor.* The new Governor received instructions to take measures for defending the State in case any of the armaments which were at that time preparing in Europe should be designed to strike a

treacherous blow upon this part of the Portugueze dominions. Twelve months elapsed before he was informed that the imaginary danger had passed over, and during this interval the means were not disposeable for any other service. The first which they undertook was a service of humanity. The Paulistas, finding it no longer expedient to attack the Reductions, which were now in an efficient state of defence, had directed their expeditions northward; and the tribes upon the Tocantins, grievously persecuted by these man-hunters, who were as remorseless as they were indefatigable, applied to Belem for protection. Francisco da Mota Falcam was sent with a force less able to protect the natives than it would have been to have warred against them: having advanced some way against the difficulties of this formidable stream, he found boats drawn ashore which were evidently not made by Indians; and it was soon ascertained that the Paulistas under their Camp-Master Manoel Paez de Araujo, were hunting down the tribes in the interior, having already enslaved the Guajaruz, a people whose appeal for protection had been most urgent, and who in consequence were more particularly recommended to the Commander's care. Mota Falcam therefore dispatched a letter to Pascoal Paez, stating that the river Tocantins was within the jurisdiction of Maranham, and that the Governor of this State had sent him to protect the Indian vassals of his Majesty: he reminded the Paulista that they were both subjects of the same Prince, who had so often and so decidedly forbidden all aggressions of this nature, and he requested a meeting with him. The Paulista returned a rude verbal answer, and to a second letter he replied in like manner, that as for meeting Francisco da Mota Falcam, he had no business with him, and that if any person pretended to oppose him in his plans against the Tapuyas, he would make them good by force of arms. Mota Falcam understood that he was actually

CHAP. XXIX. 1672.

The tribes on the Tocantins apply for protection against the Paulistas.

CHAP. XXIX. 1673.

preparing for hostilities, and he thought it best to return immediately to Belem. The Governor was justly incensed at his report, and prepared a larger expedition, which should be strong enough to inflict upon Pascoal Paez the chastisement he deserved: it was destined to undertake a very different service.

Expedition to the Tocantins in search of mines.

For when it was nearly ready to depart, Antonio Raposo Tavares, a priest of the habit of S. Pedro, arrived from Lisbon with a commission to explore the Tocantins in search of mines, information of which had been given by Pascoal Paez de Araujo, .. the very man whom the Governor was about to punish for the most open and scandalous violation of the laws. Whatever might have been Pedro Cesar's feelings, no choice was left him; the mines were thought paramount to all other considerations, and the expedition which he had fitted out to act against the Paulista, was placed under Raposo's command to cooperate with him.

Course of the Rio dos Tocantins.

There prevailed at this time an erroneous opinion, that the Tocantins and the Plata issued from the same lake: its eastern sources are in reality near those of the Parana, rising in the same mountains, in the Captaincy of Goyaz; those of its farther western branch, the Rio das Mortes, rise in the very centre of the continent, and the streams which flow from the other side of the same mountains run to that labyrinth of waters from whence the Paraguay proceeds. But the stream which supplies most water to the Tocantins is the Araguay, which rises in the Serra Seiada, and in the Serra de S. Marta. Where the Tocantins falls into the Para River, as that channel is now called upon which Belem stands, it is so wide that the one shore can scarcely be seen from the other; for many leagues upward the channel is full of islands, and the navigation is exceedingly difficult. Much Brazilian cinnamon was found there, mother of pearl, and pearls, the value of which had not then been ascertained, and has probably proved to be little. The climate along

its whole course is good; and the Araray, one of its tributary streams, had obtained in addition to its native name, that of the River of Health, *(Rio da Saude,)* because its waters were believed to have the virtue both of preventing and curing many diseases. The Tocantins is not one of the largest secondary rivers of the continent, but at this time it had the reputation of being the richest in mines, nor was this opinion wholly unfounded, some of the most productive veins having subsequently been discovered in the countries where its fountains arise. Raposo began his voyage in full expectation of discovering a new Potosi; but all his reliance was upon Pacoal Paez, and when he reached the place where he should have met this adventurer, he found tidings of his death. The expedition was thus frustrated.

Berredo, § 1186—91. *Do.* § 1200—6. *Manoel Guedes Aranha, MS. Pinheiro Collection, Vol. 6, No.* 14. *Manoel José d'Oliveira. Bastos. Roteiro da Cidade de Belem pelo Rio Tocantins.*

Pedro Cesar had removed the seat of government from S. Luiz to Belem, that station being more favourable for collecting the natural produce of the country, as well as for prosecuting the discovery of the interior. Though a man of much prudence and suavity, he had not been able wholly to allay the discontents which had arisen under his predecessor. The law of 1663 was still the cause: the Governor, whose patronage and emoluments were curtailed by its restrictions, was desirous of suspending it as long as possible; the *Senado* and the people on their part were equally desirous that it should be published; and the Chamber at length, in direct defiance of the Governor, published it by their own authority. Pedro Cesar was so incensed that he instantly arrested the Senior Judge and the *Vereador*, put them on board a vessel which was about to sail, and sent them prisoners to Lisbon. No farther punishment was inflicted, but the Chamber received a severe reprimand from the King, and were at the same time reproved for their practice of summoning the Governor to the *Senado* upon any light matter, the *Camara*, it was observed, having no such power, and the

Seat of Government removed to Belem.

The King reprimands the Camara. Dec. 4, 1677.

CHAP. XXIX. 1677.

practice being unknown in any other part of the Colonies, and derogatory to the authority and regalities of an office which represented the royal person. When indeed the Clergy, the Nobles, and the People were convened upon some weighty business, then the Governor was to assist, not at their summons, but that the business might be better consulted and authorized by his presence. In cases of less moment, if he thought proper to require, the Chamber were ordered to wait upon him in a body at his own house. Three years elapsed after the offence which the Chamber had given; and Pedro Cesar, whose administration had on the whole been popular, believed that he had conciliated the good will of all parties and all persons, when he was informed by the Jesuit F. Francisco Velloso, that a conspiracy had been formed against him. He had been invited to a comedy which was to be represented at the gate of the Convent of N. Senhora das Merces, on the eve of S. Ramon Nonnatus; and then he was to be seized. Some of the Nobles were in the plot, but the Friars and Priests were the chief agents [2], as usual in all commotions here. The information was well founded, for one of the conspirators had revealed the plot. Pedro Cesar immediately retired to the fortress, collected the troops there as secretly as possible, and then attempted to surprize the ringleaders. The Friars sheltered some, and assisted others to escape. The *Ouvidor*, being in pursuit of the criminals, met the Vicar of the Mother Church, F. Antonio Lameira da [3] Franca and his brother, both implicated in the conspiracy: the Vicar,

Manoel Guedes Aranha, MS.

[2] *Davam calor a todo muitos Religiosos e Ecclesiasticos, como succede commumemente nestas diabolicas assembleas.* BERREDO, § 1210.

[3] Was this the *quondam* Captain of Curupa, whose villany had been detected by Vidal and Vieyra? If so, he had now taken orders, and remained as great a ruffian as before.

CHAP. XXIX. 1677.

not satisfied with insulting the *Ouvidor*, drew his knife upon him; but the minister of justice was provided with a pistol which he pointed at the ruffian's breast, and made them both prisoners without farther resistance. Manoel Guedes Aranha, a man of good character, whose papers have supplied much information for this part of the history, pursued some of the criminals by water, till they escaped by leaping overboard and taking to the woods. Many however were arrested, of whom some were degraded to Curupa, and the three who were deemed most guilty were banished from the State and sent to Portugal. Search was still making for the other culprits when Pedro Cesar, after an administration of seven years, was superseded by Ignacio Coelho da Silva [4]. The proceedings were then neglected, and the guilty soon ventured to return to their homes, where they found the impunity in which they trusted.

Berredo, § 1210—24. 1230.

1679. *Expedition against the Taranambeses.*

The new Governor directed an expedition against the Taramambezes, a tribe upon the coast who increased the dangers of its perilous navigation. They were such expert swimmers that they crossed wide bays of many leagues with no other support than an oar, if they even availed themselves of that: and when a ship anchored, as was usual, near a dangerous shoal called the *Coroa Grande*, they would swim off, and being incomparable divers, cut the cable,..in the double hope, of profiting by the wreck, and eating some of the crew. Coelho had caught some of these savages in the attempt, when he himself was on the

[4] Ignacio Coelho had distinguished himself at the battle of Montes Claros, where he took the Prince of Parma's timbrels,..a military instrument which, according to Berredo, none but Princes and Generals were allowed to use in war,..except such officers as had won them from the enemy: for this reason they were attached to Coelho's company. § 1225.

CHAP. XXIX. 1679.

passage, and had shot them from the mouth of a gun. There was also a political reason which had its weight in determining him to extirpate this mischievous tribe;..interlopers, as the Portugueze called the ships of every other country, were trading with them for ambergris, in which these shores were rich, and for valuable woods, especially the *Pão Violete*, which abounded here at that time and was in great esteem. The command was given to the *Capitam Mor* of Maranham, Vital Maciel Parente, a bastard of the infamous Bento Maciel. He seems to have inherited the disposition of his father,..for no prisoners were made, and neither age nor sex was spared [5]. After perpetrating this massacre, he proceeded to explore the river then called Paraguazu, and believed to communicate with the S. Francisco;..it is the Parnaiba, formed by the Piauhi and its sister streams.

Berredo, § 1228. 1231 —36.

The Jesuits restored to all their former power.

When Vital Maciel returned from this expedition, D. Gregorio dos Anjos, the first Bishop of Maranham, was arrived to take possession of his see. This Prelate inspected the state of the *Aldeas*, or villages of the Christian Indians; and found them in a deplorable condition. The laws in favour of these poor deceived people were utterly disregarded, and what with desertions and the manner in which the labourers were consumed by inhuman avarice, a rapid depopulation was going on. The Friars also, who by no honourable means, and for no worthy motive, had obtained an equal part in the religious administration with the Jesuits, discharged the duty which they had undertaken in such manner as might have been expected from such men,..for they were the refuse, and not improbably the

[5] Berredo says this massacre was in consequence of the law which again abolished Indian slavery;..but that law was not passed till the ensuing year.

degraded members of Orders which had long been the disgrace of the Romish Church, and the pest of Catholic Christendom. These things the Bishop represented to the Court, and the Governor seconded his representations, although he by his careless or criminal disregard of the existing laws, must in no slight degree have contributed to the mischief. The atrocious manner in which the slave trade had been carried on since it had been thrown open upon the expulsion of the Jesuits, was also laid before the King, and new laws were immediately enacted to remedy these grievous evils. By the first of these edicts, Mar. 31. Governors were prohibited from engaging directly or indirectly in trade, from raising produce, and from collecting such produce as grew wild in the interior: neither were they to recover the debts of others, under which pretext the prohibition might have been evaded; nor were their servants permitted to engage in any of these things, for thus also might the intention of the law be frustrated. A law which had been enacted seven years before for Brazil, was extended at this time to Maranham and Para: it prohibited the Governors and officers of the treasury of justice or of war, from engaging in trade, farming any of the revenues, fixing a price upon any commodities, or determining the freight of ships. Feb. 17, 1673. The next decree abolished Indian slavery, seeing that no regulations could prevent the abuses and cruelties connected with this nefarious trade: it was enacted, that any person who from that time forward might transgress the law, should be laid in close prison by the *Ouvidor*, notwithstanding any privilege which he might plead; that he should be sent home by the first ship, thrown into the common jail at Lisbon, and there punished according to his offence. All Indians who might be ransomed, were to be placed in the *Aldeas*. By a third law, the Indians in the *Aldeas* were to serve only for two months at a time, and by a fourth, the whole

CHAP. XXIX. 1680.

Restrictions concerning trade.

Slavery again abolished. April 1.

Regulation concerning the Aldeas. April 10 April 30.

CHAP. XXIX. 1679.

superintendance, temporal and spiritual, was again consigned to the Jesuits, because of the inconveniences which had been experienced in the last seventeen years, since they had been deprived of an authority which they had conscientiously exercised. This law provided that they should always have at least twenty subjects in their noviciate, to keep up an adequate supply of members for the duty which they were now called to perform. Lists were to be made of the Indians in every *Aldea;* the men capable of service were then to be divided into three sets, one of which in rotation was to cultivate the land at home, so that a third part of the efficient male population should always be resident with their families; another was assigned to the Missionaries for the service of their expeditions, and the third to be impartially allotted among the settlers, according to the existing regulations.

Manoel Guedes Aranha. c. 2, No. 14. Pinheiro Collection. t. 6. MS.

Apologia da Companhia. MS.

These laws were most unpopular. The Chamber represented that the term of two months, to which the service of the free Indians had thus been limited, was so short as to be useless; .. the whole time, they said, would be consumed in travelling to and from the *Aldeas;* .. four months at least were necessary for labouring in the cane plantations, or indeed for any thing else. They sent a *Procurador* to Lisbon to solicit an amendment in this law, and use what means he could for procuring a repeal of the others. Meantime the term of Ignacio Coelho's government expired: he had exerted himself to improve the city of Belem, and, liberally contributed to repair or build such churches as were fallen to decay. His successor, Francisco de Sa de Menezes, had displayed great personal prowess in the Spanish war, and had been Secretary to the Embassy in England under the Protector Oliver. The Ministry at this time had granted to some merchants at Lisbon the exclusive privilege of trading with Maranham and Para for the term of twenty years. This

Manoel Guedes Aranha. MS.

Francisco de Sa Governor.

Establishment of an Exclusive Company.

CHAP. XXIX. 1680.

monopoly was admitted at S. Luiz without opposition; the public attention indeed was diverted at this time by forming a settlement upon the river Itapicurû, and erecting a fort for its protection twelve leagues from the mouth of the river. But at Belem, where the interior supplied valuable produce, and trade was more flourishing, the people were fully sensible how injurious the monopoly would prove to their individual and general interests. The blind avarice of the contractors soon excited loud complaints; the price of every article which they imported was fixed by their contract; but the goods were damaged, and frauds were practised in weight and measure, as well as in quality. They had engaged to import five hundred Negroes every year, at a hundred *milreas* per head: .. the first year elapsed, and not a slave had been introduced. Accidental as this might have been, it was imputed to design, and increased the general disgust. As Belem was the seat of government, and the people had been in some degree broken in to submission under two unpopular but resolute administrations, resistance was not thought of there, and the legal means were resorted to of representing their grievances to the King. It was otherwise at Maranham, when the effects of the monopoly began to be felt. The Portugueze, averse as they were to labour, engaged willingly, and even avidly, in trade: there were no prejudices against it in Brazil; it was even necessary, as has been seen, to restrict the Governors from trading, by law; and many of the Clergy who were in Maranham at this time a scandal to their profession, as they had been in Brazil during the first half century, were traders. These men were enraged at the loss of their accustomed emoluments, and inflamed the discontent of a people already prone to mutiny, and encouraged by the impunity which they had obtained for their former outrages. The Friars also were not inactive when mischief was to be done: the restitution to

Discontents at Maranham.

CHAP. XXIX. 1680.

the Jesuits of their former full authority in the *Aldeas* had exasperated their hatred against an Order, the members of which by their reputation, their ability, and their zeal, put them to shame.

Berredo, § 1240—55.

1684. *Indecision of the Capitam Mor and the Governor.*

Balthazar Fernandes, formerly *Sargento Mor* of Maranham, was at this time *Capitam Mor*. The discontent of the inhabitants was public; and private information also was given him of the object with which dangerous men were irritating the minds of the people; but covering his irresolution with the cloak of a dissembling policy, he relied upon chance and the responsibility of the Governor. Francisco de Sa acted with equal indecision; he prepared to set out for S. Luiz; the preparations were merely a feint, and he also, deceiving himself into a fancied security with that facility in which statesmen and rulers indulge who are unequal to their station, suffered things to take their course: .. so the discontented and the designing proceeded without controul. The most able and the most ambitious of these men was one Manoel Beckman, a native of Lisbon, but of foreign extraction, and distinguished in S. Luiz for his influence, his abilities, and his turbulence. He had been banished from the State under Coelho's government, upon a charge of seditious practices; but either the term had expired, or he had obtained a remission of the sentence; whatever grounds there may have been for the charge, the proceedings against him had been marked with the odious irregularity and injustice of despotism; his fortunes were grievously injured, and if his intentions were not originally dangerous, resentment had now made them so. The law also which placed the *Aldeas* again under the Jesuits, and thereby protected the Indians against the avarice of the planters, affected Beckman, who had an *Engenho* upon the river Meary, and had scarcely means to support it. To this *Engenho* he invited some of those

Conspiracy formed by Beckman.

Domingos Teyxeyra. Vida de Gomes Freyre. 2. 2. § 69.

persons whose opinions he knew to be conformable with his own; they talked over their grievances when heated at the table; the Jesuits and the Monopoly were the two great evils; the obvious course was to represent the injuries of the people to the Court, . . but the Governor would oppose the appointment of a *Procurador*; if therefore they would succeed, they must make up their minds to act in defiance of him, and exert themselves like men who knew their rights and were resolved to vindicate them. This discourse produced the effect for which Beckman had introduced it; the guests became conspirators, and elected him for their chief. Their first business was to enlist associates; letters were written to the most likely subjects and enclosed in cheeses, . . the produce of a large dairy farm which was attached to the *Engenho*. Good progress having thus been made, Beckman went to S. Luiz to forward the plot and carry it into execution. His views were aided in no slight degree by a Friar who preached in the Cathedral against the Monopoly; this, he said, occasioned all the miseries of the State, and the people ought not to look for miracles to deliver them, when they had the remedy in their own hands; he even advised an insurrection, and hinted that he was willing to put himself at the head of one. This sedition was received with applauses by the greater part of the congregation, and past unreproved by the *Capitam Mor*, who was present, and whom that spurious prudence, which is but another form of fear, withheld from exercising his authority. The *Provedor*, Francisco Teixeira de Moraes, who perceived the whole danger, warned him of what was brooding, and urged him to call upon the *Camara* to quiet the people, employ spies to discover the guilty, and disconcert their criminal designs by the easy means of setting night patroles: but Balthazar Fernandes was not to be roused from his state of timidity and torpor.

Berredo, § 1256—63.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

In the course of four days, Beckman had now increased the number of his associates to more than sixty. An Image of our Lord bearing his Cross was at this time to be carried in a night procession from the Carmo to the Misericordia Church, and it was thought that the concourse thus assembled would afford a favourable opportunity for beginning the insurrection. A scruple of conscience perhaps prevented this; but advantage was taken of the assemblage to summon the people secretly to a meeting within the enclosure of the Franciscan Convent, which they could enter because part of the wall had fallen down: the place was a little way out of the town, the situation lonely, and midnight was the time appointed. The summons was very generally obeyed, curiosity attracting some, and fear compelling others. Beckman took his stand in the porch of the Convent, and harangued them. Two things, he said, were necessary for the salvation of the State,..the abolishment of the monopoly, and the expulsion of the Jesuits: if they would avoid ruin they must at once execute these measures by their own authority; they should then instantly dispatch a just representation to the King by *Procuradores* of their own appointment, and take such other steps as the good sense of the people might judge most conducive to the common weal. Amid the general applause with which these propositions were received, one voice was raised in behalf of the Jesuits; upon which the President, as Beckman was now stiled, declared that if the speaker made this effort in their favour from any hope of promoting his own interest, it should cost him his life,..a penalty which should be inflicted upon any one who maintained the same sentiments. Thomas Beckman, younger brother of the President, a man of less ambition and better intentions, interfered and prevented consequences which might so easily have proved fatal to an innocent man. After this interruption the assembly was about

Feb. 24. *Midnight assemblage of the people.*

to disperse without coming to action, when one of the leading conspirators, by name Manoel Serram de Castro, drew his sword, and protesting that for himself there was no alternative but prompt execution of their purpose, or death, convinced his willing auditors that there was less danger in going on with the enterprize than in receding from it, and that success might demand impunity which would be refused to repentance. Accordingly they hurried through the breach by which they had entered, and hastening to the town, attacked the houses of all those whom private enmity or popular hatred had marked for victims. Some murders were committed, many outrages. The *Capitam Mor* attempted to act when it was too late: the officers who should have executed his orders were not to be found, and his own guards would not follow him;..they feared the mob, and expected to be benefited by the destruction of the monopoly. Then as the mob were entering his house, he presented himself to them singly, in a state of mind which would have rendered death welcome. In the midst of the tumult Beckman made himself heard, reproached him for the criminal indifference with which he had disregarded the just complaints of the people, and for the not less criminal irresolution with which, knowing their discontent, he had suffered it to attain this height; and he told him he must remain prisoner in his own house, under his wife's keeping. Balthazar Fernandes, stung by the deserved reproach, and by the contempt which was manifested in this sort of imprisonment, protested that he would rather die than be thus disgraced; the wife however, in her pardonable fear, pledged herself that he should consider himself as a prisoner. Beckman then left him, summoned the soldiers, who all submitted to him, and before day-break he was master of the arsenal, the forts, and the whole city.

Insurrection.

Imprisonment of the Capitam Mor.

Berredo, § 1264—79.

He now convoked a Junta of the Three Estates: the Vicar-

Proceedings of the victorious party.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

General, and a Carmelite who had been Vicar-Provincial of his Order, represented the Clergy; Beckman himself and Eugenio Ribeiro Maranham were deputed for the Nobles, and the People had their two representatives. They assembled forthwith, and without delay announced to the populace resolutions for deposing the Governor General and *Capitam Mor*, abolishing the Monopoly, and expelling the Jesuits. These decrees were received with acclamations, and the multitude tumultuously elected Beckman and Ribeiro for *Procuradores*. By this time it was day-light, and the Chamber had assembled in their Hall to receive the resolutions of the Three Estates. The newly appointed *Procuradores* notified these, and at the same time the arrest of the *Capitam Mor*, of the *Juiz dos Orfaons* Manoel de Campello de Andrade, and of Antonio de Sousa Soeiro, who were accused of having encouraged the establishment of the Monopoly. Constituted bodies, in times of revolution, are either the criminal or the helpless instruments of audacious men; the Chamber ratified all that had been done, and Beckman then going to the door, enquired of the people where it was their pleasure that Balthazar Fernandes, late their *Capitam Mor*, should be confined:..In the common Jail, was the answer. The *Juiz dos Orfaons*, and Antonio de Sousa, had spirit enough to remonstrate against this brutal insult, and this virtue had nearly cost them their lives, so ferociously were they handled by the triumphant rabble. Beckman however saved them from death, and committing them to prison, suffered Fernandes to remain where he was, under his wife's parole. He then proceeded to the College, and notified to the Jesuits their banishment from the State, and also that until means for transporting them were provided, they must remain prisoners in the College, and have no communication with any of the inhabitants. The populace would now have robbed the warehouses of the Exclu-

sive Company, but from this they were dissuaded; .. a sense of honour has often been found in the multitude, even when they were most inhuman. They contented themselves with fastening the doors, and one of their clerical ringleaders then led them to the Cathedral, and performed *Te Deum* for the success of the insurrection.

Berredo, § 1279—85.

On the following morning, the six persons who represented the Three Estates met, and resolved that three of the nobles should be named to administer the government in conjunction with the officers of the Chamber, till orders might arrive from Lisbon, after the Court should have been properly informed; and that the two *Procuradores* should have a right to assist at their deliberations, and watch over the interests of their constituents. Thomas Beckman was one of the triumvirate: the *Ouvidor* administered an oath to them, but they all protested that they accepted the charge under compulsion. The Secretary of the *Camara* was displaced as a suspicious person, and the officers of the garrison were also dismissed and their commissions given to men in whom the revolters could confide. The next measure was to dispatch emissaries to Belem, and invite the people there to join them in the rebellion. The boldest associates of Beckman, after they had accepted this mission, and actually embarked, shrunk from it; a Friar then volunteered, and took the opportunity of unfrocking himself. The Chamber of Belem received and registered his papers, then carried them to the Governor, assuring him of the fidelity of the people, and offering their service to inflict due chastisement upon the rebels, unless it should be averted by their speedy repentance. Francisco de Sa declared that he would go in person to S. Luiz; the Chamber dissuaded him, because if he went the whole military force and all the nobles must follow his person, and the Captaincy would thus remain exposed, and from its vicinity to

The insurgents send a deputy to Belem.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

foreign settlements, in more danger than Maranham. They recommended that a Commissioner should be sent, naming Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, as a man who for his known talents, and for his family, being son, grandson, and nephew of the former Governors of the State, would carry with him much personal authority. This they represented in the name of the people; Francisco de Sa was persuaded, and thereby incurred the reproach of having yielded to his own indolent or timorous inclinations. A more resolute conduct would have accorded better with his military character; but he did not rely upon the protestations of the *Camara*, or the fidelity of the inhabitants, and judged it more advisable to retain them in obedience by his presence, than in attempting to suppress the insurrection at S. Luiz, give occasion to another not less dangerous at Belem.

Berredo, § 1286—93.

Fruitless measures of the Governor.

Advices arrived at this time from Henrique Lopes da Gama, *Capitam Mor* of Tapuytapera, and from the *Senado* of the same town, saying they had refused to join in the insurrection, and that they abominated the proceedings of the insurgents in deposing the Governor and the Chief Captain, but that they entirely approved of the suppression of the Monopoly, and declared themselves neutral in the matter of the Jesuits; for although they acknowledged the zeal and charity with which these fathers administered spiritual food in the *Aldeas*, they remembered also how deeply the public resented the despotic power which they possessed, of allotting the Indians. Antonio de Albuquerque, whose father was Donatory of Tapuytapera, was now dispatched to that Captaincy with letters commending the inhabitants, and with a reply from the *Camara* of Belem to the invitation of the revolters, exhorting them to submission. The rulers at S. Luiz, meantime, were far from feeling secure. Beckman perceived that the authority had been delegated to

too many hands, and that though in the multitude of counsellors there might be safety, in the multitude of governors there was confusion. He therefore found means of dismissing the three nobles, the *Procuradores*, and the two *Juizes Ordinarios* of the *Camara*; the rest of the Chamber consisted of persons whom he could direct as he pleased. The tyranny which he exercised silenced all murmurers; but feeling that the popularity upon which it rested was on the wane, he imputed this inevitable condition of the guilty station in which he stood to the secret influence of the Jesuits, and gave orders for their immediate deportation. The day happened to be Palm Sunday; and the Jesuits, who knew how to profit by all occasions, deriving honour at least where no other advantage was possible, and ever demeaning themselves with dignity when circumstances were most adverse, went out from the College each with a palm-branch in hand, thus at the same time showing their observance of the festival, and exhibiting the emblematic reward of martyrdom. They were embarked under a guard, in two vessels: one reached Pernambuco, the other was taken by Pirates, who at this time infested the coast; the Jesuits were landed on the coast of Maranham, brought prisoners again to the city, and after a while transported to Belem.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

Expulsion of the Jesuits.

Berredo, § 1293—1302.

Antonio de Albuquerque had now arrived at Tapuytapera, from whence he apprized the existing government at S. Luiz of his mission, and requested a conference with them. This was refused, upon the pretext that it would expose him to much personal danger from the populace; but in reality, because Beckman dreaded the effect which his offers might produce upon the inconstant people, and the advantage which the well-disposed would derive from his presence. He was now in that miserable condition in which, sooner or later, all demagogues find themselves when the first intoxication of their triumph has past

The Governor attempts to purchase Beckman's submission.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

away. The arrival of two ships belonging to the Company, with goods and negroes on board, restored his popularity for a time: the people would have seized them as fair prizes, and Beckman was not unwilling thus to have gratified them; but the intention was opposed, a sense of equity prevailed, and sale was made on behalf of the Company by its agents. Meantime the Governor, understanding how little his first agent had effected, made another effort to re-establish his authority, by means more discreditable than his former irresolution. Miguel Bello da Costa went to occupy the post of *Sargento Mor*, and was admitted to land, in company with Hilario de Sousa de Azevedo. The latter was instructed to offer a full pardon to all persons, and to Beckman a gratuity of four thousand *cruzados*, with large promises of honours and offices: if Francisco de Sa intended that these promises should be performed, he acted wretchedly as a statesman; if they were designed merely as a snare, he acted wickedly as a man. Beckman was not thus to be reduced: he answered that he would obey the orders of the Sovereign, whenever they should arrive; but he rejected these offers with the semblance or the reality of pride. Sousa was ordered to quit the city, and accordingly retreated to Tapuytapera, whence he returned with Albuquerque to Belem from their bootless errands. The only effect had been to raise the character of Beckman, who obtained credit as for an act of disinterestedness and magnanimity. Hitherto, under various pretexts, he had delayed the departure of his brother for Lisbon, whither he had been deputed as *Procurador*: it was now so strongly urged that he could delay it no longer; his own views did not accord with this mission, but there were many persons in Maranham who desired the restoration of order; and the people themselves, in the natural process of such movements, began secretly to wish for any arrangement which might secure them from punishment.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

Owing to this disposition, Miguel Bello had been permitted to take possession of his post, and collect the troops under his command: they had been broken up, and incorporated with the volunteers; but the volunteers growing weary of their new vocation, disbanded themselves in opposition to Beckman's wishes; and though the *Sargento Mor* was placed nominally under the Chamber, Beckman saw that this was the first step to his overthrow and ruin. The country people also, who had hitherto remained at S. Luiz to support him, returned to look after their own concerns; and if Francisco de Sa had possessed any vigour, he might now at any hour have restored Maranham to obedience by his presence. Feeling his insecurity, Beckman concerted measures for making the mob elect him Chief Commandant of the Captaincy; the *Sargento Mor* was apprized of the design the day before it was to be attempted, and disposed his troops in such a manner that Beckman's partizans dared not show themselves, and their leader retired to his own house, more solicitous now for self-preservation, than ambitious of retaining the miserable elevation to which he had raised himself; and not without apprehensions that those persons who desired to see the laws re-established would prepare the way by putting him to death.

Danger of Beckman.

Berredo. § 1303—18.

Beckman was probably excited to revolt by resentment for his private injuries, a colourable indignation at the injustice of the Exclusive Company, conducted as its concerns were, and the remembrance of the perfect impunity which the culprits had obtained when the Jesuits were first expelled. But if he had proposed to himself not to overpass the limits of his predecessors in sedition, he was at the very outset hurried beyond them. The former revolt had been secretly encouraged by the Governor, and his authority had always been in some degree respected; Beckman had begun by imprisoning the *Capitam Mor*, and

He applies to a Pirate for assistance.

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

deposing the Governor General. These excesses would unquestionably enhance his guilt in the eyes of the Court, and it was also to be apprehended, that as impunity on the first occasion had led to a repetition of the offence, severer measures would now be pursued. Such apprehensions he could not conceal from himself; and despairing of safety by any other means, he had recourse to a desperate expedient. D. Joam de Lima, a Portugueze of high family, had in the course of a profligate life proceeded from crime to crime, and sunk from disgrace to disgrace, till at length he had turned pirate, and in this age of piracy commanded a squadon who infested these seas, carrying on their war against mankind with that ferocious cruelty by which the buccaneers were so execrably distinguished. To this man Beckman and the most guilty of his associates resolved to apply, and put him in possession of Maranham, as a place where he might deposit his booty, and with their assistance establish himself in defiance of Portugal or any other power.

Domingos Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 163 —4.

Gomes Freyre de Andrada appointed Governor.

Meantime the tidings of the insurrection had occasioned much uneasiness at Lisbon. The Government were well aware how difficult it is to suppress insurrections in a distant colony, and how impossible if the country be extensive, and the people determined upon resistance. They feared also lest the French, who had now after many ineffectual attempts established themselves at Cayenne, should renew their projects for obtaining a settlement in the Orellana, revive their claims upon Maranham, or set up a new one by right of conquest. Therefore it was deemed of the greatest importance that a man of known talents, integrity, and courage, should be sent out, and Gomes Freyre de Andrada was named to the King as one in whom these requisites were united. Gomes Freyre was one of those rare men who come up to the standard of what is esteemed great and good in their own age and country. He was of a family illus-

trious not only for its rank and military renown, but for the literary attainments of his uncle Jacinto Freyre de Andrada, whose reputation as the biographer of D. Joam de Castro has extended beyond the limits of his own language. It is indeed probable that the perusal of this book contributed in no small degree to form the nephew's character, and cherish in him the punctilious honour, the conscientious sense of duty, the proud loyalty, the noble disinterestedness, and the strict piety by which he was characterized. He was now in his forty-eighth year. His youth had been signalized by a chivalrous spirit of adventure; he had been knighted on the field at the early age of fifteen, and had distinguished himself by his courage and conduct in war, his prudence in state affairs, and above all, by an elevation of mind which proved that if he did not equal in reputation the old worthies of Portugueze history, it was only because opportunity had not been afforded him. The King sent for him; told him his services were required, and offered him his choice, either to go out to Goa and take the command there, or undertake the more arduous, less honourable, and far less profitable charge, of suppressing the sedition in Maranham. It was in the nature of Gomes Freyre to prefer that situation in which he could best serve his country; and it happened also that his domestic affairs, and the state of his health, much broken by a military life, rendered it desirable that he should be absent from Portugal as short a time as might be compatible with his duty.

Teixeyra. 2. 2. § 74—79.

Gomes Freyre takes out with him persons connected with Maranham.

Gomes Freyre had no connections with Maranham, and knew nothing more of its affairs than what Government could communicate, consisting of the most opposite statements, as contained in the dispatches of Francisco de Sa, and the representations of the *Procurador* Thomas Beckman, then in Lisbon. It was his custom to pass much of that time which is consumed by waiting at Court, in the Royal Chapel, where the ceremonies of the

CHAP. XXIX 1684.

Romish Church were celebrated with the utmost magnificence. Here he met the *Procurador*, who accosted him with the hope of prepossessing him in favour of the cause on which he was employed; Gomes Freyre had wished for this opportunity, and by well directed conversation obtained from him the knowledge which he wanted. This interview was followed by another equally well-timed. Jacinto de Moraes Rego, a soldier of good family, who had served with him in Beira, came to communicate his anxiety respecting a son and other near relations in Maranham: he did not doubt their principles or their loyalty, yet in such perilous times the best intentioned men were sometimes liable to err, and the most innocent were too often involved in punishment. Upon farther conversation it appeared that Moraes was weary of soliciting the reward of his services, and being unable longer to support the expence of attending at Court, was about to seek his fortune in other countries, rather than be reduced to absolute beggary at home. The new Governor could not have found a more useful agent: he represented to him that he could nowhere be so advantageously employed for himself and his friends as in Maranham, where he might not only exempt them from punishment but enable them to deserve reward, and by his own services greatly increase his claims upon Government, and ensure attention to them; and he offered to defray the expences of taking him out, which Moraes joyfully accepted. When it was known how courteously the new Governor gave ear to any individual who was interested in these transactions, many persons came to express their anxieties for children or kinsmen who were involved perhaps in the guilt, certainly in the danger of the revolt. Several of those who were thought worthy of confidence he invited to accompany him, offering them a free passage out and home; and the event amply rewarded this politic humanity.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 83—92.
Do. § 131.

An insufficient force allotted him.

While preparations were making for his departure, there were

persons in office who either from motives of envy, or of private views, endeavoured to disgust him and to make him throw up the appointment: upon such occasions he always went directly to the King; and by this manly and straight forward conduct baffled the mean intrigues of little minds. When the number of troops was to be fixed, it was proposed that he should take out only a hundred and fifty. Gomes Freyre remonstrated that this force was not sufficient; that his instructions required him to touch at the Cape de Verds, a place notoriously unhealthy; and that when he should arrive at Maranham his men would be diminished in number, many struggling with sickness and others invalided by the voyage, so that there would not be enough remaining to ensure respect from the inhabitants, nor even to keep up the state which his office demanded. One of the Ministers replied, that Francisco de Sa had said he could take the city of S. Luiz with a hundred and fifty men, and would undertake, if such a reinforcement were sent him, to reduce the inhabitants, and the strangers too whom they might call to their assistance. Provoked at the invidious manner of the reply, and at the wilful blindness with which the force of his remonstrance had been overlooked, Gomes Freyre proudly answered that if Francisco de Sa had undertaken with so small a force to conquer a place which he had not been able to preserve in peace, he might certainly venture to effect it with a third part of the number. Many a well planned expedition, and many an important object has been frustrated by the fatal œconomy of attempting it with the smallest possible means, instead of sending such strength as, humanly speaking, might render success certain. In this instance, had there been more decision in the rebels, or less in the man who was sent against them, Maranham might have been lost to Portugal.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 93—114.

Court intrigues against Gomes Freyre.

The same parsimony which underproportioned the force to the service, extended to the equipment of the ships: the stores which

CHAP XXIX. 1684.

were embarked were bad in quality, and had been kept too long; and the medicines had been turned over from some ships of war when they were paid off, and having lain a considerable time in Lisbon were supposed in great measure to have lost their virtue. Complaints were made of these things to Gomes Freyre by those who were likely to be the sufferers; and he, who knew how difficult it would be to get the evil amended in any other manner, ordered food and drugs to be laid in at his own expence, and in superabundance. When he accepted this appointment the King left him to chuse his own *Ministro da Alçada*, or Judge, who went out with a special commission to try the offenders. The situation required a man of courage and strict rectitude, and as such he had named Manoel Vaz Nunes, then *Provedor* of the district of Elvas. This point he considered as settled, when an intrigue was made to annul the appointment and substitute another person who possessed influence with some of the Ministers, upon the plea that Manoel Vaz was not of sufficient rank in his profession, and that grey hairs were required for such an office. Indignant at this, Gomes Freyre went to the King, represented that the *Desembargador* whom they wished to force upon him was a man whose age and past services deserved an appointment of more ease and greater dignity; and in temperate but strong terms, complained of the wrong which was offered to himself and the person whom he had nominated upon the King's promise, to whom his word had been given, and for whose firmness and integrity he could answer. One of the Ministers of whom he complained was present, beholding him with astonishment, the bodily strength and commanding stature of this high-minded Fidalgo giving effect to the becoming spirit with which he addressed the King. Pedro's answer has been preserved. .. If Gomes Freyre for my service foregoes his own inclinations, risks his life, leaves his home and his children, and expends his property, showing

that he seeks in office for honour only, and despises the opportunities of emolument which office affords;..if I not only see this at a distance, but feel it palpably with my own hands, with what reason should I deny him that which he requires for the sake of serving me more effectually, or what cause should induce me to disgust so faithful a vassal, which would not leave a stain of ingratitude upon me both as a Man and a Sovereign? He concluded by directing the Secretary immediately to order Manoel Vaz to hold himself in readiness for the voyage, and to make out his appointment without delay, that he might not wait for it a single hour after his arrival in Lisbon. The King then asked Gomes Freyre whether any thing occurred to him by which the peaceable fulfilment of his object might be promoted, his earnest desire being that if it were possible to avoid it, force should not be employed against his own subjects. Such an opportunity was not let pass by him to whom it was offered. He made answer, that the instructions which he had hitherto received tied his hands, and there was danger that if he were thus fettered he should either sacrifice his life to the ferocity of a rebellious people, and of the savages whom they called to their aid, or return to Portugal without that honour for which he exposed himself. If instructions were to be thus precise, and implicit obedience were exacted, it was fitter to send out Monks and Friars as Governors, who professed obedience, than Soldiers who were accustomed to command. Dangers were more easily seen at a distance than remedies, and both in peace and in war occasions themselves gave the best indication of the course to be pursued. He reminded the King that all the statements which they had received from Maranham came from a great distance, and that every thing which crost the line underwent some change: proof it was how little they were to be relied upon, that two different statements of the same circumstances, coming from

He requires discretionary powers.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

opposite parties, represented them so differently that they scarcely seemed to recount the same story. He requested therefore a power of acting according to circumstances, upon his own judgement: if he abused this power, he should either bring back his head to Portugal where there was no want of scaffolds and executioners, or he might be doubly punished by being left in America, stigmatized there during his life as a degraded man, and after death disinherited of the burial place of his ancestors. This speech produced its due effect, and ample powers were accorded him.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 115—133.

Gomes Freyre arrives at Maranham.

Gomes Freyre regarded the Virgin [6] as his peculiar patroness: he visited some of her images which were at that time in much fashion at Court, and having taken leave of them, embarked on Lady-day in the ship *Conceiçam*, a name according to his feelings of the best auspices, because it placed the ship also under the protection of the same powerful advocate. The King accompanied him on board, and then took leave of him. They lost many men while they were becalmed under the line, and the Governor administered food and medicine to the sick, with a fearless sense of duty which perhaps in no slight degree tended to preserve him from the contagion. During the time that the

[6] In his childhood he fell into a tank, and being taken out apparently dead, and considered as such, was laid out by his mother on the altar of N. Senhora do Bom Successo, an idol in much repute for miracles. It was easily added, that a Lady clothed in celestial blue had appeared to the child and saved him, and so he himself had been taught. For this reason he was especially devoted to the Virgin, and the last words which he uttered were to this effect: "Lady, I know of a truth that you will restore to me the eternal happiness which at the age of five I was going to possess. Mother of Mercy, and Advocate of Sinners, you robbed me of the Kingdom of Heaven then, in compassion to my parents; let not my sins debar me now from that Heaven, to which in my innocence I was then entitled!" *Teyxeyra. Vida de Gomes Freyre*, 1. 1. § 6. 7.

vessel rolled thus without advancing, the lading [7] shifted and laid her on her beam ends; and it is attributed to his example and personal exertions, that the crew were saved from destruction. At length, early on the 15th of May, they saw the coast of Brazil, and in the evening, as the weather would not allow them to enter, anchored among the shoals off the bar. A smaller vessel sailed in company with him, carrying back Thomas Beckman as a prisoner; but she had parted company on the voyage. CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

Immediately a canoe came off from the city, to ascertain whether the vessel was from Portugal, or if it belonged to the pirate D. Joam de Lima, for whose appearance Beckman and the more desperate of his associates were looking anxiously. Gomes Freyre received the adjutant who came upon this commission, *He obtains information from the city.*

[7] Gomes Freyre began his career as a sailor, and having distinguished himself when a boy, in action against a pirate, had by the King's orders studied navigation, till the war in Alentejo invited him to a fairer field. A few days before he was to sail on this voyage he went on board the brigantine which was to carry him, examined her minutely, and praising many things, found fault with the manner in which she was laden, saying it would prevent her from steering well. The Captain replied, that the lading would neither impede the sailors in navigating the ship, nor the soldiers in defending her, and that he would answer for carrying the Governor to Maranham without delay and without danger. Gomes Freyre mildly begged him to make sail in the river, and see whether the vessel would answer to the helm as she ought to do. At this the Captain grew angry and said, *V. Senhoria* has embarked in two fleets;..I cut my teeth at sea, and changed them there, and have had experience enough to know when my ship is properly laden. This answer found its way to the Palace; and when Gomes Freyre came the next day to do homage for his appointment, the King said he understood he had not found his house furnished to his liking. The Governor justified the Captain, saying his own judgement might be erroneous; he might so easily have exerted and abused his influence, that this conduct is imputed to him as a virtue. The event proved that his opinion was well founded.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 137—143.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

with the utmost affability, entertained him with all the delicacies which the ship afforded, and speaking as if he had no doubt of being dutifully received, talked of the sufferings of the people, and expressed nothing but compassion and good will towards them, and a desire of establishing all things in the manner most beneficial to the general weal. Finally, he embraced him at his departure, and requested he would take two passengers on shore who had suffered more than others upon the voyage, and expected benefit from landing: Moraes was one, the other was Francisco da Mota Falcam, an inhabitant of Belem. Soon after they were gone another canoe arrived, bringing the *Capitam Mor* of Tapuytapera, who came off in hope that the new Governor might be on board. Gomes Freyre's instructions were to anchor at Tapuytapera, where Francisco de Sa had engaged to be ready to co-operate with him, bringing as large a force as could be spared from Para. Henrique Lopes being informed of this, assured him there was not depth for the vessel, and that Francisco de Sa was out of health, and had not left Belem: to wait for him would be a ruinous delay, and indeed any delay must be disadvantageous, inasmuch as it would give the insurgents time to recover from their alarm, and concert measures for defence: at present they were altogether unprepared. Gomes Freyre listened to this with attention, and the Captain was desired to hold himself in readiness to assist him. Francisco da Mota soon returned with intelligence that the people were perfectly quiet, confiding in the success of their *Procurador* at Lisbon; that Moraes had found his brother holding the office of *Juiz Ordinario* for the year, and steadily employed in the King's service; that the two brothers were now embodying the Vianezes, .. settlers from the north of Portugal, who were considerably numerous, and had always disapproved of the proceedings of the ruling party: and that the Adjutant's account of his reception,

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

and the name of the Governor, had given great hopes to the well-intentioned, and great alarm to the ringleaders of the sedition; all persons believing that a man of such high reputation would not have come to Maranham unless he had been sure of succeeding in what he undertook.

Teyxeyra, 2. 2 § 161—175. *Bernardo*, § 1320-21.

Gomes Freyre now felt how completely his instructions would have crippled him if he had not solicited discretionary powers from the King; his orders directed him to anchor at Tapuytapera, where there was not depth enough for his vessel, .. and expressly forbade him to anchor at S. Luiz, where it was evident that his immediate presence was required. At day-break he weighed anchor, meaning to cross the bar; but he was compelled to come to at the point of Joam Diaz, half a league from the city, lest the force of the current should drive him upon some near shoals. Just at this time a canoe was seen coming from the quay; the *Procurador* and the Secretary of the Chamber came in it in the name of the Senate and the People, to present their welcome and their first obedience to the Governor; but to request that he would not land that day, because they were not prepared to receive him with the usual ceremonies, which they were desirous of observing, and also because the government-house was not in a state to accommodate him. A man of less penetration than Gomes Freyre might have seen through this artifice. He replied in the most courteous manner, that he was fully sensible of the compliment which they intended to pay him, and esteemed it accordingly; but that the vessel must enter this tide, and as soon as it came to anchor he should land, for he was weary of the sea: and indeed what would the world say if the Governor of Maranham were to remain on board in the harbour merely for the vain pleasure of being received in the same state as his predecessor? The House of the *Camara* might accommodate him till his own was ready.

Attempts to dissuade him from landing.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

He had been bred a soldier, and served in rougher countries than this: one therefore like him, who had past many a night in the field, with no other chamber-hangings than the herbs and shrubs, the earth for his bed, armour for his blankets, the air for coverlet, and the firmament for canopy, was not likely to be fastidious about quarters. With this reply they returned, and Beckman and his friends perceived that their only resource was that of openly opposing his landing: and this they hoped the people might be induced to do if they were persuaded to insist, as the only condition of allowing him to land, that he should proclaim a full pardon, without exception of persons, for all which had been done during the insurrection. The *Provedor*, Francisco Teyxeyra de Moraes, sent off his son with intelligence of this intention; he reached the ship when she was again under weigh. Gomes Freyre received the tidings with unconcern, and as soon as he dropt anchor in the port, embarked two officers with fifty men in the launch, and ordered them to take possession of some batteries to which he pointed, saying that he would follow them in person as soon as the boat could be hoisted out.

He surprizes the fort, and enters the city without resistance.

The messenger was sent back with directions for his father and the *Sargento Mor* to join this party with all the force they could muster, and the Governor was in the boat before the launch had reached the land. These things past in sight of the astonished people; they had dreamt of no such decision; and while Beckman was preparing for resistance, the Governor landed, the drum was beat from the batteries, announcing possession of them, the soldiers, the Vianezes, and the bolder part of the well disposed inhabitants, under Gabriel de Moraes, joined the first detachment: the other party took to their canoes and fled, and the rest of the people flocked to meet the Governor: the *Camara* in a body received him, and he took possession of the government without the slightest opposition. From the Senate

House he went to the Cathedral, to return thanks for his safe voyage, and nothing was now heard but rejoicings. Women and children, the old and infirm who could not mingle in the crowd, came to the windows to bless him as the Father of the Country and the Restorer of Peace. He now appointed patroles and a double guard for the night, and set a watch upon the paths leading to the woods and the water. The night elapsed without disturbance, and in the morning the city was as tranquil as if public order had never been interrupted.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 176—189. Berredo, § 1322—25.

When the first alarm of the guilty had subsided, they took courage to appear again, and Beckman even ventured into the city, seeking to excite fresh commotions and recover his former ascendancy. The officers of the law received secret orders to arrest him, for his person was not known to the soldiers whom Gomes Freyre had brought out: secrecy was not observed; the ringleaders again fled, and many persons whom there was no intention of molesting forsook their houses. Their fears were removed by a proclamation granting pardon to all persons except those who had been instigators and heads of the rebellion. Eugenio Ribeiro, Manoel Serram, and Jorge de Sampayo, were apprehended; they had been conspicuous in the sedition, and the latter was believed by the Governor to be the most dangerous man in the State. At this time the vessel arrived which had Thomas Beckman on board; he had escaped at the Cape de Verds, and taken sanctuary; but the sanctuary had not been allowed to protect him, and he was now landed and put in prison. His brother Manoel on this occasion behaved well, and attempted to deliver him; the plan failed, and a second project was discovered and defeated: artillery was then planted to command all the streets leading to the prison, guards stationed by the guns with lighted matches, and orders given to fire if at any time they saw more than five men coming in that direction.

Flight and apprehension of the ringleaders.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

Beckman perceived that his purposes were betrayed to the Governor, and an edict forbidding all persons to harbour him made him fly from the island and betake himself to his estates upon the Miary, sixty leagues distant, where he hoped to be safe. Among the rewards offered for his apprehension, was a company in the *Ordenança* of the Nobles; it tempted a young citizen, by name Lazaro de Mello, to whom Beckman had been godfather and guardian. Taking with him a companion and some slaves, he went to the Miary, and was informed at the door that his guardian was no longer there. He was about to depart, when Beckman himself, hearing who it was, sent to call him back; he trusted the youth thus far, and yet with a feeling which arose more from his own miserable state of fear than from any suspicion that Lazaro would betray him, he received him with a blunderbuss in his hand. The young villain remonstrated with him for his want of confidence, and amused him in talk till one of the slaves, a powerful man, seized him in his arms; Lazaro and the others fell on him the next moment and bound him. The factor and some of his slaves hearing the struggle, came to his assistance; but they abstained from interfering when they were required in the King's name not to interrupt the course of justice. They carried him to the canoe, and put him in irons. He upbraided his betrayer with indignation for the baseness of his ingratitude; but he besought him as the only favour which he would ask, to relieve him from the fetters, and pledged his word that he would make no attempt to escape. This man must have possessed some great qualities; for Lazaro trusted to the honour of the benefactor whom he had so basely deceived, and though frequent opportunities of escaping occurred during a coasting voyage of more than two hundred miles, Beckman religiously kept the word which he had pledged.

Beckman is betrayed and taken.

Teixeyra. 2 2. § 195, 202. Berredo, § 1337–41.

Lazaro de Mello loses his reward.

However desirous the Governor was of securing this dangerous

and guilty man, he regarded Lazaro de Mello's conduct with just abhorrence. Nevertheless the proclamation was observed, and the Traitor received his Captain's commission in the company of Nobles, as the price of blood. It served only to call forth a manifestation of general feeling; for when he was to perform its duties not a man in the company would follow him; and upon his applying to the Governor to compel them, Gomes Freyre replied he had fulfilled his promise in granting him the commission. Instead therefore of acquiring rank by his villainy, he lived detested and despised; and when after some years he came to an accidental and violent death, it was regarded as the judgement of Heaven, .. a presumptuous conclusion, but arising from a good source. Beckman remained some time in prison, not so much from the usual dilatoriness of law under a government by which it had long been wretchedly administered, as from a repugnance in Gomes Freyre to give orders for his execution when it should be required. No man was less scrupulous of shedding blood where military service, or his own notions of personal honour were concerned; but deliberately by the stroke of a pen to take away the life of a fellow creature, was an act from which he shrunk. Beckman meantime, who had been laid in irons, was not idle: he began to file his fetters with a wet thread dipt in fine sand, and by help of a little boy who was permitted to attend him in prison, he had nearly in this slow process cut them through before it was discovered. The legal officers now urged the Governor so strongly to prevent further danger by ordering the prisoners for trial, that Gomes Freyre, however reluctantly, was obliged to consent. Beckman and Sampayo were condemned to death, as was a third of inferior rank, who escaped and underwent the luckier fate of being executed in effigy. When Gomes Freyre signed the death-warrant, his hand shook in such manner that the autograph bore no

Beckman and Sampayo are condemned.

CHAP. XXIX 1685.

resemblance to his usual writing. A more painful trial awaited him. The wife of Beckman, and his two unmarried daughters, solicited admittance; he went out into the antichamber to receive them: they were in mourning, with their hair loose, and they fell and embraced his knees. When the wife could sufficiently repress her sorrow to speak intelligibly, she said she was not come to entreat for her husband's life, because she knew that if it had been in the Governor's power to spare him, he would do it without entreaties; but she came to present two orphans to his compassion, and to beseech that he would send them to Portugal, in the ship which was about to sail, that they might be taken into his house, and wait upon his wife and daughters, and thus preserve their honour: for in Maranham, where wealth was more esteemed than birth or virtue, destitute as they now were, and regarded as the children of one who suffered death upon a gallows would be, their situation would be deplorable indeed! The unhappy girls themselves seconded this wretched petition, praying that he who in his public capacity made them orphans, would as an individual and a Christian so far supply the place of their father, as to grant them an asylum in his own family, even as slaves. The situation was singularly tragic, nor would such an appeal have been made to Gomes Freyre if he had been a man of ordinary character. He promised to serve them in the best manner he could, and dismissed them with an assurance which they could not doubt, from the emotion which he discovered. Accordingly, when Beckman's property, being confiscated, was put up to sale, he at his own private expence purchased the whole, and restored it immediately to the daughters, to be divided between them as their dower. Beckman suffered with firmness and penitence, confessing that he had attempted to shoot the Governor upon his landing. Sampayo suffered also. Thomas Beckman was ba-

Interview of the wife and daughters of Beckman with the Governor.

Execution of Beckman.

nished for ten years. The Friar who from the pulpit had excited the people to insurrection, was incarcerated in his Convent: the other criminals were only condemned in the costs of justice.

CHAP. XXIX. 1685.

Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 231—245. *Berredo,* § 1342—3.

CHAPTER XXX.

View of the progress of Brazil during the seventeenth century. Maranham and Para: state of the revenues and establishment. Produce. Expeditions into the interior. Slavery. Seara. Rio Grande. Pernambuco. Transitory effects of the Dutch conquest. Bahia. Rio de Janeiro. S. Paulo. State of manners. Artifices of the Clergy. Audacious fables of the Jesuits. Life of F. Joam d' Almeida.

CHAP. XXX. 1685.

Seventy years had now elapsed since the Portugueze established themselves in Maranham upon the expulsion of the French. During that time they had contended with a formidable foreign enemy, and their progress had been impeded by some natural calamities, many internal commotions, and great misgovernment; but they had struck root in the land.

Boundaries of Maranham.

Manoel Guedes Aranha. MS.

This province, or State as it is denominated, was understood at this time to begin in latitude 4° 4′ South, near the *Baixos de S. Roque*, and to terminate at the Wiapoc, or Rio de Vicente Pinzon, where the Spanish demarcation should have commenced, if the catholic French and the heretical Hollanders had respected Pope Alexander's line. The isle of Maranham was well placed for the seat of government, being nearly in the middle. There were in the capital a Mother Church, four Convents, a Misericordia, a second Church at this time nearly

Population.

CHAP. XXX.

compleat, which might serve for an hospital, and an *Ermida*, or Chapel, over the sea, which was frequented every evening by devotees. The population of the whole State was estimated in 1648, at about four hundred Portugueze settlers, and eighty soldiers; in ten years they had increased to seven hundred, and in 1685 there were more than a thousand Portugueze in the city of S. Luiz alone. Many of these were nobles: it seems that all who had at any time held a commission in the *Ordenança*, or local militia, though it were only for three months, became nobles, and enjoyed in consequence not merely a rank above the people, but certain privileges also, which rendered the increase of this class an injury to the state. Tapuytapera on the opposite side of the bay, contained four hundred inhabitants, a Church, a Misericordia, and a Carmelite Convent: here the nobles had so multiplied, in consequence of these temporary commissions, that the brotherhood of the Misericordia, which consisted of mechanics and men of inferior rank, was extinguished because all the members had at last been thus ennobled. The pride which these local distinctions fostered was increased by an act of Joam IV, granting to Maranham and Para the same privileges which had been granted to the city of Porto in 1490, by Joam II. For their own good deserts in conquering the forts of Curupa and Cabo do Norte, and in expelling the Dutch from S. Luiz, as well as for the merits of their fathers and grandfathers in the first conquest, it was decreed that no inhabitant of Maranham or Para should be put to the torture, except in such cases as rendered it applicable to the Fidalgos, with whom in this respect they were placed upon a footing; that they were not to be imprisoned for any offence, but like the Fidalgos, to be held upon their parole: and that they might bear arms for offence as well as defence. All the privileges also of the people of Lisbon were conferred upon them, except that

Manoel Guedes Aranha. MS. Papel Forte. MS. Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor. MS. Aranha. MS.

Nobles. Teyxeyra. 2. 2. § 277.

Aranha. MS.

Teyxeyra. § 277.

1655. July 20.

Privileges of the settlers.

CHAP. XXX. they might not ride upon mules, .. to breed these unproductive animals being judged an injury to the State. They were not liable to be impressed either for the land or sea service, nor to have their beasts taken, nor their houses, against their will, being in these things privileged like the *Infançoens* and *Ricos Omes* of old.

Aranha. MS.

Revenue. The revenue consisted chiefly in the *decimas*, or tenths, which in 1658 were supposed to average five thousand *cruzados*. The customs were very trifling, because ships which produced a clearance from the ports of the mother country were exempted; if they had no clearance they paid a tenth of the value of the cargo. There was a duty of four *milreis* per pipe upon wine; but very little was imported, because the people distilled [1] a spirit from maize, and from the sugar-cane. A fifth of the slaves taken in lawful war belonged to the Crown.

Sotto-Mayor MS.

Intercourse between S. Luiz and Belem. From S. Luiz to Belem, the voyage was performed by canoes coasting round thirty-two bays, some of which are of such extent that the sight can scarcely reach across them. The distance thus circuitously measured is about three hundred leagues; but these bays are connected by a labyrinth of streams and waters, so that the way might be greatly shortened by ascending one river with the flow, crossing to another, and descending with the ebb: the voyage was thus performed in about thirty days.

Aranha. MS.

Population of Belem. The city of Belem contained in 1685 about five hundred inhabitants, with a prodigious clerical and monastic establishment, of a Mother Church, a Jesuit College, a Franciscan, a Carmel-

[1] At present the people of Maranham and Para make a good beverage from the fruit of the Bacaba. (*Areca Bacaba* .. a species of *Areca oleracea.*) They call this drink *bacabada*, or *ticuara de bacabas.*

Arruda. Sobre a instituiçam de Jardins, p. 33.

ite and a Mercenario Convent, two other Churches, and one Chapel. There was a *Misericordia* also, an institution of humanity which is to be mentioned with praise. The tenths of Para and its subordinate Captaincies amounted to some four thousand *cruzados* yearly; but the salt-works produced two thousand more, and the fisheries in the Ilha dos Joanes and the other islands at the mouth of the river, another two thousand. The fisheries were rented, and the lessees paid a third in advance, making their payment in fish; nets and canoes were supplied them from the salt establishment: from hence Belem was supplied every month with from fifteen hundred to two thousand fish called *talinhas*. In the river Camuta the *talinhas* were remarkably abundant; they were caught there simply by shewing a light in the canoe after sunset, when they jumped in in such numbers, that it is said if the light were not extinguished in time they would sink the boat.

Aranha. MS. *Revenues.* *Sotto-Mayor. MS.* *Aranha. MS.*

The salary of the Governor General was three thousand *cruzados*. The *Capitam Mor* of Para, and the *Ouvidor Mor*, had two hundred *milreis* each, the *Provedor Mor* two hundred and fifty. The *Escrivam* and the *Almoxarife* (or Director of the Customs) at Maranham, eighty *milreis;* at Belem, seventy:.. when the seat of government was removed, it may be presumed that the superior officers followed the Governor, and the inferior appointments were transferred to S. Luiz. The *Provedor* at Belem had a salary of eighty *milreis*, the *Ouvidor* of sixty. About forty *milreis* were assigned to the Capuchins in Maranham, and the same sum in Para: and the expence of Indians, canoes, &c. being defrayed, the remainder of the revenue was divided among the military, including the Captain of Curupa and the *Vigarios*,..a poor pay at the best, and uncertain. In 1658 the *Sargento Mor* was said to average from forty to fifty *milreis*, his brother officer in Para, from thirty to forty; the captain of

Expenditure.

CHAP. XXX.

infantry in Maranham from twenty-five to twenty-eight, and the *Capitam Mor* of Curupa the same. Six, seven, or eight, might be the share of the common soldiers; but there was an account set against them for *farinha* and shoes at Maranham, and in Para for fish also; so that at the annual balance many found themselves in debt to the *Almoxarife*, and they who had been most frugal did not receive more than from five to ten *testoons*, .. five shillings at the utmost! A government which paid its servants so ill had little reason to expect faithful services.

Sotto-Mayor, MS.

There were three hundred effective soldiers in the whole State before the seat of government was removed; of these, one hundred and twenty were stationed at S. Luiz, and forty at Curupa. Four soldiers from Curupa were always cruising in a canoe with Indians, to watch the tribes along the coast as far as the Cabo do Norte: if they found any disobedience, as it is termed, which they were not able to repress, they hastened back for an adequate force; and in this manner interlopers were kept out, and the country held in subjection. The *Camaras* were so poor, that on all public occasions they were obliged to avail themselves of their private means. It was proposed to relieve them by levying for their use an additional duty of two hundred *reis* upon the *arroba* of native cinnamon, and half that sum upon the same weight of cacao; by requiring a fine of fifty *reis* for every *braça* of ground which the *Camara* should grant, and by permitting no person to go with free Indians to Curupa, or up the Orellana, unless he purchased a license .. a regulation which, it was said, would prevent much inconvenience and evil.

Aranha. MS.

Do.

Papel Forte. MS.

An opinion prevailed that Maranham was rich in mines; for which reason, it was believed, other nations were so solicitous to effect a settlement in the river. Joam IV sent out a person named Bartholameu Barreiros de Ataide, with three miners, one a Venetian the others French, to search for gold and silver in

Iron in Maranham.

CHAP. XXX.

the interior of this State. They went up the great river, and were absent two years, without success: but on their return to Maranham [2] they offered to supply the people with iron at a *cruzado* the *quintal*, if the State would engage to take at that price all they should produce; but it was not thought prudent to enter into any such contract. Had there been the same zeal for cultivating the earth as for ransacking it in search of the precious metals, these countries, favoured as they were by nature, would abundantly have repaid the industry of man. But it is one of the pernicious effects of slavery, a system of which all the effects are pernicious (perhaps even more pernicious to the master than the slave) that wherever it exists, labour is thought degrading to a free man. In one of the memorials which were written toward the close of this century, concerning the means of improving Maranham, it was recommended that more white colonists should not be sent out; because, said the writer, it is not the custom in any of our colonies for the white people to work themselves, or do any thing more than order slaves to work for them. "If," says Manoel Guedes Aranha, "the nobles in civilized countries are held in high esteem, with greater reason should white men be esteemed in a land of heathens, because they have been brought up with the milk of the Church and of the Christian faith. Moreover, different men are fit for different things: we are fit to introduce religion among them, and they are fit to serve us, to hunt for us, fish for us, and work

Aranha. MS.

Joam de Moura. MS. Pinheiro Collection, Vol. 6, No. 17.

[2] Manoel Guedes Aranha says in his Memoir, the Island was so rich in iron ore that foreign cosmographers called it in their maps *Ilha do Ferro*. All persons, he adds, who had any knowledge of the subject, said that the ore was of the best quality;.. and yet this was neglected, important as it was to Portugal, which bought all its iron from other countries.

CHAP. XXX.

for us." Even the humaner and more religious part of the community thought it perfectly right that the Indians should be compelled to labour for the Portugueze, in gratitude for the instruction which they received. Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor recommends that this should be explained to them when they were allotted from the *Aldeas*, that they should be informed how reasonable it was, and exhorted to conform to the tenor of the King's laws with good will and like good subjects, seeing it was for the advantage of the white men, to whom they were indebted for the doctrines which they now enjoyed. The person who reasoned thus was a good and religious man, attached to the Jesuits, and brother to that Sotto-Mayor who had lost his life in labouring for the conversion of the natives: if such then were his sentiments, it may be supposed what would be those of the slave-party. Some of the friars used to assert that the Indians were wild beasts of the forest, and had no more souls than so many dogs, till God infused a soul when they were baptized;.. such was their doctrine,.. and their practice corresponded to it. The friars indeed, and even the secular clergy in these provinces, were the very dregs and offal of their order and profession. They are described as having no other qualification for their office than the tonsure and the habit; greedy of gain that they might return to Europe and purchase preferment, for this reason encouraging the inhabitants both by precept and example in all their wickedness toward the natives, and exciting and fomenting discontent against the Jesuits, whom they hated not only for their learning and reputation, but for the decorum of their lives, their disinterested zeal, and their virtues.

Expulsam dos Padres, &c. MS.

Do.

Mortality among the Indians.

A savage, in his own pursuits, is capable of the greatest endurance and the most extraordinary exertions; no European could travel so far without intermission, nor sustain such privations and sufferings: but in proportion as they were hardy in

their own manner of life, they were found feeble in captivity. With the sense of free agency it seemed as if the main spring of the machine had lost its impulse; and the heart withered as if under the influence of witchcraft, or some slow poison. There are physical causes why a transition from the wild to the domesticated state should frequently prove destructive. The animal frame cannot with impunity bear a sudden and total alteration of diet, habits, and occupations. Unless birds are taken young they die before they can be accustomed to captivity; and even the difference which is thus made in their manner of subsistence is scarcely greater than that which man endures in passing at once from a wandering to a domesticated life. Frequent change of air seems to have been almost indispensable to a race who had never been stationary: in the Reductions, where no violence was offered to the Indians, no restraint imposed, but every thing was done which could contribute to the comfort and well being of the new settlers, a large proportion was always swept away in the first few months. .. What then must the mortality have been when the transition was to a state of compulsory labour, under merciless task-masters! .. and no task-masters were ever more merciless than the Portugueze of the seventeenth century, not even their rivals the Dutch.

Their horror of slavery.

The horror of such a slavery was well understood by the unhappy natives. Even the cord Indians preferred rather to be eaten by men of their own country and complexion, than to be ransomed at the price of their liberty. In this perhaps a sense of honour had some share; for among the inhabitants in this part of Brazil, honour was attached to the subject of one of these abominable feasts, as well as to the giver. A ransoming party one day found a female Indian tied to a stake, and the savages dancing, singing, and carousing round her; they brought her drink occasionally, and as they danced so she moved her feet,

CHAP XXX.

and as they sung she sung also in an undervoice. This woman was clearly a cord Indian; and the Portugueze having arrived just in time to redeem her from butchery, thought it an especial instance of God's mercy. They bargained for her, and probably paid the dearer in consideration of the disappointment which the assembled guests consented to undergo; but when they came to untie her her contentment was changed to tears, and she lamented her fate, that instead of dying at so famous a feast, and leaving behind her a celebrated name, she was to become a slave among the white people. On another occasion, when the Portugueze wished to purchase a woman, the Royalet in the house of whose children she was then making merry, objected to selling her, saying she was dedicated for a feast which his sons were to make, and he was certain that she would not chuse to be ransomed;.. but the matter was left to her own choice, and the Portugueze were to have her if she would consent to accompany them. She replied that she would rather be buried in the bellies of her Lords and Masters, whom she loved because she had been bred [3] up with them. The preference of death to slavery, in these instances, was chiefly founded upon superstition. The pride of endurance created a like determination in the men upon like occasions; nor could the wisest lessons of stoic philosophy have given them greater support than they derived from their own wild and ferocious opinions. A prisoner in the interior of Para being destined to be eaten, was fastened during the preparations for the feast in a place where he was

Aranha. MS.

Aranha. MS.

[3] This woman was probably the child of a male prisoner,.. *bred* therefore to be eaten, in consequence of their theory of generation! I did not know that women were ever eaten by these savages till I perused the manuscript of Manoel Guedes Aranha.

CHAP. XXX.

entirely exposed to the *Marimbondos*, the most voracious and venomous of all the winged insects of Brazil. Some Portugueze admiring his fortitude, for he betrayed no symptom of feeling while their bites covered him with blood, would have released him from his present suffering and from the death to which he was devoted; but the savage refused their intercession, and wiping away the insects from his face that they might see the smile with which he answered, said that he took pleasure in this pain, and by making it a pleasure was revenged upon his tormentors. This body, said he, is not I! It is composed of the flesh which I have eaten, the flesh of my enemies, .. the parents, brethren, and children of this people. I do but inhabit it; and I rejoice that they should torment their own flesh and blood! .. But when no such extraordinary feelings were called forth as inducements for chusing death rather than slavery, the Indians well knew what good reason there was for preferring death. There were instances when the man-hunters having surrounded whole families in one of their large dwellings, and endeavoured vainly to persuade them by fair promises to surrender, set fire to the house, thinking thus to force them out; and these poor Indians, parent and child clinging to each other, chose rather to perish in the flames than submit to the miserable state of existence which was the only alternative.

F. José de Santa Rita Duram. Caramuru, p. 161—6.

Aranha, MS.

Expeditions into the interior.

The slaves who were fairly purchased were very few compared with those who were kidnapped. Great numbers perished before they were brought down to the Portugueze settlements. It was the custom to turn them as they were caught, like cattle, into a pen, till a large herd could be sent off at once: they were thus miserably shut up for eight or nine months in a state of inaction, and entire exposure to the elements, which their habit of sleeping in rooms heated by constant fires rendered doubly prejudicial; and in this manner innumerable lives were destroy-

CHAP. XXX.

ed. A Portugueze seldom brought home more than half the number which had fallen to his share. There was also a great consumption of those who accompanied the slave-traders, a far greater proportion of Indians than of any other class dying in these expeditions. The proper season was during the first five months of the year; but covetousness would not wait for monsoons, and in the other months the means of subsistence were scarce, the water turbid and unwholesome, and the insects so intolerable, that very many Indians not having garments like the other races to protect them, died in consequence of this torment. The Portugueze themselves frequently returned in a wretched state, their limbs swoln and their livers diseased. The slave-traders, as well as the Jesuits, had penetrated at this time more than [4] two thousand miles into the interior, .. such was the avidity of gain and the spirit of adventure. But they carried devastation with them. The banks of the great river which Orellana had found so populous were nearly deserted now, in consequence of these frequent inroads; and along the whole coast from Maranham to Belem and from thence to Curupa, there were now no Indians!

Aranha. MS.

Expulsam dos Padres. MS.

Sotto Mayor. MS.

The colonists dependant upon the labour of the Indians.

The people of S. Luiz had requested when Vidal was appointed, that Para might be under the same Governor as Maranham,

[4] Manoel Guedes Aranha bought a woman from the Rio Negro; the child learnt the Tupi and taught it to her mother. The *Lingua Geral* therefore did not extend in that direction. But when many of the slaves had a language to acquire, it seems ill policy that Portugueze should not have been made the acquired language of all. Since the abolition of Indian slavery things are so much altered in this respect, that the Tupi at present is not spoken by the Indians of the *Aldeas* themselves. *Koster's Travels.* Vieyra says, old people remembered when the Portugueze was not more commonly spoken than the Tupi, but that latterly a Jesuit was much valued at Bahia if he could speak the native language; it had fallen into disuse in proportion as the natives were consumed. *Sermoens, t. 8, p. 520, 521.*

because they expected thus to obtain a larger share of slaves, their own Indians having been nearly consumed. That men of European stock are perfectly capable of all the labour which in such climates is required for the well-being of man, is proved abundantly by the prodigious fatigues which the Portugueze underwent in seeking slaves to do this necessary labour for them. The first conquerors of America were the hardiest as well as the most inhuman of men: a great and general degeneracy had taken place in the Spanish colonies; but in Brazil the ardour of enterprize was unabated, and the Brazilians were not only acclimated by course of time, but owing to the great admixture of native blood their constitutions were originally adapted to the climate in which they were born: yet custom had made them dependent upon their slaves, even to a miserable degree of helplessness. The colonists in Maranham and Para dwelt at this time every family in its island, or upon one of those small streams which communicate with the larger rivers, and spread over the surface of the country like veins; in such situations they fixed themselves, each where the land seemed good, possession being sufficient title. The only way of communicating with each other, or with the city, was by [5] water, and they relied wholly upon their own means for defence and subsistence. There were no [6] pastures, for whatever land had not been cleared for plantations was thicket; game therefore was their only animal food, and their Indians hunted and fished for them. If the labour of the Indians had been confined to these occupations, and to the task of

Aranha, MS.

[5] Some of their canoes were large enough to carry four or five hundred *arrobas* of produce (that is twice as many stone) and fifteen or twenty men. *Aranha. MS.*

[6] The only natural pastures in this part of the country were in the Ilha dos Joanes, or Ilha Grande, as Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor calls it.

CHAP. XXX.

raising produce for the family and performing the necessary domestic work, slavery would have appeared in its least odious form; it would in reality have been only vassalage, and with this advantage over the vassalage of feudal Europe, that the condition of those who were brought to this state was materially improved by the change. Such an improvement the Court of Spain hoped to effect by the *Repartimientos* and *Encomiendas;* and upon this ground it is that slavery is still defended by the few advocates who have any learning or philosophy to pervert in its defence. They overlook the difference between a feudal and a commercial age. The feudal lord required only military service, and agricultural labour in which no lash was required to keep the labourer to his task, because from a sense of its necessity and fitness it was always willingly performed. The planter's object is gain: and avarice is as obdurate as ambition. The Indians at this time were worked to death in Maranham and Para, as horses are worked to death by unfeeling owners in England; or they were murdered by slow tortures and systematic cruelty, when the owners had something devilish in their nature. Humaner individuals must have existed, whose slaves were as children of the family; but that the general system was to the last degree flagitious, is proved not only by valid testimony, but by the unanswerable fact of depopulation.

Fallacious defence of slavery.

In Brazil then, as in England now, the impious argument was maintained that Slavery is not forbidden by any divine law; and the fallacious one, that it was a palliative of war, and in itself a benefit to the savage who was thus reclaimed from cannibalism and heathen superstitions. But it has been seen, that in the Indian as in the African slave-trade, wars were undertaken for the purpose of acquiring slaves; so that slavery, instead of being the palliative of war, was the cause of it. It is obvious that the custom of exchanging prisoners is not practicable with savages; that whenever they spare the life of an enemy it is for the pur-

pose of making him a slave; and that when they are unsuccessful, death or slavery is what they themselves expect. But among them the yoke is easy; the slave in reality is adopted into the family of his owner, and the difference between them, among the Brazilian tribes, was merely in name. And if it were fitting that a civilized and a Christian people should follow the customs of savages, whom it was their interest and their duty to influence by good example, . . and if the argument that slavery or death was the only alternative, had in itself been just, it was not applicable in Brazil, where the Jesuits had provided a middle course precisely suited to the case. The system of the *Aldeas* would have been the best possible if there had been no compulsory labour, and if the children, who were born and educated as Christians, had been incorporated with the community. The Jesuits did not venture to propose this, and perhaps here as in Paraguay, wished to retain the Indians in a state of infantine docility. But Vieyra, who had a nobler intellect, reproaches himself for having compromised with injustice, in demanding from Joam IV. less than he ought to have required in behalf of an injured race. CHAP. XXX.

Sermoens, 4, p. 531.

Wild produce.

The wild produce for which trading parties went up the rivers was of considerable value. Sarsaparilla, canafistula, and other drugs, were plentifully found; the American cinnamon also was abundant, and a species of nutmeg smaller than that of the Moluccas: it did not serve for exportation, because they had not discovered the means of properly extracting the oil, and unless it were perfectly extracted the nut was spoiled; but the oil was used as an external application in many complaints. The vanilla was asserted to be the best and largest in the world, and it is said that when the ground was cleared indigo was the first plant which would spring up. Cacao also grew abundantly in the interior; but they were at this time beginning to cultivate it

CHAP. XXX.

at Belem, for they perceived that it was cheaper to raise plantations than send to a distance and gather it where it grew spontaneously. The *arroba* [7] of cinnamon sold for six *milreis*, and paid a duty of six hundred *reis*. The traders, or rather the gatherers, took with them upon these voyages no other provision than *farinha*, which is the mandioc meal, and salt; for every thing else they relied upon their Indians. When the boat was fastened one of these men went into the woods, another into the water, and caught game and fish where neither white man nor negro could have succeeded; for both the negroes and their masters were inexpert in swimming, and if they ventured into the woods were lost there, not possessing that sagacity of sense with which the Indians, like animals, find their way in such situations. The game which they found consisted of the anta, the capibará, herds of wild swine, deer, and smaller animals: the jaguar was the only beast [8] of which they stood in fear; for this creature, if provoked, would leap into the canoe, and attack them there to advantage. The tortoises had been so much molested in the rivers near Belem, that they had learnt caution; before they landed at evening to deposit their eggs they sent a centinel forward to spy the land; at the slightest alarm their scout retired to the water, and not one would go on shore in that place that night. Wild rice grew in the flooded lands; the natives were accustomed to go before the waters retired, and shake the ripe grain into their canoes.

Aranha, MS.

Provision upon the expeditions.

Aranha, MS.

---

[7] It was first found upon the river Gama, a branch of the Capim, by which course it was thought a way might be opened to Maranham by Maracú. There were some *Engenhos* here, but they were ill worked for want of slaves. Every river here, says Aranha, would almost accommodate a nation; but arms and tools are wanting, to clear the woods.

[8] *So os dos tigres nam aceytam de boa vontade,* says Aranha, when he speaks of their parties finding *veados, antas e outras caças.*

CHAP. XXX.

Of cultivated produce the cotton was the most important; that of Maranham was at this time accounted the best in America, and as the common clothing was manufactured from it, it constituted the chief medium of exchange. Mandioc satisfied the inhabitants so well that they were disposed to call in question the reasonableness of the preference allowed to wheaten flour, in its high privilege of being used exclusively for the wafer. It is remarkable that the culture of tobacco, which is now one of the easiest branches of agriculture in Brazil, should be represented as that which proved most destructive to the Indians: this however had now been disused for want of hands, and for the same reason the *Engenhos* in Maranham were falling to ruin. The high price of negroes rendered it of little use to import them. The labour of a negro during his whole life, says Manoel Guedes Aranha, would not be worth an hundred *milreis* in Maranham, and this was the lowest sum at which they could be purchased, though the importation was allowed at half the usual duty. But slaves were the only means of acquiring wealth, and those persons only who had some handicraft employment could subsist without them. There were many families in Maranham, descended from the conquerors, in which all the daughters remained unmarried because of the poverty of the parents; and this in a country, where if it had not been thought dishonourable for free men to cultivate the soil, all might have lived in affluence. Among the many plans which were suggested to government for the improvement of this province, an importation of nobles was recommended; a cargo of friars would scarcely have been more useless. If old families, said Manoel Guedes, who enjoy hereditary respect and possess hereditary claims, are so distressed for means that they cannot portion their daughters in marriage, what would become of a new set of nobles! They would be a burthen to the State, if the State were to support their nobility;

Cultivated produce.

Vieyra.

Aranha.

Teyxeyra.

Distress of the settlers.

CHAP. XXX.

but this it could not do, and nothing could preserve them from penury and wretchedness. The removal of the seat of government contributed to the decay of Maranham. There was no want of commercial industry; on the contrary, laws were necessary to restrain the civil and judicial officers from embarking in trade, and the clergy were engaged in trading speculations; but for want of agricultural industry the population, scanty as it was, outran the means of subsistence,..an evil which, wherever it occurs, is the consequence not of a law of nature, but of the errors of man. Many of the youth of [9] Maranham would have removed to Para, had the communication by land been open. The Portugueze ministry thought to accelerate the progress of these countries by sending out colonists. Fifty families from the isle of Fayal, whose property had been destroyed by a volcano, were brought to Belem. The inhabitants, with proper hospitality, received them into their houses till they could be settled; and ground was marked out for them at a place called the Campina, where they were to build a street. They were taught to expect that an allotment of Indians from the last ransom would be given them; but the Governor, as usual, distributed among his friends all whom he did not appropriate to his own service, and the Islanders, (two hundred and thirty-four in number,) were reduced to the utmost distress, and cast upon the charity of the old settlers.

Aranha, MS.

1676.

Berredo, § 1207—8.

Jealousy of the French and Dutch.

Para however was not so greatly distressed as Maranham. There were *Engenhos* in activity upon many of the nearest rivers; tobacco as well as sugar was raised, and among other

Joam de Moura, MS.

[9] Manoel Guedes Aranha says people did not multiply so fast in Para as in Maranham, where the clime was so fecundant, that if there were but means of support, all America might be peopled from thence.

dies the [10] cochineal had been found there. There was still a great sense of insecurity in this settlement: with all their care they could not keep out interlopers. The tribes in the Ilha dos Joanes faithfully observed the treaty which they had made with Vieyra, which indeed seems never to have been broken, so that the island was settled peaceably by the Portugueze; but on the northern side they continued to trade with foreign ships. On this side the Dutch used to enter, and passing Curupa, they sometimes ascended fifteen days sail, as far as the Tapajos. *Aranha. MS.* The propriety of fortifying Curupa as a point which commanded the navigation of the Orellana, being indeed the key of the river, was strongly urged by all who wrote memorials upon the state of Maranham. Left as it was, any power might occupy it when they chose; and if it fell into an enemy's hands, it was said, all which the Portugueze had achieved in exploring the country would only serve to show others the way. Here it was, and in the Captaincy of Cabo do Norte, that white colonists should be settled. It was recommended that a good fortress should be erected at the Cape, upon one of the heights above the channel,

CHAP. XXX.

[10] This *Cochonilha syloestre*, or wild cochineal, has been carried from Brazil to our East Indian possessions by the Company; but it is of very inferior value. (*Kirby and Spence's Introduction to Entomology, p.* 323.) In the same work it is said that the Court of Directors have offered a reward of six thousand pounds to any person who shall introduce the Mexican Cochineal into India. M. Thiery de Menonville obtained the insect in the year 1777 in Guaxaca, with much address and perseverance, and at considerable risk, and succeeded in transporting it to Port au Prince. If the insect were not destroyed during the troubles in St. Domingo, surely it might have been obtained while we were in possession of Port au Prince; and very possibly may still be obtainable. M. Menonville has given a very interesting and amusing account of his expedition; .. but it is not a little curious to observe his indignation at a report that he had stolen the cochineal!

CHAP. XXX.

a situation, it was affirmed, suitable not merely for a fort, but for a large and opulent city. The Dutch at Surinam, and the French at Cayenne, were constant objects of jealousy in this quarter; .. perhaps they dreaded the former the more, because some of the Jews from Recife had removed to this new colony.

Von Sach. p. 93.

Seara.

While Para and Maranham were acquiring population and importance in spite of every political disadvantage, the adjoining Captaincy of Seara made no progress. The reef which extends along so great a part of the Brazilian coast, affords little protection here to vessels riding at anchor: there is neither river nor harbour; but a steep beach, a heavy surf, and an exposed anchorage. The land is as little favourable as the sea, being in itself the least fertile part of Brazil, and like the interior of Pernambuco and the coast southward, subject to long and fatal droughts. At this time its salt marshes, its ambergris, and its violet-wood, gave it all its value: these things were not coveted by the Indians; and the French, of whom the Court of Lisbon were now more jealous than of the Dutch, were not likely to attempt a settlement in so uninviting a country, and upon so unsheltered a coast. But as the seas were infested by pirates, Pedro gave orders to build a fort which might prevent these wretches from obtaining refreshments there. That which Martim Soares had erected before the Dutch war was merely a place of defence against the Indians, and during the war the inhabitants were but some thirty Portugueze. The population had no doubt increased in consequence of the security which the settlers enjoyed now that the Jesuits had conciliated the tribes of Ibiapaba: for as there was no way by water to that district, and no plantations near, the natives escaped the oppression which the Portugueze of Maranham and Belem inflicted upon all under their power, or within their reach. Seara had been originally colonized as a step toward the settlement of Maranham; but it was

Koster's Travels. p. 113—14.

Papel Forte. MS.

Jaboatam. Preamb. § 151.

annexed to the Government of Brazil, from which that State was separate. CHAP. XXX.

The neighbouring Captaincy of Rio Grande do Norte, (or the Potengi) was first settled in the beginning of the century, by Joam Rodriguez Colaço. He had been instructed to found a city there, which, as the order came from a Spanish government, was placed under the patronage of Santiago, and called by his name; but after the revolution the Portugueze, thinking perhaps that Santiago was too much in the Spanish interest, deprived him of his protectorship, and called the place after The Three Kings. When the Dutch took it, it was defended by the strongest fortress in Brazil; they strengthened the fort, and named it after its conqueror, Keulen; the town was destroyed, but was soon rebuilt at a little distance and on a more convenient site. The river is stated in an official Dutch report to have been at that time capable of receiving the largest ships; at present it is a difficult port, with a bar of shifting sand, deep enough only for vessels of a hundred and fifty tons. There were two *Engenhos* here when the Dutch conquered it, and the one was destroyed during the war. From the Potengi to the S. Francisco, the Dutch were in possession when the restoration of the Portugueze monarchy made them apparently secure in their conquests. This portion of Brazil was then called New Holland, in the maps; that appellation however was destined to designate a more extensive country in a different part of the globe; and the New Holland of the West India Company, like the Antarctic France of Villegagnon, soon became an empty name, exemplifying the shortsightedness of presumptuous ambition. The Dutch deserved to lose these possessions for the treachery with which they attempted to extend their conquests during the truce, the baseness with which they sought to take advantage of the helpless state of Portugal, their blind unfeeling avarice,

Rio Grande do Norte.

Suc. do Galeam Santiago. Hist. Trag. Marit. 2, 502.

Barlæus. 123.

Koster, 69.

Pernambuco called New Holland by the Dutch.

CHAP. XXX.

and that brutal cruelty which in all their foreign territories has characterized them: but they were not without some redeeming qualities. Under Prince Mauritz of Nassau great efforts were made for exploring the country, civilizing the Tapuyas, and improving the general condition of the people. His bridges, his palace, and his city, remain monuments of his wise and splendid administration; but they are not the only, nor the most durable memorials. He took out with him scholars, naturalists, and draughtsmen. His actions were celebrated in latin verse by Franciscus Plante, and by Barlæus in a latin history worthy the reputation of its author. The work of Marcgraff and Piso is the first [11] which appeared upon the natural history of Brazil; and the views in Barlæus were the first graphic representations of Brazilian scenery and manners.

Antiquities in Pernambuco.

Elias Herckmann was sent by Nassau into the interior of Pernambuco in search of mines. The attempt was unsuccessful; but he discovered vestiges of some forgotten people who possessed the country before the present race of savages, and of whom not even the most vague tradition had been preserved. He found two huge perfectly round stones, manifestly rounded by art, and placed by art one upon another, the largest being uppermost; they were sixteen feet in diameter, and the thickness such that a man standing on the ground could scarcely reach to the [12] middle: and on the following day he came to

---

[11] It may be hoped and expected that an academy will ere long be instituted in Brazil, and that the Flora Pernambucana of the late Dr. Arruda will be published under its auspices. The specimens which have appeared show it to be a work of first rate merit in its kind.

[12] Whether the middle of the upper or of the lower stone be meant, cannot be ascertained from Barlæus. The existence however of such monuments in a part of America where no vestige of antiquity had been supposed to exist, is a

some other stones, of such magnitude that it seemed impossible for any human strength to have moved them; they were piled up like altars, and Herckmann compares them to some monuments at Drent [13] in Belgium. In the same part of the country Mr. Koster describes a rocking stone. Here then in Brazil are found antiquities of the same kind as those in Britain and in the North of Europe; and it appears from the same traveller that written rocks exist in the bed of the river Paraiba. Rocks sculptured with the representations of animals, of the sun, moon, and stars, with hieroglyphical signs, and if an incurious Franciscan may be trusted, with characters also, have been recently found in Guyana, the most savage part of South America, and hitherto the least explored. These facts are highly interesting, though they baffle the curiosity which they excite, and lead to humiliating and melancholy thoughts.

Barlæus. p. 217—18.

Koster's Travels, p. 90.

Humboldt's Researches, Eng. Trans. vol. I. 158.

Great and commendable zeal was shown, not only under Nassau's administration, but as long as the Dutch continued in the country, for promulgating the reformed religion. There

Zeal of the Dutch for religion.

---

fact of such importance that it is proper to give the original passage. *Itaque devitatis montium acclivibus, incessere per planiora, ubi duo lapides molares exactæ rotunditatis, et stupendæ magnitudinis visi; quorum diameter sedecim erat pedum, crassities vero tanta, ut è terræ superficie vix media lapidis pars attingi extremis digitis ab erecto posset. Alter alteri superincumbebat, major minori. E centro, miro spectaculo, frutex se attollebat Karawata. Quo fini hos congesserint Barbari, in tantâ harum rerum ignorantiâ, non facile dixerim.* (*P.* 217.)

That this was not the work of any existing people is certain, because it was not the custom of any known tribes to erect such monuments; and Herckmann had in his company some Petiguares, natives of this very part of the country, who had been kidnapped from thence by the Portugueze.

[13] *Visi iterum magnæ molis lapides humano labore congesti, quales etiam in Belgio Drentia regio habet, quos nulla vectatione, nulla hominum vi illuc deportari potuisse ob magnitudinem credas: eâ formâ, ut Aras referre videantur.* (*P* 218.)

CHAP. XXX.

were protestant[14] ministers at Olinda, Itamaraca, Paraiba, Cape St. Augustines, and Serinhaem, and three at Recife. Some of them acquired the Tupi, and with what success they had laboured among the Indians may be apprehended by the jealousy with which Vieyra regarded those who had been under their pastoral care. They laboured in civilizing as well as in converting them. It has been seen, that in the Serra de Ibiapaba paper and sealing wax were in use, and that there were Indians there as well able to read and understand the laws as the Portugueze themselves. But although the government meant well toward the aboriginal inhabitants, and some of the clergy did their duty with eminent zeal and success, the conduct of the Dutch in general, both to the Indians and Negroes, was marked with that deep depravity which has characterized them in all their colonies. During the war their privateers seized all the Indians whom they found fishing, and kidnapped as many as they could catch on shore, and sold them to the Sugar Islands. Of six thousand

Du Tertre. t. 2. p. 484.

---

[14] Franciscus Plante was one of the chaplains at Recife. The one at Paraiba was an Englishman, whose name, as latinized by Barlæus, is Samuel Rathelarius. Vicente Soler, an Augustinian monk who had abjured the errors of his former profession, preached in French. Fray Manoel do Salvador says that a daughter of this clergyman died of grief and despite, because Prince Mauritz preferred the daughter of the *Sargento Mor,* Baia, for his mistress. Without attributing stricter morals to Mauritz than are usually found in men of his rank and situation, this piece of scandal may well be called in question. The daughter of a minister of the reformed church would be the last person with whom he, under his circumstances, would form an illicit connection; and the testimony of a Friar upon such a subject is the very last which should be admitted in evidence. (*Valeroso Lucideno, p.* 127.) David Doislerius is mentioned as skilled in the native tongue. The Dutch distributed copies of *El Catholico Reformado,* .. a book, says Fray Manoel, written by a certain Carrascon, and full of all the errors of Calvin and Luther. (*P.* 31.)

four hundred [15] imported Negroes, more than fifteen hundred died within a year and half, and Nassau himself imputed this frightful mortality to their unwholesome or insufficient food on the voyage, and to their sufferings. It appears also that these wretched slaves frequently attempted to murder their inhuman masters, and when they failed in the attempt, delivered themselves by poison from a life of insupportable misery [16]. CHAP. XXX. *Barlæus.* 322. *Piso. p.* 39.

The conquerors introduced some improvements while they held the country. A people who were accustomed to such cleanliness at home could not tolerate the filth of a Portugueze city, and the streets [17] of Recife under their government were regularly cleaned. They cultivated culinary herbs, which were soon propagated in every garden, and found their way into every kitchen; but the war put an end to horticulture, and this benefit seems to have been only transient. They reared vines with great success, procured a succession of grapes, and made a wine the excellence of which is expressed by saying that it was not inferior to the Cretan. The soldiers preferred mandioc to wheat, thinking it a stronger food. In other points the Dutch were more tenacious of old habits. Though the Brazilians, as it was said, dreamt of disease and death if they dwelt upon the low *Improvements introduced by them.* *Barlæus.* 303. *Piso. p.* 5. *Do.* *Barlæus.* 132.

[15] Barlæus says 64,000, but I have without hesitation corrected the obvious error; the importation would otherwise be excessive, and the deaths very much below the average mortality among any class of people in any part of the world.

[16] Piso expresses himself with some feeling upon this subject: *Mancipia illa ex Africâ huc deducta, ubi horrendi voti compotes fieri nequeunt, cum dominorum vitæ insidiantur, durissimæ servitutis jugi, inediæ ac variarum calamitatum impatientes, ad unicam illam libertatis viam, nemini non perviam confugiunt. Veneno ubique obvio, sibimetipsis atroces manus inferunt, gratulentes sibi naturæ renuntiare, vindictamque dominis plus justo severis reponere.*

[17] *Ut nitide viveret excultu gens, et patrii soli elegantiæ assueta,* says Barlæus.

CHAP. XXX.

lands, the Hollanders, with that obstinate attachment to swamps and standing water which has cost the lives of so many thousands at Batavia, built every where upon the plains and morasses. Such situations were suited to their mode of fortification, and they had need to fortify themselves. They experienced less injury than had been predicted,.. probably less than any other people would have done: their diet, which was more generous than that of the Portugueze, and their habit of smoking, serving to counteract the pernicious effects of marsh exhalations, and their constitutions also being habituated to such an atmosphere. Their women, however, suffered greatly from the change of climate;.. for they neither drank nor smoked; and, as was the case at first with the Portugueze women, they reared very few children. They found it necessary to have Indian or Negress nurses, whose custom it was never to wean the infant till the end of the second year, and rarely so soon.

Marcgraff. 8. 1.

The climate injurious to their women and children.

Piso 33.

State of the population.

The whole country which they possessed, from the Potengi to the Lagoas, was cultivated only in patches. The cultivation usually extended from twelve to fifteen miles inland, seldom farther, and never more than one or two and twenty; but none of the Dutch settled more than eight miles from the coast, as much for fear of the savages and the Portugueze, as for the convenience of trade. Between one *freguezia*, or parish, and another, there was usually a solitary track of ten or twelve miles, perhaps of greater extent. Salt-works and fishermen's huts were sometimes found in these uncultivated parts, but all the rest was a wilderness, which the settled part of the inhabitants had never explored. The admirable industry of the Dutch had not time to display itself; and what branches of industry they found there suffered considerably during the war. A lucrative fishery upon the coast was entirely neglected after their conquest; they attempted to restore it during the truce, but the renewal of

Laet. in Marcgraff. p. 261. Barlæus. 217.

Laet. Do.

CHAP. XXX.

hostilities put an end to it. The Portugueze government permitted only ten thousand *quintaes* of brazil to be felled yearly, that valuable wood being the property of the crown. The Dutch felled it without restriction, and cut down young trees as well as old: Nassau recommended that the Portugueze system should be observed, and that severe penalties should be inflicted upon those who destroyed the young trees. They were not acquainted with the process of making sugar when they arrived. When Vieyra argued for the cession of these provinces he urged this unskilfulness as a reason why the sugar trade would not be injured by it, that of the Portugueze captaincies bearing a better price and being in greater demand. But it is not possible that any nation can keep arts of this kind to itself, so as always to prevent other people, under circumstances equally favourable, from rivalling them. Upon the expulsion of the Dutch they carried with them some Negroes who were perfectly acquainted with the management of an *Engenho;* these men instructed the French at Guadaloupe, and thus enabled them first to compete with the Portugueze sugar, and soon to supersede it in many of its markets.

Marcgraff. p. 1.

Barlæus. 318.

Papel Forte. MS.

Du Tertre, i. 463.

Before the invasion Olinda was the most flourishing of all the colonial possessions of the Portugueze, and perhaps, it is said, the richest. Ships of all sizes were continually arriving and departing, yet there was scarcely tonnage to carry away the sugar, more of which was raised at that time in Pernambuco than in Bahia. The ships from Peru which put back on their voyage, or which had evaded the duties in the port from whence they sailed, discharged the best part of their treasures here. They who were not served in plate were regarded as poor. The women were not satisfied with wearing silks and satins, unless they were of the richest embroidery, and they were so profusely decked with jewels that it seemed, says F. Manoel do Salvador,

Flourishing state of Olinda before the war.

Pyrard. 129.

CHAP. XXX.

as if pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, had been showered upon them. Every new fashion in apparel, or in the furniture of swords and daggers, was instantly followed by the men, and the choicest delicacies of Portugal and the Western Islands were regularly imported for their tables. "The place," says the Friar, "hardly appeared like earth; it seemed rather an image of Paradise, as far as opulence and dissipation could make it so." The war proved fatal to this prosperity. "When first I beheld Olinda," says Vieyra, "the nobleness of her edifices, her temples and her towers, her vallies every where adorned, and her hills covered with green and loftiest palms, she seemed like a beautiful and most delicious garden, worthy of her name, and of being pictured that all the world might behold her. Now what is there but a desert, a solitude, a shapeless carcase, a dismal sepulchre without a name!" A flourishing city had arisen at the port, but Recife had not succeeded to the splendour of its former capital. When Rennefort visited it in 1666 it contained, according to his computation, about three hundred indifferent houses, besides some others so wretchedly constructed that he seems to have considered them as hovels unworthy of being included in the account. They were all of only one floor. There were about an hundred more in S. Antonio, as Mauritias was now called, the founder having given place to the favourite Saint of the Portugueze. But the works of that founder outlasted his name; the Governor resided in his palace; and the French traveller speaks with delight of the fragrance and beauty of the groves which Prince Mauritz had planted with such magnificence.

Valeroso. Lucideno. p. 8—9.

Sermoens. 5. 437.

Growth of Recife.

Rennefort. p. 287.

Though the Dutch were twenty-five years in the country, there had been very little intermixture of the two nations; the difference of religion was too great an obstacle, both parties being sincere, and regarding each other's belief with mutual

Few intermarriages between the Dutch and the Portugueze.

CHAP. XXX.

contempt, mingled however, on the part of the Papists, with the fiercest and most intolerant abhorrence. The few intermarriages which occurred were with Portugueze [18] women. Most of these would naturally follow their husbands upon their expulsion; but if the husbands chose to remain in the country among their new connections, if they did not conform themselves to the dominant superstition, their children fell into it of course, and in another generation no trace remained either of the religion, language, or manners of Holland. The ambitious struggle which the Dutch carried on so long, with such inhumanity, and such an expence of treasure and of blood, produced no other benefit than that of proving, as a warning for other powers, how impossible it is to effect a permanent conquest of Brazil. A people of such determined nationality as the Portugueze, in such a country, are invincible by any human force.

Valeroso. Lucideno. 110.

The population of Bahia and the Reconcave is stated, in the middle of the century, at three thousand five hundred, and the garrison two thousand five hundred;.. the first is probably much under-rated, for it was more than two thousand, seventy years before, and many emigrants from Pernambuco and Paraiba had taken refuge there: and only twenty years later, Dellon thought

Population of Bahia. Papel Forte. MS. Noticias. do. Brazil. MS.

[18] Fr. Manoel do Salvador boldly affirms that no Portugueze in Pernambuco married a Dutchwoman, or courted or even intrigued with one;.. a tolerably bold assertion, unless the good friar had been conscience-keeper to every man in the province. About a score of Portugueze women married Dutchmen, he admits, or rather, as he distinguishes the case, became their concubines;.. the men to whom they fancied themselves married being heretics. Nassau says that some of the wealthier men had intermarried with the Dutch. (*Barlæus*, 237.) There could be few Dutch women to dispose of; and pride and principles would very generally, though not universally, deter the Portugueze men from such unions.

CHAP. XXX.

the city nearly as large as Lyons, and better peopled. He speaks of fine streets, grand squares, well built houses, splendid churches, and a superb governor's palace; .. a city of mean size or ordinary beauty, would not have been thus described by a traveller [19] coming immediately from Goa. At the end of the century, Dampier estimated the houses at two thousand, which he says were built of stone, covered with pantiles, and two or three stories high. A few years later, Frezier calls it very populous; and population must be greater than it appears to be in a country where the women seldom stirred from home, and indolence usually kept within doors. The city had twice in the course of a few years been severely afflicted with pestilence, and the general prosperity must have been very great for the population to have so soon recovered. One great cause of its prosperity was that it was a place of safety for the New Christians, a race who were persecuted with such devilish cruelty and inconceivable impolicy in the mother country and in Spain. Much as the Brazilians abhorred a Jew, and suspected all of Jewish race, they were by no means willing to have a Holy Office established in their country: the [20] attempts of that execrable institution to extend

Vol. 3. p. 50.

P. 539.

Commercial prosperity.

---

[19] As the Portugueze prisons are infamously bad, it is curious that Dellon should describe that at Bahia as *le plus propre* of all he had been in before; and he had tried many in India. There were upper apartments for the rich, the less guilty, or the more favoured; and the chapel was so situated as that all could hear mass. The poorest criminals were preserved from actual want by charity. *T.* 2, *p.* 166. In 1802 Mr. Lindley found the Brazilian prisons in a state disgraceful to a civilized and Christian people. *(Narrative, p.* 3, 49.)

[20] Pyrard was at Bahia in 1610. "*L'on disoit alors que le Roy d'Espagne y en vouloit establir une (Inquisition) de quoy tous ces Juifs avoient grand peur.*" *P.* 200. Well they might, .. and certainly if they had reason to apprehend this, it is very likely that they should have invited the Dutch. Dellon (2, 190) says, that many efforts had been made to establish the Holy Office there, but that they had always been resolutely opposed.

CHAP. XXX.

itself there had been successfully resisted, and Brazil has always been exempt from that which has been at once the opprobrium and the curse of Portugal. The New Christians were a despised race; but they were habitually patient under contempt, and it is the characteristic of the race to which they were allied, to be alike disregardful of obloquy or danger, where there is a sure prospect of gain. In the early part of the seventeenth century, many of them in that city were worth from sixty to a hundred thousand crowns, and there were some of even greater opulence; but no wealth could purchase the respect of their bigotted countrymen. Nine or ten years were sufficient at this time for realizing a fortune in Bahia. Pyrard, who came from India, had never seen silver so common in any city as in this; it was smuggled from Buenos Ayres by an ingenious device; sacks full of the precious metal were fastened to the anchor, and the anchor was not heaved till after the revenue officers had left the ship; in this manner all the silver in Brazil and Angola was obtained from the Plata. When the two crowns were separated this influx must have ceased; but Bahia possessed in itself abundant sources of wealth. Its whale fishery was at one time the greatest in the world; under the Spanish government it was leased, and carried on by adventurers from Biscay: the flesh of these poor animals was eaten by the slaves; and they supplied all the oil which was burnt in Brazil during the seventeenth century. At the close of that century the fishery was rented by the Crown for thirty thousand dollars.

New Christians.

Pyrard. 200.

Influx of silver from Buenos Ayres.

Do. 141.

Whale Fishery.

Pyrard. 2. 208. Dellon. 2. 186. Dampier. 3. 58.

More than half a century elapsed after the foundation of the city, before the Bahians ceased to consider corn and wine and the oil of the olive, as necessaries [21] of life. These and all other

[21] Pyrard says, "*Ce païs est de peu de rapport, et ne suffit pas pour nourrir les Portugais, et pourtant toutes sortes de vivres y viennent soit de Portugal, soit des*

CHAP. XXX.

European commodities are said by Pyrard to have sold at six and even eight times their European prices, the value of money having diminished in proportion as the quantity of specie increased. When the influx of silver was stopt by the rupture with Spain, and cultivation at the same time was extended, living then became as cheap as it had before been nominally dear[22]. The staple commodity was sugar, with which the French markets were supplied, when it was supposed to come from Madeira, or the island of St. Thomas[23]. The people of

Sugar.

Pyrard. 201.

Isles Assores et Canaries." (2, 201.) This "all sorts" I interpret to mean corn, wine, and oil, which to a European might seem every thing. Bread seems to have been commonly used in Dellon's time, (2, 171) when the flour came from Lisbon, or from the Rio,.. raised probably at S. Vicente. Mandioc has now very generally superseded it.

[22] 1610. Pork, which was the best and commonest meat, and which the physicians prescribed in preference to any other, sold for ten *sols* the pound; the physicians were often New Christians, and might prescribe the forbidden food to lessen the suspicion of their Judaizing. Mutton, though very inferior in quality, bore the same price; beef seven *sols* six *deniers;* a fowl, a French crown; the Indian fowl, (meaning, I suppose, the Pintado or Guinea-fowl,) two crowns; five *sols* for a couple of eggs; forty for a pot of canary: "*il fait infiniment cher vivre en Brasil,*" says Pyrard. (204.) A cheap wine, as he calls it, was made from the sugar-cane, for Negroes and Indians. Jerked beef came from the Plata at that time; this was before Seara supplied the market.

[23] The sugar from these places, Pyrard says, was "*fort peu de chose au prix de celuy de Brasil;*" for in Madeira there were but seven or eight *Engenhos*, and four or five in St. Thomas, whereas there were nearly four hundred in Brazil; each, according to him, averaging 100,00 *arrobas* annually. The largest *Engenhos* in Pernambuco rarely make above 100 chests of about 50 *arrobas* each; in Bahia the *Engenhos* are larger, but Pyrard's average, I am assured, must be beyond the mark. There is very possibly an error in the press of 100,000 for 10,000; errors of this kind are so common, that it is more reasonable to impute carelessness to the printer than exaggeration to the writer, where no imaginable motive can be assigned for exaggerating. Manoel Ferreira da Camara, in his *Descripçam da*

CHAP XXX.

Madeira, though they had the advantage of being so much nearer Europe, found the competition so injurious that by a wise and most fortunate foresight they gradually gave up the culture of the cane, and began to plant vines instead. *Labat. Isles. 5. 193.*

A population of from three to four hundred was scattered along the shores of Boypeba, Cayru, and Camamu, toward the middle of the century; .. the ravages made among them by the Guerens could scarcely have been recovered at its close. There were about thirty settlers at the Rio das Contas. The town of Ilheos had declined: in the time of the Dutch war it had a fort with two guns, without ammunition, gunner, or garrison, and only some fifty inhabitants, besides a village of converted Indians. This captaincy possesses singular advantages of inland navigation, having natural canals by which barges may make *Boypeba, Cayru, and Cumamu. Papel Forte. MS.* *Rio das Contas.* *Do.* *Ilheos.* *Do.* *Its inland navigation,*

Comarca dos Ilheos, read to the Royal Academy in 1789, says that the owner of an *Engenho* in any part of Brazil, who made 1000 loaves of three *arrobas* each, was "*hum grande Lavrador.*" *Mem. Econan. T.* 1, *p.* 317. The *quintal* of four *arrobas* sold in Pyrard's time for about fifteen francs upon the spot; its retail price was two *sols* six *deniers* the pound. In 1676 the best sugar did not exceed two *sols* (Dellon). Dampier, in 1699, states the price at fifty shillings the clayed, per cwt., and the bottoms of the pans about twenty shillings. But it was dear at that time, there not being sufficient to load the ships which came for it. It was then much better than what we brought from our plantations: and Dellon says, it was as much superior to all other sugar as Champagne and Burgundy to the poorest Vin de la Brie.

Pyrard, I think, is mistaken as to the number of *Engenhos* in Madeira. The cultivation of the cane in that island certainly diminished rather than increased in the course of a century from his time, and there were many more *Engenhos* than he states when the *Historia Insulana* was written. Cordeyro has not specified how many, but he mentions so many as to establish the fact.

The sugar from the Rio was packed in skins at this time: "*seroins, (surroens)* or skins of sugar," are spoken of in the evidence on Quelch's trial for piracy, 1704. *Howell's State Trials, Vol.* 14, *p.* 1076. This was owing to the intercourse with the Plata. It came in chests from Pernambuco.

CHAP. XXX.

their way to Bahia, a distance of more than thirty leagues, without entering the open sea. But on the other hand, heavy dews and almost incessant rain, render it an unhealthy and unpleasant country. There is scarcely any distinction of seasons; the trees bear flowers and fruit in all stages of its progress at the same time, for this cause, that the temperature of winter is never cold enough to check vegetation, nor has the summer influence to call forth its full force. The perpetual moisture occasions aguish diseases; and yet if there happen to be a fortnight of sunshine, the clayey soil parches and cracks, and fine weather becomes a serious calamity.

and ungenial climate.

Manoel Ferreira da Câmara. Mem. Econom. da Academic. T. 1. p. 305. 308.

Porto Seguro.

Porto Seguro had fifty inhabitants during the Dutch war; no soldiers, no fortifications; but it had three Indian villages. There were also some forty Portugueze at the Rio das Caravelhas, a place where cowries were shipt for Angola. These estimates were made to show the weakness of Brazil, and how compleatly it lay at the mercy of any bold invader, .. the numbers therefore would generally be computed at the lowest point. Cabral had given Porto Seguro its name from the goodness of its harbour, which at that time admitted ships fit for the Indian voyage; .. the harbours upon the coast were gradually filling up, and it would now admit small craft only. A town had been founded on the river Insuasema, but in 1664, it was abandoned on account of the Aymores. There were in this part of the country, some Tupinambas and Tamoyos, .. the remains of those formidable nations with whom the French were formerly allied, and whom the Portugueze had subdued more by the influence of the Jesuits, than by force of arms. These tribes had been enemies to the Aymores, as being invaders of their country, but they joined them now in resentment for the ill treatment which they had long endured. The Tupiniquins, the most docile and faithful of all the Brazilian tribes, stood by the Portugueze; .. but

'Papel Forte.

ravaged by the savages.

even with these allies they were far inferior in number, and a severe vengeance was exacted for old wrongs. The towns of S. Cruz and S. Amaro were totally destroyed; and the greater part of the inhabitants of Porto Seguro were surprized at mass on Good Friday, and massacred by the Aymores. The savages were afterwards driven into the interior, and the small pox made a great mortality among them; but the Captaincy had not recovered a century afterwards. CHAP. XXX. *Jaboatam. § 69—70. 20.*

Espirito Santo had five hundred Portugueze in its district, and four Indian villages. During the war it was protected by a small fort, with a garrison of twenty-four men; its defences were afterwards greatly improved, and it was spoken of in the middle of the following century, as one of the good towns of Brazil, both for strength and prosperity. Between this place and the Rio, was a track of rich country, which, though level as the sea, is compared to the Elysian Fields for beauty. This country which is about an hundred miles in length, was called the Campos dos Goaitacazes, from three tribes who possessed it, the Goaitacaza Guazu, or Great Goaitacazes, and the Jacorites, and Mopis, each of whom prefixed to this distinguishing name, the generic one of the tribe from which they had separated. These, though originally one people, were always at war, and such was the deadly hatred which they bore to each other, that they would endeavour to dig up each other's dead, for the sake of gratifying this malignant passion, by breaking the skulls of their senseless enemies. The bones of those whom they had eaten, were laid up in piles before their houses, and the rank and estimation of a family was in proportion to the size of its heap. Some of the Goaitacaza Guazus in the interior had a different and even more frightful fashion. When F. Joam d'Almeida went among them, he found at the entrance of one of their woods, the whole skeleton of a man from which the flesh had recently been cut, placed *Espirito Santo. Papel Forte.* *Jaboatam.* *Campos dos Goaitacazes.*

CHAP. XXX. against the foot of a tree;.. it was their custom thus to treat their prisoners, that others might be deterred from attacking them. They were a tall and large-limbed race, of clearer colour than most of the coast tribes, and speaking a different language:.. perhaps they were of the same stock as the Aymores. Their huts, or nests were curiously inconvenient, being elevated like pigeon houses upon a single pole, very small, and the door so low that they could only enter by creeping; it was without hammock or accommodations of any kind, unless it were a heap of leaves upon which they slept. Their weapon was the bow and arrow, which they pointed with shark's teeth, and for this purpose they made war upon the sharks with great courage and dexterity; they went into the sea with a truncheon in the hand, sharpened at both ends, and tempting the shark into water of a convenient depth for their manœuvres, they waited his attack, thrust the stick into his mouth when he darted to make his bite, and having thus effectually gagged him, drew him aground. The only superstition which the Portugueze observed among them was the singular one, that though there were running streams, and fine lakes of fresh water in their country, they never drank of them, but used the filtered water collected in pits which they dug with much labour in the shore. They subsisted chiefly, if not entirely upon flesh and fish, which they laid upon the coals, and ate as soon as it was hot, careless whether it were raw within. A great destruction was made of them in 1630, for an act of which they were innocent. A ship bound for the Rio had been stranded upon their coast, and the crew fearing with good reason to trust themselves on shore, took to their boats and escaped. The ship went to pieces; the Indians of Cabo Frio on one side, and those of the Aldea Rire-tiba on the other, heard of the wreck, and hastened to save the men and the property. They found the Goaitacazes on the

CHAP. XXX.

shore, and seeing none of the crew, concluded at once that they had been killed and eaten; upon which, giving full scope to those old inclinations which their ghostly fathers had not eradicated, they fell upon them and put them all to death, and proceeding to their villages, killed every man, woman and child whom they could find, so that the nation was thought to be extirpated. *Sim. de Vasc. Vida d'Almeida.* 4. 11. § 2. 5. 4. 12. § 1. 2. 4. 14. § 7. *Jaboatam.* § 21.

There was a settlement at Cabo Frio, which bore the name of city, .. one of the many abortive ones of the new world. When the *Papel Forte* was written, it had a fort without men, some dozen Portugueze inhabitants, and one Indian village. The population of Rio de Janeiro at the same time, is stated at two thousand five hundred, with a garrison of about six hundred. In this respect it approached nearly to Bahia, but the city was very inferior [24] in beauty, and habitations were more thinly [25] scattered in the adjoining country, than in the elder *Cabo Frio.* *Population of the Rio.*

---

[24] Fleckno describes it in 1648. It was originaly built on the hill where the Jesuits' College stood, "as the ruins of houses and the great church yet remaining testify, till for the commodity of traffic and portation of merchandize 'twas by degrees reduced into the plain; their buildings being but low, and streets not above three or four, the principal regarding the haven." *p.* 67. One of the first inquiries instituted by the present King of Portugal on his arrival in Brazil was concerning the insalubrity of this city, and the means of remedying it. A report upon this interesting subject was accordingly published by Manoel Vieira da Silva, (1808) and one of the things which he advises is, that as the city increases, the new buildings should be erected upon the high ground, and not in the marsh, which had so unhappily been preferred in the seventeenth century. *Reflexoens, &c. p.* 10.

As early as Fleckno's time it was briefly called the Rio, having lost its name of S. Sebastians, to which convenient change the vicinity of the Ilha de S. Sebastians perhaps contributed. In the printed account of Quelch's trial, the name is written Rigineer.

[25] In Pernambuco, as has been stated, the parishes were ten or twelve miles apart; here solitary farms were one or two days' journey. "Along the coast," says Fleckno, (*p.* 78) "in that track which the Portugals have made to travel by

CHAP. XXX. Captaincy of Pernambuco. It was however rapidly advancing in wealth and enterprise; and its fortunate position with relation to the mines, the long search for which was now on the point of being amply rewarded, soon rendered it the most important city in Brazil. Ilha Grande, and the Isle of St. Sebastian, had in the middle of the century about one hundred and fifty inhabitants each; Santos had two hundred. These places were without troops or fortifications of any kind. S. Paulo is said to have contained seven hundred inhabitants at this time; but the surrounding country must have been well peopled, or it could not have sent forth those bands of adventurers who carried devastation into Paraguay, and explored the centre of that great continent. Had there been men among the Paulistas to record their adventures, as there were among their contemporaries of kindred spirit, the Buccaneers, we should possess ample accounts of extensive regions which remain even to this day unknown. Sixty of these intrepid freebooters, with Antonio Raposo for their captain, and a party of natives, made their way to the province of Quito, and did not retreat till they had sustained several actions with the Spaniards; they then retired to the Orellana, or more probably to one of its remoter tributaries, and having constructed rafts, trusted themselves to the stream, and reached Curupa, where the remnant of the party astonished the Portugueze by their arrival a few years after Teixeira's voyage. Knowing that gold existed in the land, for samples of it lay under their feet [26] in their own city, they were inde-

Ilha Grande. *Ilha de S. Sebastian.* *Santos.* *S. Paulo.* *Papel Forte.* *A party of Paulistas reach Quito.* *Berredo, § 956—7.* *Mawe's Travels, p. 67.*

land from place to place, you fail not every second day at most to find some Ross *(roça)* or country farm of the Portugueze, where for your money you are well accommodated with all sorts of pullen and fruit."

"The material with which the streets of S. Paulo are paved, is lamillary

fatigable in seeking it, far and near. Where they thought the ground promising, they dug about three or four feet deep, at which depth the *cascalho* is usually found, a compost of earthy matter and gravel; if this lay upon a bluish soil, they considered their labour as lost; the substratum which they wished to find, was yellow, soft and soapy; their theory was, that by the operation of the sun, this was gradually dried, hardened and aurified, the metal as it ripened separating into grains and dust. The *cascalho* from such ground was placed in a canoe, or box of some such shape, with a large hole at either end; this they fastened lengthways in some running stream, and there stirred the rubbish; the earth was carried off by the water, and the particles of gold sunk with the heavier matter to the bottom. This was the method [27] of the earliest Brazilian miners; and their search had been so far successful, that in 1655, gold was coined in S. Vicente, and the ordinary currency in this part of Brazil was in this metal. The King had his fifths, and the adventurers sold the rest as they found it, or carried it to the mint to be coined.

CHAP. XXX.

Manner of searching for gold.

Sim. de Vasc. Vida d'Almeida, 4. 4. § 11—13.

---

grit stone, cemented by oxide of iron, and containing large pebbles of rounded quartz, approximating to the conglomerate. This pavement is an alluvial formation containing gold, many particles of which metal are found in the chinks and hollows after heavy rains, and at such seasons are diligently sought for by the poorer sort of people." *Mawe, p.* 67.

[27] A Paulista told Simam de Vasconcellos, that with twenty labourers, and in one search, he had collected about 700 *oitavas* in three months. Others had been equally fortunate. Vasconcellos says, that gold was found in all the mountain-streams between S. Paulo and the Alagoa dos Patos. Pyrard heard, in 1610, that some little had been found; "*vers la riviere de S. Vincent, il y a des mines d'or, qu'ils tachent à conquerir, et en tirent desja quelque chose.*" *p.* 143. And in 1648, Fleckno says a gold mine had lately been discovered in the territory of S. Paulo, and a vein of emeralds near Espiritu Santo.

CHAP. XXX.

S. Vicente had two thousand inhabitants at this time; but though the first discovery of gold, and the establishment of a mint made it flourish for awhile, this prosperity was of short duration, and it fell rapidly to decay, in the beginning of the next century, when greater discoveries of this kind drew the population toward the interior. The vine succeeded here; wheat was cultivated for the Rio market, and the people preserved their reputation for bacon, and hog-skin leather, .. esteemed better than any other for those magnificent chairs which were then in fashion. To the south of S. Vicente, Vieyra only enumerates Cananea, with one hundred settlers, and some ten or twelve Portugueze upon S. Catalina; .. many attempts had been made to form a settlement upon this delightful island, but hitherto all had proved unsuccessful, and the Carijos were still in possession of it.

S. Vicente.

Jaboatam, § 51. Cananea. Papel Forte.

Sim. de Vasc. Vida d'Almeida, 4, 9, § 1.

Trade of strangers with Brazil.

The population had as yet spread but little in the interior; it took this direction when the mines were discovered, but till that time trade was the ruling passion, and the settlements were chiefly confined to the coast, and to the navigable streams which afforded an easy communication with it. Strangers had been prohibited [28] from trading here by Philip II. who extended to Brazil the jealous monopoly which impeded the prosperity of the Spanish colonies. The Braganzan government was for a long time more liberal. Fleckno made a voyage to the Rio for mere curiosity; the King gave him a free passage out and home, and presented him with money also; and during his stay of eight months he was entertained by the Jesuits with the most benevolent hospitality, as a stranger whom the King had sent.

1648.

1699.

[28] Pyrard says the prohibition was enacted "ten or twelve years ago," writing in 1610.

CHAP. XXX.

Dampier found an Englishman at Bahia, established there as a merchant in good repute, and having a patent as English Consul. But when gold in abundance was obtained by the short process of digging for it, both the government and the people were but too willing to neglect the slow and surer means of a healthier prosperity, and the ports of Brazil were closed against all foreigners.

Attempt to introduce the culture of spices.

An attempt was made toward the close of the seventeenth century, which had it been duly persevered in might have effected a curious change in commerce, and produced important benefit to Brazil. There prevailed an opinion that spices of the same kind as the East Indian had at one time grown in this country, and been extirpated by order of government, lest they should interfere with the Indian trade. If this act of unjust and barbarous policy were indeed committed [29], the Portugueze had suffi-

---

[29] Vieyra's account is, that these plants were indigenous in the country, and that they were destroyed by Emanuel, who gave orders to eradicate them, and forbade their culture on pain of death: the ginger alone baffled his edict, "*do qual se disse discretamente que escapara por se meter pela terra dentro, como raïz que he.*" *Cartas*, 2, 390, 268. Had they been indigenous it would have been impossible to eradicate them, and nugatory to prohibit their culture. Dr. Arruda states that they were brought from India under the Philips,.. probably by some more curious or more enlightened individual, and afterwards extirpated for the reason which Vieyra assigns. A few cinnamon plants, Dr. Arruda adds, were preserved, notwithstanding the law, in Pernambuco, and cultivated in secret till this time, (*Discurso sobre utilidade da Instituiçam de Jardins nas principaes Provincias do Brazil.* Rio Janeiro, 1810, p. 8) The edict, however, though very much in the spirit of the Philips, belongs either to Cardinal Henrique's reign, or to the latter years of Sebastian's; for the *Noticias de Brazil*, written in 1581, mention that ginger, which had been introduced from the Isle of S. Thomas, had been prohibited some time after the year 1573, as interfering with the Indian trade. (*See Vol.* 1, *p.* 320.) No other spice is mentioned in this most valuable manuscript. Pyrard says that ginger was marvellously abundant at Bahia, but

CHAP. XXX.

cient cause to repent it when the Indian empire was wrested from them by a stronger maritime power. So however it was believed to have been, and Vieyra advised Joam IV. again to introduce the plants, for if they could undersell the Dutch in an article of such value, it would destroy the very foundation of their power in the East. The King entirely approved the project, as perfectly feasible, and though slow in its effect, certain; but things were at that time in too precarious a state for putting it in execution, and Vieyra was charged to keep it secret till a fit time should arrive. That time Joam IV. did not live to see, and the project seemed to be buried with him. Several years afterwards our Charles II. observed, in conversation with the Portugueze Embassador, that his brother in law, the King of Portugal, could ruin the Dutch if he pleased, without making war upon them; Charles did not chuse to explain himself, and the Embassador communicated what had past to his brother Minister at Paris, Duarte [30] Ribeiro de Macedo, as a riddle which

---

that the inhabitants were not allowed to dry the root, nor export it in any other form than that of a conserve, "*a cause que la grande quantite d'iceluy empescheroit la vente de son poivre.*" *P.* 204, 139. That a writer so fully informed as the author of the Noticias should not have mentioned the extirpation of the spices, must in some degree weaken the credit of the tradition. Perhaps the plants in Pernambuco are the remains of Vieyra's experiment, which in all likelihood would be tried at Pernambuco as well as at Bahia. I have, however, met with a passage which refers them to an earlier origin. There was a tale current in the island of Guadaloupe, that one of the Dutchmen who came there with the outcasts from Brazil, brought with him a nutmeg plant, which flourished, and would soon have stocked the island, if another Dutchman, feeling like a true Hollander for the injury which would result to his country, had not rooted it up in the night and burnt it. Labat, who relates this story, (*Voyage aux Isles, T.* 4, 254,) says that he could not learn the history of the plant in Brazil, whether it were indigenous, or introduced by the Dutch. This latter supposition is impossible.

[30] Manoel Ferreira da Camara, in his Memoir upon the state of Ilheos,

CHAP. XXX.

he was unable to solve, and Duarte Ribeiro referred it to Vieyra, as the man who having been most in the confidence of Joam IV, was of all men most likely to understand it. Vieyra remembered the spices; his answer was transmitted to the Court, and the King immediately gave order that every ship which intended to touch at Brazil on its way from India, should bring out spice plants. For some time this was punctually obeyed; they were planted in a *Quinta*, or country residence belonging to the Jesuits, near Bahia, and two Canarins who understood the management both of cinnamon and pepper, were brought from Goa to attend to their culture. The Governor, Roque da Costa, was much interested in a plan which promised such beneficial consequences; and Vieyra, in his extreme old age, delighted to report to him the state of the plants and their increase. But Vieyra feared that care and perseverance would be wanting to go on with what had been so successfully begun, and the event verified his apprehensions. Succeeding Governors neglected it; there were no individuals of sufficient zeal or foresight to attend to this important object; and it was either forgotten or disregarded by the Court, which, when the mines were discovered, seems to have thought that no other source of prosperity could be wanting.

Vieyra Cartas, 2, 268, 382, 390. 3, 314.

While the Paulistas were searching for mines, and in this pur-

State of the Engenhos.

quotes a manuscript of Duarte Ribeiro's, in which this story of Charles II. is related upon the authority of Lord Montague. Charles is said to have made the remark upon seeing a specimen of the Maranham cinnamon; holding such an opinion, it is likely that he would often allude to it. Vieyra's answer to Duarte Ribeiro is in the second volume of his Letters, *p.* 268. "*Esta, Senhor meo,*" he concludes, "*he q Pedra Filosofal em que cuido nos temos encontrado, tendo V. M. inferido esta consequencia de premissas tam remotas, como os ditos de El Rey de Inglaterra, e Grotius, ou havello eu proposto depois das noticias do Brazil, que entre os Antigos se referiam com sentimento, e hoje estaram ja quasi esquecidas.*"

CHAP. XXX.

suit as well as in their slaving parties, exploring the interior with indefatigable perseverance, the production of sugar was the chief object to which the inhabitants of the coast applied themselves. An *Engenho* could not be well conducted unless artificers in every trade necessary for its concerns were attached to the establishment. Every *Engenho* therefore was a community or village in itself, more populous at this time than many of the towns which have been enumerated. About eight square miles were required for the service of an *Engenho*, half in pasture, half in thicket or woodland. A Donatory would give land to any persons who would settle on it and grow canes, which they were to carry to his mill for a fair price; and he would pay them for carrying wood there. In the large *Engenhos* from [31] fifty to an hundred negroes were employed. The black population in Bahia was so numerous that it is said a traveller might have supposed himself in Negroland. They were brought from India as well as Africa, and Negroes of any nation were preferred to the natives, not only as being robuster and more industrious, but because they had less temptation to make their escape, and were deterred by fear of the cannibal tribes from attempting it. Frezier guessed the proportion of the black [32] to the white in-

Manoel Feliz da Lima, MSS.

Pyrard, 203.

Frezier, 532.

Pyrard, 201.

Number of Negroes.

[31] In Pernambuco, where the *Engenhos* are upon a smaller scale than in Bahia, Mr. Koster states the fair establishment to be forty able Negroes of both sexes, as many oxen, and as many horses. Manoel Feliz da Lima states it at an hundred Negroes; he had Bahia or the Rio in his mind, and perhaps includes all ages, whereas Mr. Koster reckons neither the old nor the young.

[32] One ship from Angola would bring out five or six hundred, and sometimes a thousand slaves! (*Vieyra, Sermoens, t.* 6, *p.* 391.) Vieyra says, (*Sermoens, t.* 8, 522,) that in Bahia alone 25,000 Negroes were catechized and instructed in the Ethiopic tongue, (by which the Angolan is meant,) besides the infinite number of those out of the city. The sermon in which he states this was preached after his last return to Brazil, and before the year 1689. And this passage proves that the Negroes are not included in the estimates of the population given in the text.

habitants of Bahia as twenty to one, and certainly did not overrate it; it was greater there than in any other part of Brazil, because the *Engenhos* were much more numerous, and upon a larger scale. He speaks with indignation of having seen the miserable Negroes exposed for sale in warehouses, stark naked, to be handled like beasts, purchased like beasts, worked like beasts, and he might have added, treated more inhumanly than beasts; .. for in the treatment [33] of their slaves the Brazilians are said infinitely to have exceeded the English in cruelty. Would that the English, with whom this infamous comparison was made in the seventeenth century, were worthy to be compared at this time with the Brazilians for the treatment of their slaves, and the laws by which their deplorable situation is mitigated! Vieyra compares the lives of slaves in an *Engenho* to the sufferings of that Redeemer in whom he exhorted them to look for comfort; .. bonds, stripes, wounds, and revilings; to be deprived of rest by night and day; to be stript, to be scourged, to be hungered, such he said were their sufferings; and if they endured them with pa-

CHAP. XXX.

Labat, Isles de l'Amerique, 2, 233.

Cruel treatment of the slaves.

Sermoens, 5, 508.

[33] "*Presque tous ces malheureux sont traités par leurs maitres, avec une cruauté tout-a-fait indigne des Chrétiens.*" (*Dellon, 2, 183.*) And of the Indian prisoners among the Portugueze, Dellon says, "*la servitude affreuse à laquelle on les reduit, et les travaux excessifs que l'on leur impose, sont incomparablement plus terribles que la mort qu'ils font souffrir a leurs ennemis.*" *P.* 182. Labat, (*Isles, 2, 233*) observing that stomach-complaints and dropsies are common among the Negroes, says that they were especially so among those of Brazil; "*peut-être que les mauvais traitemens qu'ils reçoivent de leurs maitres, qui surpassent infiniment les Anglois en ce point-la, y peuvent contribuer beaucoup.*" But from whatever cause the diseases might arise, the remedy which the Portugueze adopted, according to his account, was to let the Negroes do with themselves what they would, and live upon what they could find; hunger made them fill themselves with the Acajou apple, which was most easily obtained, and was a specific in some of these complaints. "*Je tiens ceci,*" says Labat, "*de gens de probité qui ont demeuré long tems au Brazil.*"

CHAP. XXX.

tience, they would have the merit as well as the torments of martyrdom. Persons who had no lands to cultivate, bought slaves in order to live by their labour, and requiring from each a certain sum weekly, took no farther care of them, but let them provide for their own maintenance, and for their weekly poll-tax, as they could. If these wretches did not earn enough, as sometimes must have happened, or if they gambled away what they had acquired, (for they were greatly addicted to gaming,) they had recourse to robbery and murder; and though the magistrates punished such crimes with great severity, (being perhaps the only crimes which were punished at all,) they were so frequent that it was dangerous to pass the streets after night had closed. It is asserted that women of rank and character trained up their female slaves [3] for prostitution, for the sake of the profit obtained by thus employing them. The practices of our own Sugar Islands render credible this and every other abomination connected with slavery.

Dellon, 2, 184.

Do. 190.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the reduced Indians and the slaves appeared without the slightest clothing in the streets of Bahia. In the course of a few years the Brazilians corrected this indecency among their slaves, and drest them in a sort of frock, or made them at least cover their loins. The dress of the Portugueze in the great cities, toward the close of the same century, was much in the French fashion of that time, which generally prevailed in Europe, to the great injury of general taste, as well as the destruction of national costume.

Dress and fashions of the Portugueze.

P. Gaspar Affonso Hist. Trag. Marit. 2, 835.

Pyrard, 205.

Fleckno.

Rennefort, 287.

---

[34] "*Je ne sçai si le libertinage est aussi grand par tout le Bresil, qu'il l'est dans la Ville de San Salvador. Les femmes les plus qualifiées, et celles qui passent pour avoir quelque vertu, n'y font point de scrupule de parer leurs esclaves avec beaucoup de soin, afin de les mettre en état de vendre plus cher les infames plaisirs bu'elles donnent; elles partagent ensuite le malheureux profit de la debauche de ces prostituées; en sorte que l'on peut dire avec justice, que la pudeur est presque entierement bannie de cette ville, et que le vice y regne souverainement.* Dellon, 2, 190.

CHAP. XXX.

Certain devotional appendages distinguished it here: a gentleman when he went abroad usually carried a rosary in his hand, and a little S. Antonio suspended from his neck or fastened on his breast, a long sword on one side and a long dagger on the other. Black was the prevailing colour; and in the form and fashion of the ordinary dress, there was no difference between the higher ranks and the artizans. The use of gold and silver lace was forbidden by a sumptuary law; so the Brazilians displayed their wealth in trinkets, and ornamented their Negresses with golden crosses, ear-rings and necklaces, and even plates of gold upon the forehead. The women were seldom seen abroad; it was only during Lent, and on the greater festivals, that they went to mass; and the women of rank are described as leaning, at such times, on their pages, lest they should fall, .. as if the fashion of indolence and seclusion had nearly bereft them of the use of their limbs in walking. Even the men in Bahia considered it derogatory to go afoot: the declivity on which the city was built was too steep for carriages, and they were too indolent or too stately to ride. The *serpentine* [35] therefore was used, a ham-

Frezier, 534.
Do. 538.
Val. Lucidenо.
See page 109.

[35] "The gentry of Europe," says Vieyra, (*Sermoens*, 8, 436,) "go in litters and in coaches; those of Asia in palanquins; those of America in serpentines; and these two inventions are for going more easily and more comfortably to Hell. In Europe they go sitting, in Asia and America reclined and lying down; in Europe they are drawn by animals, in Asia and America carried upon shoulders of men, who, being burdened with captivity, violence, and oppressions, carry them more easily and deservedly to Hell, whither they are going." A difference between the palanquin and the serpentine is here distinctly marked. The latter, as now used in Pernambuco, (whether it retains its name I am doubtful,) is prettily represented in one of the prints in Mr. Koster's Travels: nothing can be more simple; the hammock is suspended from a straight pole, and a coverlet is thrown over the pole, so as to hang down on both sides; shade being all that is now required, and not concealment.

CHAP. XXX.

moc suspended from a pole, in which the Cavalier reclined with one foot hanging carelessly over the side, and his head supported upon a splendid cushion. The bearers carried each a strong staff, having at one end a sharp iron whereby to fix it in the ground, and an iron fork at the other, like the rest for a matchlock; and thus, when there was no change of bearers, they relieved themselves. A slave attended with a parasol: but the women were shaded at once from sun and sight by a close canopy of rich texture; two Negresses walked beside to help them up, and put on their *chopins*, or high shoes, when they got out. The curtains, which were first devised for jealousy, and used by women alone, were subsequently adopted by the men also, for convenience.

Frezier, 527.

Dampier, 3–60.

Fleckno, 77.

Jealousy.

The seclusion in which the women lived may be traced to Moorish manners, relics of which still existed in the mother country as well as in the colonies. A married woman never appeared at her husband's table in the presence of a guest, unless it were her father or her brother. Habits of such hateful and dissocializing jealousy presuppose a strong inclination to licentiousness, and certainly tend to excite it: but it is to the last degree improbable that the married women (as has been asserted) should be generally dissolute, in a country where discovery would be followed by almost certain death;.. such accusations are libellous to human nature; and here they seem particularly absurd: for on such occasions it was deemed meritorious in the husband to [36] murder his wife, and there was nothing to deter

Frequent assassinations.

[36] Frezier says that more than thirty women had been thus murdered at Bahia in one year. (531.) There can be but little doubt that where adultery was an admitted justification for murder, it would frequently be made the pretext. Such an opinion, indeed, would place every woman's life at the mercy of her husband. But when Frezier accuses the Brazilian women of general and un-

him from so doing. Criminal law seems only to have existed for the slaves; and in all cases of jealousy or offended pride, assassination was the resort. When Vieyra employed his influence in behalf of Antonio de Brito, instead of resting upon the argument, that Brito was justified by the law of self defence in killing a man who intended to kill him, (which he asserts,) he defends him by the laws of honour and the world, and quotes the conduct of Joam II. on such occasions, calling him that most prudent Prince, who so regularly spared men for murders of this kind, that it became a proverbial saying, "Kill, for the King pardons." The Government rarely, or never punished such crimes, and even when the intention of committing them was publicly known, found it impossible to protect the intended victim. A Frenchman who had for some years practised as physician at Bahia, was called in by a widow to her daughter, who was young, beautiful, and rich. He had the good fortune not only to cure his patient, but to marry her with the mother's entire approbation; a match so disparaging, that the relatives of the family were not apprized of it till it had been compleated. They were exceedingly indignant, and a gentleman who had married the bride's elder sister, collected a party of his friends, attacked the physician's house in the night, broke in, and with his own hand murdered an unlucky guest whom he supposed to be the husband, and who had attempted to conceal himself. The Frenchman escaped, and obtained a guard from the magistrates for his protection; but it

Cartas, 2. 349.

p. 582.

---

bridled licentiousness, and says that a daughter who had been seduced was usually punished by being turned out of doors, that she might become a common prostitute, he is entitled to no belief: still less in representing the mothers as universally conniving at and encouraging the intrigues of their daughters. (532.) I can have no hesitation in qualifying this as a foul and infamous calumny.

CHAP. XXX.

was thought so certain that the attempt would be repeated, and so impossible that he should elude the determined vengeance of the family, that he was advised to sail for Portugal, and obtain the Prince's permission for his wife to follow him w[illegible] effects; nor could the guards venture to leave him till the ship in which he embarked was actually under sail.

Dellon, 2, 193.

Corruption of manners.

F. Manoel do Salvador describes the state of Olinda before the conquest as lawless, or worse than lawless, the courts of justice being so scandalously corrupt[37], that they scarcely preserved even a semblance of decency in their decisions; any punishment might be evaded by means of money; concubinage and adultery were not only common, but public sins; quarrels which terminated in death were daily occurrences, and thefts and robberies were committed without pulling the hood over the face. The Governors were always charged in their instructions to take care that the lives of the Portugueze should be such as might tend by force of example to convert the heathen: and in the same ships which convey these Governors, says Vieyra, the settlers who are sent out are criminals taken from the dungeon, and perhaps put on board in irons: .. these persons[38], banished for their good deeds, and perhaps branded for them, are the saints who are ordered here, that by their example Christianity may be extended! The train of hungry dependents who accompanied a Governor were perhaps more preju-

Valerio Lucideno. p. 8—9.

Sermoens, 4. 538.

[37] The wands of office, he says, bent double if four chests of sugar were placed upon them. "*Os ministros da justiça, como traziam as varas mui delgadas, como lhe punham os delinquentes nas pontas quatro caxas de assucar, logo dobravam; e assi era a justiça de compadres.*" P. 9.

[38] Of this also Adrian Duss complains from Pernambuco. "*Familiare hoc Hispanis, a quibus transmissa istiusmodi hominum perditorum fex, progeniem vitiosiorem tulit.*" *Barlæus* 125.

dicial to the community than even these convicts. Vieyra, in his usual strain of indignant satire, says that the sucking fish must have learnt their way of life since the Portugueze navigated the ocean, for every Viceroy and Governor who embarked for the colonies was surrounded with such hangers-on. It is indeed apparent, that the men in office were equally rapacious and corrupt; there were some splendid exceptions, but in general the principle of morality was to the last degree relaxed, and the principle of honour in private life seems to have been debased by punctilios, and perverted till it became a motive or a pretext for the blackest crimes. Thus the administration of justice, which in Portugal was infamously bad, became worse in Brazil, the evil being increased by the difficulties and delays in appealing to a tribunal on the other side of the Atlantic.

Sermoens, 2, 233.

Vieyra, Cartas, 2, 329.

Superstition.

To counteract the corruption of morals which so many causes concurred in producing, there was a religious establishment richly endowed, and maintaining unbounded dominion over the minds of the people, as far as related to points of faith and outward observances. But it was the religion of the Romish Church, which contents itself with the husk of superstitious ceremonies and the chaff of superstitious works, and supports its empire by the boldest arts of impudent imposture. The tricks by which Joam Fernandes persuaded the Pernambucans that the Saints had actually engaged in their behalf, were borrowed from the practices of a Church, which from the earliest ages of its history to the present day, has systematically juggled with the credulity of mankind. The monastic orders vied with each other in inventing fables, to exaggerate the merits of their respective Founders and Saints; and the wildest fictions of romance are not more monstrous than these legends, which were believed by the people, approved by the Inquisition, and ratified by the Church. It

Fraud of the priests.

CHAP. XXX.

would be impossible to say which Order has exceeded the others in Europe in this rivalry, each having carried the audacity of falsehood to its utmost bounds: but in Brazil the Jesuits bore the palm. The hostile Orders opposed with virulent animosity their exertions in behalf of the Indians, and hated them as much for their zeal as for their superior influence; but they were unable to rival them in reputation: few of their members made any pretensions to sanctity, or even decency of life, and the Jesuits had the field of honour to themselves. They made a full use of their advantage. The murder of Azevedo and his companions gave them at once a whole company of martyrs, who were canonized without delay in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of their death. In the latter part of the ensuing century, Anchieta was made a candidate for Saintship; and Simam de Vasconcellos, the Provincial of Brazil and historian of the Province, wrote a history or rather a romance of his life, in which his wisdom as a missionary, his labour in acquiring and methodizing a barbarous language, and his abilities and services as a statesman, form the least part of the narrative, and are regarded by the biographer as the least important: miracles make up the bulk of the book. Some, says Vasconcellos, have called him the second Thaumatourgos, others the second Adam, and this is the fitter title; because it was expedient that as there had been an Adam in the Old World there should be one in the New, to be the head of all its inhabitants, and have authority over the elements and animals of America such as the first Adam possessed in Paradise. There were therefore in Anchieta all the powers and graces with which the first Adam had been endowed, and he enjoyed them not merely for a time, but during his whole life; and for this reason, like our common father, he was born with innocence, impassibility, an enlightened mind, and a right will. A Dominion was given him over the elements and all that dwell therein. The

Vol. 1, p. 209.

Miracles attributed to Anchieta.

earth brought forth fruit at his command, and even gave up the dead that they might be restored to life and receive baptism from his hand. The birds of the air formed a canopy over his head to shade him from the sun. The fish came into the net when he required them. The wild beasts of the forest attended upon him in his journeys, and served him as an escort. The winds and waves obeyed his voice. The fire, at his pleasure, undid the mischief which it had done, so that bread which had been burnt to a coal in the oven, was drawn out white and soft by his interference. He had authority over man in all his parts, in his head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his teeth; in his throat, in his breast, in his sides, in his entrails; in his hands and his feet; in his worldly fortunes, in his health, in his life, and in his soul. He could read the secrets of the heart. The knowledge of hidden things and sciences was imparted to him, and he enjoyed daily and hourly extacies, visions, and revelations. He was a Saint, a Prophet, a Worker of Miracles, a Vice-Christ; yet such was his humility that he called himself a vile mortal, and an ignorant sinner. His barret-cap was a cure for all diseases of the head; any one of his cilices, or any part of his dress, was an efficacious remedy against impure thoughts. Water poured over one of his bones worked more than two hundred miracles in Pernambuco, more than a thousand in the south of Brazil; and a few drops of it turned water into wine, as at the marriage in Galilee. Some of his miracles are commended as being more fanciful, and in a more elegant taste than those which are recorded in the Scriptures. Finally, as a Bishop said, the Company was a gold ring, and Anchieta was its gem. The book in which these assertions are made, and which is stuffed with examples of every kind of miracle, was licensed by the various censors of the press at Lisbon, one of whom declares that as long as the publication should be

CHAP. XXX.

delayed, so long would the faithful be deprived of great benefit, and God himself of glory!

Life of F. Joam d'Almeida.

The same author who has collected and attested all the fables which credulity and ignorance had propagated concerning Anchieta, has produced a far more extraordinary history of F. Joam d'Almeida, his successor in sanctity. It was written immediately after Almeida's death, when the circumstances of his life were fresh in remembrance, and too soon for the embellishments of machinery to be interwoven. This remarkable person, whose name appears originally to have been John Martin, was an Englishman, born in London during the reign of Elizabeth. In the tenth year of his age he was kidnapped by a Portugueze merchant, apparently for the purpose of preserving him in the Catholic faith; and this merchant, seven years afterwards, took him to Brazil, where, being placed under the care of the Jesuits, he entered the Company. Anchieta was his superior, then an
1593. old man, broken down with exertion and austerities, and subject to frequent faintings. Almeida used to rub his feet at such times, in reference to which he was accustomed to say, that whatever virtue there might be in his hands, he had taken it from the feet of his master. No voluptuary ever invented so many devices for pampering the senses, as Joam d'Almeida for mortifying them. He looked upon his body as a rebellious slave, who dwelling within his doors, eating at his table, and sleeping in his bed, was continually laying snares for his destruction; therefore he regarded it with the deepest hatred, and as a
7. 3. § 2. matter of justice and self defence, persecuted, flogged, and pu-
8. 8. § 8. nished it in every imaginable way. For this purpose he had a choice assortment of scourges, some of whip-cord, some of catgut, some of leathern thongs, and some of wire. He had cilices of wire for his arms, thighs, and legs, one which fastened round the body with seven chains, and another which he called his

good sack, which was an under-waistcoat of the roughest horse hair, having on the inside seven crosses made of iron, the surface of which was covered with sharp points like a coarse rasp or a nutmeg-grater. Such was the whole armour of righteousness in which this soldier of Christ clad himself for his battles with the infernal enemy. It is recorded among his other virtues, that he never disturbed the mosquitos and fleas when they covered him; that whatever exercise he might take in that hot climate, he never changed his shirt more than once a week; and that on his journeys he put pebbles or grains of maize in his shoes. CHAP. XXX. s. 8. § 8. s. 10. § 34. s. 7. § 7.

His daily course of life was regulated in conformity to a paper drawn up by himself, wherein he promised to eat nothing on Mondays in honour of the Trinity, to wear one of his cilices, according to the disposition and strength of the poor beast, as he called his body, and to accompany it with the customary fly-flapping of his four scourges, in love, reverence, and remembrance of the stripes which our Saviour had suffered for his sake. On Tuesdays his food was to be bread and water with the same desert, to the praise and glory of the Archangel Michael, his Guardian Angel, and all other Angels. Wednesdays he relaxed so far as only to follow the rule of the Company. On Thursdays he ate nothing, in honour of the Holy Ghost, the most Holy Sacrament, St. Ignatius Loyola, the Apostles, and all Saints male and female. Fridays he was to bear in mind that the rules of his Order recommended fasting, and that he had forsworn wine, except in cases of necessity. Saturday he abstained again from all food, in honour of the Virgin, and this abstinence was to be accompanied with whatever might be acceptable to her, whereby exercises of rigour as well as prayer were implied. On Sundays, as on Wednesdays, he observed the rules of the Community. For his private devotions he used to pray three hours every day to the Trinity, the Sacrament, our Saviour, and the s. 29

CHAP. XXX. Virgin Mary. "These prayers," says he, "I perform in an imaginary Oratory, fitted up in my heart, which I make use of night and day, wherever I may be, by sea or by land, in the wilderness or in the inhabited place. This Oratory is divided into three parts or altars; in the front that of the Trinity, on the left the *Custodia* with the Holy Sacrament, and on the right the Holy Virgin with St. Joseph, holding our Lord between them each by one hand. Here I and my Soul, with all my powers, memory, understanding, and will, kneel down with my face to the earth, and make my prayers, kissing the feet of each with the mouth of my soul, and of this sinful body, repeatedly exclaiming Jesus, Maria, José, and at the end of each exclamation, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, and to the Virgin Mary, .. an addition which he always silently made to the Doxology. Frequently, he says, he was unable to rise, or kneel, or stand, doubtless from the state of debility and disease which such a mode of life must have induced; and this I do, he continues, lying like a dead beast, covered with vermin, stenching and pestilential, as well as I can, and as well as this black carcase will permit, which troubles me, and of which I am
s. 11. § 3. ashamed, and for which I ask pardon." The great object of his most thankful meditations was to think, that having been born
s. 12. § 2. s. in [39] England and in London, in the very seat and heat of heresy, he had been led to this happy way of life!

In this extraordinary course of self-torment F. Joam d'Almeida attained the great age of fourscore and two. When he was far advanced in years, his cilices and scourges were taken from him lest they should accelerate his death; but from that time he was

[39] On one side of his portrait is the figure of England, on the other that of Brazil, and under them these words: *hinc Anglus; hinc Angelus.*

observed to lose strength, as if his constitution were injured by the change; such practices were become necessary to him, like a perpetual blister, without which the bodily system, having been long accustomed to it, could not continue its functions. He used to entreat others for the love of God to lend him a cilice or a whip, exclaiming, What means have I now wherewith to appease the Lord! What shall I do to be saved!.. Such are the works which a corrupt Church has substituted for faith in Christ, and for the duties of genuine Christianity. Nor must this be considered as a mere case of individual madness; while Almeida lived he was an object of reverence and admiration, not only to the common people in Rio de Janeiro, but to persons of all ranks; his excesses were in the spirit of his religion, and they were recorded after his death for edification and example, under the sanction of the Superiors of an Order which at that time held the first rank in the estimation of the Catholic world. During his last illness the Convent was crowded with persons who were desirous to behold the death of a Saint. Nothing else was talked of in the city, and persons accosted each other with condolences as for some public calamity. Solicitations were made thus early for scraps of his writing, rags of his garments or cilices, .. any thing which had belonged to him, .. and the porter was fully employed in receiving and delivering beads, cloths, and other things which devout persons sent that they might be applied to the body of the dying Saint, and imbibe from it a healing virtue. He was bled during his illness, and every drop of the blood was carefully received upon cloths, which were divided as relics among those who had most interest in the College. When the bell of the College announced his death, the whole city was as greatly agitated as if the alarm of an invasion had been given. The Governor, the Bishop-Administrator, the Magistrates, Nobles, Clergy, and Religioners of every Order, and the whole people, hastened to his funeral. Every shop

CHAP. XXX.

7. 3. § 6.

Sept. 24, 1653.

8. 1. § 5. 6.

CHAP. XXX.

was shut. Even the cripples and the sick were carried to the ceremony. Another person died at the same time, and it was with great difficulty that men could be found to bear the body to the grave.

8. 2. § 2.

During the service the body was exposed in the middle of the church with its face toward the spectators, as was customary at the funeral of a priest; but when the ceremony was over, and they were about to inter the corpse, a cry arose that it should not be removed till the people had taken their leave of it. The chief persons, ecclesiastical and civil, then kissed its hands and embraced the body; the nobles and the people did the same, and the Governor found it necessary to place a strong guard while this was done, to protect the garments and even the body of the dead from the rapacious zeal of his admirers. The ceremony was performed at eight in the morning, and this continued till night closed. Men and women crowded to touch the body with medals, rosaries and cloths, and mothers brought their children to be sanctified in the same manner. More than four thousand articles were touched upon the dead saint; and two of the Company who were stationed to receive these things, and apply them for those who could not approach near enough to do it themselves, were at length exhausted with fatigue. The true odour of sanctity was distinctly perceived during these operations, and one person made oath, that while he was praying before the corpse, he saw it open its eyes. The guards could not prevent some pious pilferers from enriching themselves, some with a clove or flower from the bier, others from snipping pieces of his habit; one of his shoes was stolen, and when the body was removed, the pillow disappeared upon which the head had been raised. At length the corpse was placed in its trunk-shaped coffin, and the coffin deposited in the grave, and filled with lime. But at midnight some thieves of the house,

as Vasconcellos calls them, opened the grave, removed the lime, took out the body, cut off the hair close with a razor, secured the remaining shoe and the stockings, and leaving no more of the other clothes than according to their sense of decency was indispensable, re-interred the dead, and retired "rich with the spoils of this audacious, but pious and fortunate robbery." An official statement of the proceedings of the day was drawn up, to be a perpetual memorial; and the admiration of the Brazilians for F. Joam d'Almeida was so great, especially in Rio de Janeiro, that they used his relics in diseases, with as much faith as if he had been canonized, and with as much success; and for a while they invoked no other Saint, as if they had forgotten their former objects of devotion! CHAP. XXX. 8. 2. § 4. 8. 8. 3. § 1.

Such were the [40] extravagancies to which the Catholic superstition was carried in Brazil. For the self-government which divine philosophy requires, it had substituted a system of self-torture, founded upon Manicheism, and not less shocking to the feelings or repugnant to reason, than the practices of the eastern Yogues. Its notions of exaggerated purity led to the most impure [41] imaginations and pernicious consequences: its abhor- *Corruption of Christianity.*

---

[40] A Portugueze regarded F. Joam Lobato, who was a contemporary of Almeida's, with such reverence, that he erected a chapel to him while he was yet living, and prayed to him by the appellation of S. Joam, suppressing his other name; an act, it is said, of excessive devotion, and rash,.. but pious. *Vida d'Almeida*, 2, 5, § 6.

[41] "*Sed quibus ego jam verbis, quâ te voce commendem, Almeida, in pudicitiâ retinendâ laudabiliter pertinacem? Homo erat Almeida, Auditores amplissimi, a quo nihil est humani alienum; titillantem insidiosé cupidinem aliquando in præcordiis persentiscebat. Verùm quid acerrimus continentiæ propugnator? Renuere? Gemere? Detestari? Nihil hoc; aliâ ratione illecebrosas insidias declinabat. Quid agebat? Exprompto flagello crudeliter in se ipse desæviabat? Hirto cilicio confecta ærumnis membra decoquebat? Parum adhuc: ad majora supplicia se*

CHAP. XXX.

rence of luxury was manifested by habitual filth, and in actions unutterably [42] loathsome; and let the Romish Church appeal to its Canons and Councils as it may, its practices were those of Polytheism and Idolatry. Nevertheless the essentials of religion could not be wholly destroyed. Notwithstanding the errors of popular belief, and the villainous impostures of the Romish clergy, that regeneration which nothing but Christianity can effect was not unfrequently accomplished; the sinner sometimes turned away from his iniquity; nor can it be doubted but that the peace of God was vouchsafed to the humble spirit and the broken heart which sought fervently and sincerely for consolation and forgiveness through faith. Charity toward the poor may also be men-

---

damnabat. Quid agebat? Horrentia sese implicabat in dumeta? Hiemales præcipitabat in nives? Adhuc non multum; immanior in se erat. Quid agebat? Arreptâ forfice, Deus immortalis! partes corporis delicatiores inhumanus sui carnifex minutatim resecabat. O rem anteactis sæculis inauditam, venturis nunquam satis decantandam! In se irruit Almeida, bellator maximus, ne obruatur; se oppugnat, ne expugnetur: sibi manus admovet, ne det manus; se cædit, ne hosti cedat. Quam novum pugnæ genus! Quam beatum! O te fortem palæstritam et unicum! Qui proprio sanguine, non oleo commadescis, ut in laborioso castitatis gymnasio adversarium eludas. Quam feliciter candidum in te puritatis lilium, non impudico inficiente cruore, sed pudico sanguine colorante, quem Divinus amor elicuit, puniceam purpurescit in rosam. Hinc inter rosas deliciosius quam inter lilia Divinum amorem pasci crediderim; siquidem dum lilium es, patitur hamatis illectricis voluptatis sentibus convulnerari, ut erubescens per vulnera pudicitiæ cruenteris in rosam." Incredible as such language must appear, it is literally transcribed from the oration in honour of the Venerable Father Joam d'Almeida, annexed to his Life by Vasconcellos! (*P.* 375.) It appears that Almeida had nearly lost his life by this act of madness, *pois a mesma pureza que o obrigou ao excesso, the impossibilitava o acodir aos remedios necessarios.* 7. 10. § 3.

[42] An achievement of Almeida's, *huma valentia* his biographer calls it, may be referred to, (2, 2, § 5) which is too filthy to be recited. It is compared to a still filthier exploit of Xavier; and indeed the Hagiology of this age abounds with such stories.

tioned as a general good, arising from a cause in other respects most mischievous: for alms being usually part of the penance imposed upon absolution, the poor were liberally assisted in their distress. Though there was no lack of idle hands in Brazil, it is said that none were so miserable as to be reduced to beg their food; and that even the poor who came from remote parts, or from other countries, found persons who supported them if they were unable to work. Rich families gave a general order, that all who came to their house for food should be supplied; and in this manner they entirely maintained many people, of whose names, numbers, and even existence, they were ignorant. The abundance of provisions rendered this charity inexpensive; it settled accounts with the Confessor, and was fashionable as well as convenient.

Dellon. 2. 193.

There was no printing in Brazil, the Portugueze being in this point more illiberal than the Spanish government. It is therefore the more honourable to the character of the people that they should have written so much respecting public transactions, without hope of emolument or reputation, but from the pure desire of preserving as far as they could the knowledge which they had acquired, and leaving materials which might be found useful, and properly appreciated, by the few for whom they were designed. In compiling this history, when I have called to mind under what circumstances some of its documents were composed, I have thought of the men to whose disinterested labours I was beholden, with admiration, as well as with respect and gratitude.

No printing in Brazil.

But though Brazil was in this circumstance less favoured than the Spanish colonies, it was far more fortunate in a point of the highest importance. The seeds of civil war had not been sown there by that wicked distinction of casts, which has produced so much evil in Spanish America, and must produce evil wherever it prevails. This was the result of necessity, .. not of wiser coun-

No distinction of Casts.

CHAP. XXX.

cils. Portugal, with its limited territory and scanty population, could not pursue the unjust and jealous policy of the Spaniards, and depress the Creoles for the sake of holding them more completely in subjection. The Mamaluco was as much respected, and as eligible to all offices, as the man of whole blood, or as the native of the mother country. There were no laws to degrade the Mulatto, or the free Negro, nor were they degraded by public opinion. And thus that amalgamation of casts and colours was silently going on which will secure Brazil from the most dreadful of all civil wars, whatever other convulsions it may be fated to undergo.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

NOTES.

NOTES.

1. *Tidings of the Revolution announced to Nassau, p.* 1.] There were persons in Holland who believed that the Portugueze Revolution was an act of refined policy on the part of Spain! The King of Spain, they said, finding himself incapable of defending Brazil and India, had concerted that Braganza should set up for King of Portugal, and in that character make peace with the Dutch; and so preserve the countries by stratagem which he was hopeless of preserving in war. A pamphlet was written to prove this by one whom Aitzema calls a sensible and learned man, notwithstanding the portentous absurdity of such a supposition. It obtained so much belief among the shallow and the ignorant, who are always the many, that the Portugueze Ambassador thought proper to complain of it as a libel upon his Master. *Aitzema, vol.* 3, *p.* 103.

It might appear incredible that so absurd an opinion should obtain currency, if we did not recollect that in France, and in many parts of the continent, Buonaparte is at this time generally believed to have been purposely let loose from Elba by the English!

2. *Reconquest of Maranham, p.* 46.] In the *Apologia da Companhia de Jesus, MS.* (*p.* 118,) it is said that the recovery of Maranham from the Dutch was owing in great part to the zeal, prudence, and exertions of Fathers Lopo do Couto and Bento Amadeo, both Jesuits, as was proved, the author says, by an authentic paper in their college at S. Luiz.

3. *Mauritz, p.* 49.] Sir William Temple relates a curious story of a Brazilian parrot, upon the authority of this Prince. (*Memoirs, vol.* 1, *p.* 390.) "When he came to visit me," says Temple, "upon my return, and before he went to his Government of Cleves, it came in my head to ask him an idle question, because I thought it not likely for me to see him again, and I had a mind to know from his own mouth the account of a common, but much credited story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in Brazil during his government there, that spoke, and asked and answered common questions like a reasonable creature; so that those of his train there generally concluded it to be witchery or possession, and one of his chaplains, who lived afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but said they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this story, and assevered by people hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince Maurice what there was in it? He said, with his usual plainness, and dryness of talk, there was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first: he told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old Parrot when he came first to Brazil; and though he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good way off, yet he had so much curiosity as to send for it; that 'twas a very large and a very old one; and when it came first into the room where the Prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said present-

ly, What a company of white men are here! They asked what he thought that man was? pointing to the Prince. It answered, Some General or other. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, *D'où venez vous?* .. From whence come you? It answered, *De Maranham.* .. From Maranham. The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* .. To whom do you belong? The Parrot, *A un Portugais.* .. To a Portugueze. The Prince, *Que fais-tu là?* .. What do you there? The Parrot, *Je garde les poulets.* .. I look after the chickens. The Prince laughed and said, *Vous gardez les poulets?* .. You look after the chickens? The Parrot answered, *Oui moy, et je le scay bien faire.* .. Yes I, and I know how to do it well; and made the chuck four or five times that people use to make to chickens when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in French, just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him in what language the Parrot spoke? and he said, in Brazilian. I asked, whether he understood Brazilian? He said, no; but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, one a Dutchman that spoke Brazilian, and t'other a Brazilian that spoke Dutch. That he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing as the Parrot said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say, this Prince at least believed himself in all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man. I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe as they please upon it."

Sir William Temple, in his Treatise of Health and Long Life, speaking of Jactation, says, "I remember an old Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had been accustomed to hammocks in Brazil, and used them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he suffered by the stone or gout; and thought he found ease, and was allured to sleep by the constant motion or swinging of those airy beds, which was assisted by a servant, if they moved too little by the springs upon which they hung." *Vol.* 1, 282.

Mauritz had a most extraordinary escape in 1665. In crossing a wooden bridge at Franeker, with a large party of horsemen, the bridge broke and he fell into the water, which was five feet deep, his own horses upon him, and five men and horses over them. When he was taken out the people, seeing him fall on his knees, cried out, he cannot stand, his back is broken; .. but he had knelt in the first impulse of his heart, thus publicly to bless God for his providential preservation. Aitzema has printed a letter which he wrote to his sister as soon as he was able to write: it shows him to have been a truly religious man. *Aitzema, vol.* 5, *p.* 406.

Mauritz lived to a great age. He fought under his kinsman William III, then Prince of Orange, at the battle of Seneffe, in 1674, and, as William told Sir William Temple, "with the greatest industry that could be sought all occasions of dying fairly in the battle, without succeeding, which had given him great regret. I did not wonder at it," Sir William adds, "considering his age of about seventy-six, and his long habits both of gout and stone." *Vol.* 1, 390.

Dr. Kinglake's treatment of the gout is well known; may not the application of hot water instead of cold, produce the same effect, without the same danger? An anecdote of this Prince which Sir William Temple relates would at least justify the experiment. It occurs in his Essay upon the cure of that disease by Moxa.

"Old Prince Maurice of Nassau told me he laughed at the gout, and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he used but one remedy, which was whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of horse-dung from a stone-horse of the *Hermelinne* colour, as he called it in French, which is a native white with a sort of a raw nose, and the same commonly about the eyes. That when this was well boiled in water, he set his leg in a pail full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool, for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumstances of colour signify any thing more than to make more mystery, I know not: but I observed that he ever had a set of such *Hermelinne* horses in his coach, which he told me was on purpose that he never might want this remedy."

4. *Negroes three hundred* patacas *per head, p.* 53.] I have lately procured a copy of Nieuhof in the original: the price is stated there, as in the translation, at three hundred *pieces* of eight, and more. This term was, I have no doubt, inaccurately used for the *peso duro;* by which name my friend Mr. Koster informs me, the piece of 750 *Rs.* is usually called in Pernambuco; the *pataca* always meaning the piece of 320. He tells me that 300 *patacas*, or 96 *milreis*, are not very much below the present price of a good slave.

5. *Debts of Portugal, p. 55.*] Aitzema, (*vol. 3, p.* 103.) states the debts of the Portugueze to the Company as amounting to fifteen million guilders,.. more than half their capital. What could be expected from such mispolicy but the consequences that ensued!

6. *Conduct of the Dutch, p.* 58.] The Dutch acknowledge their misconduct in Brazil. There came out, says Aitzema, (*vol.* 3, *p.* 30,) a book or relation, in print at this time, (1645) recounting many excesses and acts of injustice which we had committed against the Portugueze :.. this being true, that many of those who went thither from hence sought above all things to enrich themselves, whether by right or by wrong.

7. *The Dutch despised as a mere set of Traders, p.* 60.] It is curious to observe the contempt with which the Portugueze regarded their heretical enemies, even in an age when the courage and resources of those nations had been experienced to their cost. The Jesuit Bartholomeu Pereira, in his *Paciecis*, (an epic poem in twelve books, not upon the exploits of Duarte Pacheco in Malabar, but upon the martyrdom of F. Francisco Pacheco in Japan) addresses a characteristic Portugueze insult to a Dutchman.

I turpis Olande!
I vecors, sociis fida hæc responsa referto,
His dextris ferrum premitur, non caseus! Ito
Perfide,.. molle pecus mulge, compone butyrum,
Dum ferrum Lysii tractant, pelagoque triumphant.
Lib. 8, *p.* 140.

"It is plainly seen, (says the author of the *Arte de Furtar*, speaking of Holland and England,) that the more we seek these nations with embassies and overtures, the more insolent and unreasonable they show themselves, repaying our courtesy with rudeness and robbery, because such courtesy savours to them of cowardice, and they imagine that we are afraid of them, and plume themselves upon it. If they who are Pirates and the *canaille* of Hell, send no embassadors to us, why should we, who are the Kingdom of God and Lords of the World, send any to them? There can be no answer to this argument; and that which some politicians of the day give to it comes from raw cowards, who have not yet learnt that dogs must be tamed by blows. But they will say, we have not sticks with which to beat so many dogs. To this it may be answered, that formerly a single galleon of ours sufficed to attack a large fleet, and spitting fire and darting thunderbolts, defeated and took the whole. Seven of our sailors in a small boat were enough to attack two gallies, and they took the one and made the other sheer off. A few Portugueze ill armed, and eating the skins of their trunks and the soles of their shoes, sustained sieges against many thousand enemies, whom they overcame; for it was always our glory to conquer many with few. We are the same people now, and therefore it is answered, that we have sticks with which to beat them all."

Chapter 23, *p.* 206.

Holland, says Vieyra, is the land which flows with milk, and Brazil is the land which flows with honey; and when the one is joined to the other, they become wholly and properly the Land of Promise, a land flowing with milk and honey. But with the favour of our Lady of the Rosary, if we know how to solicit and to deserve it, this sacred Land of Promise will not long be in the power of the Amorites. The shepherds of the Low Countries will return to their cheese and their butter, and the honey shall be Samson's, who when he has conquered the Belgic Lion, will take the honey-combe out of his mouth. *Serm. t.* 5, *p.* 419.

8. *He was born at Funchal, p.* 65.] The early part of Joam Fernandes Vieira's history is told with characteristic honesty by Fray Manoel de Salvador, in one of his fits of rhyme.

A Pernambuco chega humilde e pobre
(Porque quem foge aos paes tem mil desgraças)
Porem como seu sangue he sangue nobre,
Para passar a vida busca traças;
Considera que o ouro, a prata, o cobre,
He o que mais se estima pelas praças,
E assi para buscar a honesta vida,
Serve a hum mercador por a comida.

Sahese do Arrecife em continente
Por nam vir nelle a dar a ser magano,
E nam ser visto alli da muita gente
Que hia e vinha da Ilha cada hum anno;
O coraçam cercado de ansias sente,
Hum engano o persegue, e outro engano,
Em resoluçam parte do Arrecife,
Que nam diz bem ser nobre e ser patife.
Val. Luc. p. 158.

9. *P.* 106, *note* 5.] The work of Manoel de Moraes is quoted by Jan de Laet (*in his Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum, p.* 216,) as a History of Brazil, not of America; it is not referred to in the *Novus Orbis*,.. which it would have been if Laet had

availed himself of its materials. But the *Novus Orbis* was published three years only after the capture of Olinda, and the manuscript most probably had not then come into his possession. The work was of some length, .. the quotation being from the tenth book; it may possibly still be in existence, and might prove of considerable value, for Moraes was a Paulista, and had therefore great opportunities of obtaining information. Pinto de Sousa says he was a Jesuit, and that he abjured Calvinism in 1647, .. two years after his conversion by Joam Fernandes. As this ceremony took place in Portugal, he had probably been sent there to be reconciled to the Church by the Inquisition.

10. *Antonio Cavalcanti, p.* 121.] Fr. Manoel says that they put into his hands a letter written by Antonio Cavalcanti, which told the Council not to disquiet themselves about the head of the rebellion, for that a woman who enjoyed the title of the Mother of the Twelve Patriarchs the Sons of Jacob, would overthrow this Image of Nebuchadnezzar; that if she failed, other means more easy and secret would be found; and that when the head was fallen, the body would soon moulder away to dust and ashes. By this riddle F. Manoel understood that Joam Fernandes was to be shot with a ball, or cut off by poison. *Bem conheceo o Padre que esta molher de que a carta falava, foi Balla, a qual na Sancta Escritura foi chamada mai comua dos doze Patriarchas, e que debaixo deste rebuço se prometia aos Olandeses que huma balla de espingarda, ou arcabuz, tiraria a vida a Joam Fernandes Vieira, ou o matariam com peçonha, e que logo toda a conjuraçam da liberdade se acabaria. Val. Luc. p.* 193.

11. *Schoppe returned in this fleet, p.* 184.] The West India Company were possessed at this time of a capital of twenty-seven million of guilders, seven of which belonged to Zealand, and the rest to Holland. Half a million was voted for supporting the revolt when Schoppe went out, and three men were to be drafted out of every company in the Country's service, for Brazil. But there was a great disinclination among the men, and many deserted, chusing rather to become vagabonds, says Aitzema, than go to Brazil. *Vol.* 3, *p.* 89.

12. *Lichthart, p.* 189.] Lichthart complained loudly of his treatment, and called God to witness that he would rather serve the Turks than the Company, saying an honourable man was too good to end his life in such an employment. He had some reason to complain, for upon one occasion, when he requested that he might have a firkin of butter for his own use, on account, from the Government, the answer which the High Magistracy gave him was, that if he had money they were willing to sell him some! *Aitzema, vol.* 3, 341.

13. *Villainy in the merchant service, p.* 207.] An English Catholic, whose name is written John Daranton (perhaps Dorrington), having suffered many losses, embarked from Portugal for Brazil, with his wife, four children, and the wreck of his fortune, amounting to ten thousand cruzados. The pilot, in collusion with the master and some of the sailors, removed the property out of the ship by night. They then set sail, and kept hovering about the coast for more than a week, in such a manner that the passengers at last suspected they were cruizing for pirates in order to be captured, and required them formally to proceed upon their voyage. As the only other alternative, they ran the ship ashore; but they managed this so clumsily that she went to pieces immediately. The pilot and the rest of the thieves were drowned; and John Daranton with his whole family escaping, by the just judgment of God, came to the house of the sailors and there found his property. *Arte de Furtar, c.* 27, *p.* 223.

14. *State of weakness on both sides,* 1653, *p.* 235.] There was a report among the Dutch that Salvador Correa was coming with a great fleet to recover Recife, as he had done Angola. This seems to have excited great alarm, and they wrote great complaints to the Company. They had now been seven years, they said, in so miserable a state, that they had not ventured to walk a pistol-shot beyond their walls; and during that time had seven times suffered extreme famine. Goch, who was one of the *Hooge Regeringhe,* abused the Portugueze bitterly, saying they were the most faithless, most cruel, and most villainous people in the world. *Aitzema,* 3, 872—4.

15. *Recovery of Recife, p.* 242.] Schoppe was brought to trial for surrendering Recife. It was said, that having given up to the Portugueze nearly two hundred brass guns, of which one hundred and fifty were half and whole battering pieces, and from three to four hundred iron guns, estimated altogether at a million of rix dollars, the civil and military servants of the Company had stipu-

lated that their own private property should all be reserved, and had accordingly sold the whole, receiving instead of money, brazil wood, of which for some years none had been remitted for the Company, but great abundance was now come over on account of these individuals: in short, it was affirmed that Recife had been bought and sold. The clamour was very great against him, for many thousand widows and orphans had embarked their money in the Company, and there were hospitals also, whose funds were thus invested. Schoppe's defence was, that he was by his instructions subject to the civil authorities, and that under their orders he had acted. The court martial therefore decided that they could take no cognizance of the cause, unless the civil authorities also were made parties; for nothing could be more unjust than to let them go free, and punish the officer who justified himself by their orders. In this the Prince of Orange supported the military. This point was equitably adjusted, and Schoppe was confronted with Haecx, a leading member of the Council. Haecx acquired great credit for the calm and clear manner in which he justified himself, not attempting to criminate any person, and in some things even assisting Schoppe; but Schoppe was said to have defended himself as badly as he had done Recife. He was therefore sentenced to the forfeiture of all his emoluments from the day of the capitulation, and condemned to pay the costs of the process. *Aitzema, vol. 3, p. 1119. 1222.*

16. *Encomiendas, p. 259.*] Bartolome de las Casas, the Clarkson of his age, wrote a treatise to show that Kings had no authority to dispose of their subjects, by delivering them over to other Lords as Vassals, or upon the Encomienda system. This work was denounced to the Inquisition, as contrary to the doctrines of St. Peter and St. Paul concerning obedience, and the author was greatly harrassed in consequence.

Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España por D. Juan Antonio Llorente. MS. Cap. 24.] It is to be hoped that this laborious and important work will not be withheld from the public. A fair history of the Inquisition, compiled from its own archives, by one who was secretary to that institution, and writes like a sincere Catholic, which places in its proper light the atrocious system of this accursed tribunal, may be expected to produce some effect in Spain, notwithstanding the prohibition which would be pronounced against it.

17. *In the spirit of avarice and cruelty it had been founded, and in that same spirit it was pursued. P. 261.*] F. Manuel de Vergara was preaching one day at Cuzco, when he took occasion to speak of the manner in which the Corregidores abused their power in the Indian settlements. As far, said he, as I can judge, and as public experience can teach, I believe that scarcely a man who holds one of these offices is saved. I say it again, and with a loud voice that all may hear, . . open your hearts and your ears, for it is a matter of the utmost moment, . . I believe that scarcely one of the Corregidores is saved. Such a speech could not have been ventured from the pulpit unless the abuse of power had been general and flagrant. *Peramas. De Sex Sac. p. 53.*

18. *The Payes, p. 275.*] It is most certain, says Harcourt (speaking of the Indians near the Wiapoc,) that their *Peeais*, as they call them, priests or soothsayers, at some special times have conference with the Devil, the common deceiver of mankind, whom they call Wattipa, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they fear and hate him much, and say that he is naught: and not without great reason, for he will oftentimes, to their great terror, beat them black and blue.

Voyage to Guiana. Harl. Misc. vol. 3, p. 188.

19. *The heroic children of Loyola, p. 332.*] P. Manuel Rodriguez notices in his *Indice Chronologico*, that Loyola was born in the year before the New World was discovered. *Este mesmo año de 91, nacio en Cantabria, San Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañia de Jesus que parece le concibió su madre, quando en Colon estaban de parto aquellas noticias de las Indias, y al aprestarse à salir à buscarlas y descubrirlas, salio a luz aquel Grande Patriarca.*

Dr. Coke says, "some historians have attributed to St. Francis Xavier the first establishment of the Jesuits in the fertile provinces of Paraguay in South America, but on doubtful authority; for their licence from the Court of Madrid to preach the Gospel and to settle as Missionaries in the dominions of the crown of Spain in that country, bears date in the year 1580, which must have been about twenty-eight years after his death." *(Hist. of the West Indies, 1, 188.)* I do not know what historians have made this blunder; but there are few subjects which have been treated with so much ignorance as the history of this

part of South America... Dr. Coke, being little better informed of it than the writers whom he corrects.

20. *The odour of an unclean congregation, p.* 341.] Muratori imputes this, evidently, to their complexion. "One day," says Dom Pernetty, "when we were at the Government House (at Monte Video) four Indians came to present themselves there: as soon as the Governor perceived that they were entering the court, he had the door of his apartments closed. We asked him the reason: If, he replied, they should enter the room, it would be infected for eight days;.. they exhale an odour which fastens upon the very walls. This odour proceeds from a fetid oil with which they anoint their bodies to protect themselves from insects." (*C.* 11, *p.* 295.) It is not likely that this should be the cause of the nuisance to which Muratori alludes. The use of any such unction must have been in a great degree, if not wholly, rendered unnecessary by the clothing worn in the Reductions. Habits of cleanliness, perhaps, were not impressed as they ought to have been, and perhaps the Guaranies are to be classed among the foumarts, and not among the civets, of the human race. *See Omniana, vol.* 1, *p.* 144.

21. *Religious dramas, p.* 348.] A writer in the *Mercurio Peruano, No.* 117, affirms that he had seen a perfect musical drama represented by the Indians, upon the subject of the overthrow of the Incas,.. made at the time, and still preserved among them traditionally.

The Peruvian poets are called *Arabicus*, and their elegiac songs *yaravies*. The writers at Lima say that in pathos and passion they exceed the songs of all other nations. The peculiar melody to which they partly attribute this superiority cannot of course be conveyed to our ears in Europe; but the Mercurio Peruano would have been far more valuable than it is if it had contained some of their poems, with literal translations. *Mer. Per. March* 17, 1791. *t.* 1, *f.* 207.

In No. 101, a Yaravi is given in Spanish verse; it is so exactly in the worst stile of Spanish poetry that it is not worth transcribing.

22. *Herb of Paraguay, p.* 360.] The Herb of Paraguay has been called St. Thomas's Herb and St. Bartholomew's, from a notion that it was poisonous before one of these Apostles miraculously changed its properties. *Lafitau, t.* 2, 120.

A tale is current in Paraguay, that when Philip V. permitted the English to import two ship-load of Negroes annually to Buenos Ayres, and have an establishment in that city for carrying on the trade, among the articles with which they loaded home was the herb of Paraguay, which obtained such universal applause in London, that at last the tea-dealers conspired against it. Accordingly they hired a physician to deliver an opinion against it: he declared that it was highly injurious to health, beauty, and fecundity; and this opinion being carefully spread abroad, the poor herb of Paraguay was universally proscribed. Dobrizhoffer concludes this story amusingly enough. *Historisne, an fabulis adnumerandum id omne sit, ignoro. Illud certum, ab Hispanis me id accepisse, mihique verisimillimum videri, perpensa Anglorum, quam de formâ fertilitateque suarum habent, religiosâ solicitudine. T.* 1, *p.* 121.

Wesley tells us in his Journal, (*No.* 17, *p.* 49,) that in 1775 the herb of Paraguay was growing in Mr. Gordon's garden at Mile-end. But he says that it bore the frost,.. which the tree will not do in its own country; and he describes the leaf as of a dirty green,.. whereas the Jesuits compare it to the leaf of the orange tree, which is remarkably bright.

I have tasted this herb; but the infusion was made after the English method of making tea; and it was the *yerva de palos*. It was coarser and less agreeable than the coarsest tea; yet any persons who are accustomed to tea would soon be glad of the substitute, if they had nothing better. The Peruvian Spaniards believe that they could not exist without it. Ill consequences however are attributed to its excessive use. *Mense mecum accubuit Hispanus senex, qui energumeni instar horrendos extremo a barathro edebat ructus identidem; hic, En Pater mi! ait, isti sunt herbæ nostræ fructus: ructo quoties spiro. Enimvero isti fructus sunt herbæ, quando hæc perinde ut aura hauritur momentis prope singulis. Novi profecto multos é vulgo Hispanos, qui vix decem pronunciare verba, vix pedem, manumve movere norunt aliquoties, quin cucurbitam suam cum herba parata iterum, iterumque ori admoveant suo. Dobrizhoffer, t.* 1, *p.* 116.

Charlevoix, (2, 66,) says that Cardenas in one of his quarrels with Hinostrosa, ordered his Visitors to burn all the herb of Paraguay which they should find belonging to that Governor; and that his letters containing this order were produced before the Royal Audience. Additional proofs of the Bishop's vindictive character are not wanting; but this charge seems to imply that the Herb was inspected before its exportation was allowed,

and that such as was not thought fit for exportation was liable to be destroyed.

23. *He found himself the absolute director of a whole community, p.* 362.] "*C'est de toutes les vanités humaines la plus louable qui les soutient,*" says the Abbe Raynal: and he repeats the speech of an ex-Jesuit, which bears every mark of authenticity; for if the old Missionary spake only of worldly feelings, it was because he knew to whom he was speaking. "*Mon ami, me disoit un vieux missionaire qui avoit vecu trente ans au milieu des forets, qui étoit tombé dans un profond ennui depuis qu'il étoit rentré dans son pays, et qui soupiroit sans cesse apres ses chers sauvages: mon ami, vous ne savez pas ce que c'est que d'être le roi, presque le dieu d'une multitude d'hommes qui vous doivent le peu de bonheur dont ils jouissent, et dont l'occupation assidue est de vous en temoigner leur reconnoissance. Ils ont parcouru des forets immenses; ils reviennent tombant de lassitude et d'inanition; ils n'ont tué qu'une piece de gibier; et pour qui croyez-vous qu'ils l'aient reservée? C'est pour le Pere; car c'est ainsi qu'ils nous appellent; et en effet ce sont nos enfans. Notre presence suspend leurs querelles. Un souverain ne dort pas plus surement au milieu de ses gardes que nous au milieu de nos sauvages. C'est à coté d'eux que je veux aller finir mes jours.*" *T.* 4, 281.

24. *The object was accomplished, p* 363.] It seems to have been the desire of the Jesuits every where as much as possible to keep their converts in ignorance. Thus in Canada, Charlevoix says, *L'experience a fait voir qu'il etoit plus a-propos de les laisser dans leur simplicité et dans leur ignorance; que les sauvages peuvent être de bons Chrétiens, sans rien prendre de notre politesse et de notre façon de vivre; ou du moins, qu'il falloit laisser faire au tems pour les tirer de leur grossierté, qui ne les empêche pas de vivre dans une grande innocence, d'avoir beaucoup de modestie, et de servir Dieu avec une pieté et une ferveur, qui les rendent très propres aux plus sublimes operations de la Grace.*

P. Charlevoix. Hist. de la N. France, l. 8.

25. *Snakes attracted by fire, p.* 365.] Bruce notices this propensity in the cerastes. "Though the sun was burning hot all day," he says, "when we made a fire at night, by digging a hole, and burning wood to charcoal in it, for dressing our victuals, it was seldom we had fewer than half a dozen of these vipers, who burn themselves to death approaching the embers!

26. *The macana, p.* 370.] According to Piedrahita, *macana* is the name not of the weapon but of the wood whereof it is made. "*Es la* macana *una madera durissima, que se labra con el lustre y filos del azero; y assi en las picas, dardos, y flechas, que usan estas y otras naciones, ponen de* macana *lo que en Espana se pone de azero en las lanças y chuzos. P.* 16.

27. *The Jesuits speak of the multiplicity of languages as of a confusion like that of Babel, p.* 378.] "The river Orellana," says Vieyra, (*Serm.* 3, 409,) was called by some one the river Babel, because of the variety of languages spoken along its course; but the word Babel is as far short of expressing the confusion of tongues there, as the word River is of denoting the magnitude of the stream. At Babel, according to St. Jerome, there were only seventy-two languages; on the Orellana a hundred and fifty were already known at the time of Teixeira's voyage, many more have been discovered since, and yet only a small part of this immense region has yet been explored.

Il est a presumer qu'une si grande varieté de langage est l'ouvrage du demon, qui a voulu mettre cet obstacle à la promulgation de l'Evangile, et rendre par ce moyen la conversion de ces peuples plus difficile." *Lett. Edif. t.* 8, *p.* 91. *edit.* 1781.

Vieyra, in a sermon preached before the Court after his expulsion from Maranham, speaks of this difficulty in his peculiar manner, and with his characteristic power. "What a difficulty and what a labour it is," he says, "for a European to have to learn, not with masters and with books like the wise men of the East, but without book, without master, without principles, and without any document, not one language but many, barbarous, uncultivated, and horrid, is known only to him who undergoes it, and to God for whom he undergoes it.

"When God confounded the tongues at the Tower of Babel, Philo the Hebrew remarks that all remained deaf and dumb, because though all spake and all heard, no one understood the other. In the old Babel there were seventy-two languages; in the Babel of the River of the Amazons more than a hundred and fifty are already known, as different from each other as ours from the Greek: and thus when we arrive there we are all dumb, and they are all deaf. See now what study and what labour must be necessary in order that these dumb ones may speak, and that those deaf ones may hear! In the land of the Tyrians and Sidonians, who were also Gentiles, they,

brought a deaf and dumb man to Christ, that he should cure him; and St. Mark says that our Lord withdrew with him to a place apart, that he put his fingers in his ears, that he touched his tongue with spittle taken from his own, that he raised his eyes to heaven, and gave deep groans, and then the dumb spake and the deaf heard. 'And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears; and he spit and touched his tongue; and looking up to Heaven, he sighed and saith to him *Ephphatha*, that is, be opened.' (*Mark* 7, 33, 34.) Now if Christ did other miracles so easily, how came it that this miracle of giving speech to the dumb, and ears to the deaf, cost him so much trouble and so many circumstances? Because all these are necessary for him who has to give a tongue to these dumb, and ears to these deaf ones. It is necessary to take the barbarian apart, and be with him, and insist with him alone, for many hours and many days. It is necessary to labour with the fingers, writing, pointing, and interpreting by signs that which cannot be acquired by words; it is necessary to labour with the tongue, doubling it, and twisting it, and giving it a thousand turns, that it may attain the pronunciation of accents so difficult and so strange: it is necessary to lift the eyes to Heaven once and many times in prayer, and at other times almost in despair; it is necessary, in fine, to groan, and to groan with the whole soul; to groan with the understanding because it can see no way in such darkness; to groan with the memory, because among so many varieties it can find no resting place; and to groan even with the will, however constant it may be, because in the pressure of so many difficulties it fails and almost faints. At last, by pertinacious industry, aided by divine Grace, the dumb speak and the deaf hear, but the reasons for groaning do not cease even then; for although the labour of this miracle be so similar to that of Christ's, it has a very different fortune, and receives a very different reward. ..The byestanders seeing that miracle began to applaud, and to say, 'He hath done all things well; he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.' So that it sufficed for Christ to make one dumb man speak, and one deaf one hear, to have it said that he had done all things well;..and for us it does not suffice to perform the same miracle upon so many deaf and so many dumb, but we are still held for ill-doers!"

"Quanta difficuldade, e trabalho seja haver de aprender hum Europeo, nam com mestres e com livros, como os magos, mas sem livro, sem mestre, sem principio, e sem documento algum, nam huma, senam muitas linguas barbaras, incultas e horridas, só quem o padece, e Deos por quem se padece, o sabe.

"Quando Deos confundio as linguas na Torre de Babel, ponderou Philo Hebreo, que todos ficaram mudos e surdos, porque ainda que todos fallavam, e todos ouviam, nenhum entendia o outro. Na antiga Babel ouve setenta e duas linguas: na Babel do Rio das Almazonas ja se conhecem mais de cento e sincoenta, tam diversas entre sy como a nossa e a Grega; e assim quando la chegamos, todos nos somos mudos, e todos elles surdos. Vede agora quanto estudo, e quanto trabalho sera necessario, para que estes mudos fallem, e estes surdos ouçam! Nas terras dos Tyrios e Sydonios, que tambem eram Gentios, trouxeram a Christo hum mudo e surdo para que o curasse; e diz S. Marcos que o Senhor se retirou com elle a hum lugar apartado, que lhe meteo os dedos nos ouvidos, que lhe tocou a lingua com saliva tirada da sua, que levantou os olhos ao Ceo, e deu grandes gemidos, e entam fallou o mudo e ouvio o surdo: *Apprehendens eum de turbâ seorsum, misit digitos suos in auriculas ejus, et expuens, tetigit linguam ejus, et suspiciens in cœlum, ingemuit, et ait illi*, Ephetha, *quod est adaperire*. Pois se Christo fazia os outros milagres tam facilmente, este de dar falla ao mudo, e ouvidos ao surdo, como lhe custa tanto trabalho, e tantas diligencias? Porque todas estas sam necessarias a quem ha de dar lingua a estes mudos, e ouvidos a estes surdos. He necessario tomar o barbaro à parte, e estar, e instar com elle muito só por só, e muitas horas, e muitos dias; he necessario trabalhar com os dedos, escrevendo, apontando, e interpretando por acenos o que se nam pode alcançar das palavras: he necessario trabalhar com a lingua, dobrandoa, e torcendoa, e dandolhe mil voltas, para que chegue a pronunciar os accentos tam duros, e tam estranhos: he necessario levantar os olhos ao Ceo; huma, e muitas vezes com a oraçam, e outras quasi com desesperaçam: he necessario finalmente gemer, e gemer com toda a Alma: gemer com o entendimento, porque em tanta escuridade nam vè saida; gemer com a memoria, porque em tanta variedade nam acha firmeza; e gemer atè com a vontade, por constante que seja, porque no aperto de tantas difficuldades desfalece, e quasi desmaya. Em fim com a pertinacia da industria ajudada da Graça Divina fallam os mudos, e ouvem os surdos; mas nem por isso cessam as razoens de gemer; porque com •

trabalho deste milagre ser tam semelhante ao de Christo, tem muy differente ventura, e muy outro galardam do que elle teve. Vendo os circumstantes aquelle milagre começáram a aplaudir e dizer, *Bene omnia fecit; et surdos fecit audire, et mutos loqui:* nam ha divida, que este Profeta tudo faz bem, porque faz ouvir os surdos, e fallar os mudos. De maneira que a Christo bastoulhe fazer fallar hum mudo, e ouvir hum surdo, para dizerem que tudo fazia bem feito; e a nos, nam nos basta fazer o mesmo milagre em tantos mudos e tantos surdos, para que nos nam tenham por malfeitores." *T.* 4, *p.* 513.

"God," says Vieyra, in his Whitsunday Sermon, "appeared in a vision to the Prophet Ezekiel, and giving him a book told him that he should eat it, and go preach to the children of Israel all that was written therein. *Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere ad filios Israel.* . . Eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel. The Prophet opened his mouth, not daring to touch the book for reverence: he ate it, and he says that it liked him well, and that he found it sweet. *Comedi illud, et factum est in ore meo sicut mel dulce.* . . Then did I eat it, and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness. If men could eat books at a mouthful, how easily would they learn the sciences and acquire languages. Oh how easy a mode of learning! Oh how pleasant a mode of studying! Such was the manner with which God in one moment instructed the Prophets of yore, and with which on this day the Holy Spirit in another moment instructed the Apostles, who found themselves suddenly versed in the sciences, learned in the Scriptures, ready in tongues, for all this was infused into them in that moment when the Holy Spirit descended upon them: *Factus est repente de Cœlo sonus, tanquam advenientis Spiritus:* . . and suddenly there came a sound from Heaven as of a mighty rushing wind. But to have to eat the books leaf by leaf, to have to take in the sciences mouthful by mouthful, and sometimes with great dislike to them; to have to chew the languages noun by noun, verb by verb, syllable by syllable, and even letter by letter, . . certainly this is a thing very hard, and very unsavoury, and very bitter, and which only the great love of God can render sweet."

"Appareceo Deos em huma visam ao Profeta Ezechiel, e dando-lhe hum livro, disse-lhe, que o comesse, e que fosse pregar aos filhos de Israel tudo o que nelle estava escrito: *Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere ad filios Israel.* Abrio a boca o Profeta nam se atrevendo a tocar no livro por reverencia, comeu-o, e diz que o achou muito doce: *Comedi illud, et factum est in ore meo sicut mel dulce.* Se os homens podessem comer os livros de hum bocado, que facilmente se aprenderiam as Sciencias, e se tomaram as linguas! Oh que facil modo de aprender! Oh que doce modo do estudar! Tal foy o modo com que Deos em hum momento antigamente ensinava os Profetas, e com que hoje o Espirito Santo em outro momento ensinou os Apostolos, achando se de repente doutos nas Sciencias, eruditos nas Escrituras, promptos nas linguas, que tudo isto se lhe infundio naquelle repente, em que desceo sobre elles o Espirito Sauto: *Factus est repente de Cœlo sonus, tanquam advenientis Spiritus.* Mas haver de comer os livros folha a folha; haver de levar as sciencias bocado a bocado, e as vezes com muito fastio; haver de mastigar as linguas nome por nome, verbo por verbo, sylaba por sylaba, e ainda letra por letra; por certo, que he cousa muito dura, e muito desabrida, e muito para amargar, e que só o muito amor de Deos a pode fazer doce." *T.* 3, *p.* 407.

Again:

Vade ad domus Israel, et loqueris verba mea ad eos; non enim ad populum profundi sermonis et ignotæ linguæ tu mitteris, neque ad populos multos profundi sermonis et ignotæ linguæ, quorum non possis audire sermones. . . 'Go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them. For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of an hard language, but to the house of Israel; not to many people of a strange speech and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not hear.' The word *hear* signifies *understand*, because that which is not understood is as if it were not heard. But among many nations of these conquests this word is verified in its natural meaning and acceptation; for there are languages among them, of a pronunciation so obscure and thick, that it may truly be affirmed the words are not heard, . . *quorum non possis audire sermones.* It has happened to me sometimes to have my ear applied to the mouth of the savage, and even of the interpreter, without being able to distinguish the syllables, or to catch the vowels or consonants of which they were formed, one letter confounding itself with two or three kindred ones, or (which is more accurate) being compounded of a mixture of them all; some so thin and subtle, others so hard and rugged, other so inward and obscure, being rather choaked in the throat than pronounced by the tongue;

others so short and rapid, others so long drawn and multiplied, that the ears perceive nothing but the confusion, it being certain in rigorous truth that such languages are not heard, the sound of them alone being heard, and not articulate and human words; according to the Prophet, .. *quorum non possis audire sermones.*

" Nesta ultima clausula do Profeta, *Quorum non possis audire sermones*, a palavra *ouvir*, significa entender; porque o que se nam entende, he como se nam se ouvira. Mas em muitas das naçoens desta conquista se verifica a mesma palavra no sentido natural, assim como soa, porque ha linguas entre ellas de tam escura e cerrada pronunciaçam, que verdadeiramente se pode affirmar que se nam ouvem, .. *quorum non possis audire sermones.* Por vezes me aconteceo estar com o ouvido applicado à boca do barbaro, e ainda do interprete, sem poder distinguir as sylabas, nem perceber as vogaes, ou consoantes, de que se formavam, equivocandose a mesma letra com duas e tres semelhantes, ou compondose (o que he mais certo) com mistura de todas ellas; humas tam delgadas e sutis; outras tam duras e escabrosas; outras tam interiores e escuras, e mais afogadas na garganta que pronunciadas na lingua; outras tam curtas e subidas; outras tam estendidas e multiplicadas, que nam percebem os ouvidos mais que a confusam, sendo certo em todo rigor, que as taes linguas nam se ouvem, pois se nam ouve dellas mais que o sonido, e nam palavras de articuladas e humanas, como diz o Profeta, .. *Quorum non possis audire sermones.*" *T.* 3, *p.* 410.

Dobrizhoffer also expresses himself forcibly upon this subject. " Arduum est Europæo et aures et linguam peregrinis, distortissimisque vocibus assuefacere, quas Barbari jam lingua sibilando, jam naribus rhonchissando, jam dentibus stridendo, jam gutture strepitando enunciant adeo obscure, festinanterque, ut non hominum colloquentium verba, sed anatum in lacu garrientium voces audire tibi videaris, nullumque literarum vestigium vel attentissimus deprehendas." *Dobrizhoffer*, 2, 163.

An English missionary has well explained some of the difficulties which occur in attempting to methodize a barbarous language. " My method," he says, " in learning what I knew of the Fante, was by taking a pen and paper to it; first asking the names of things, and then entering them down in writing, which for the greater certainty and correctness, I demanded at different times and of several persons. But such teachers the Blacks are, that notwithstanding all this care used on my part, I found some time after, upon revisal of my papers, that I had collected only an heap of falsities. For instead of giving a word by itself, they would either join with it a pronoun, or an epithet, or else a particle, or give the plural number for the singular, and sometimes join a substantive and verb together instead of speaking the one singly by itself. There is that impetuosity in their temper which makes them speak their words very quick. Besides, they utter themselves in a kind of melted voice, which makes their pronunciation more indistinct; and what renders it yet more puzzling, they will speak the same word different ways; as for example, to signify a tree they say Idweah, and Eduah, and Edweah. The matter is, they know they should speak something like it, but having no standard for their propriety of the language, the same person shall pronounce the word with these several variations.

" This is a specimen of the misery of learning languages without either the help of books, or the instruction of a proper master."

Thompson's Missionary Voyages.

Captain Flinders gives some curious instances of the difficulty of pronouncing foreign sounds. The natives of King George's Sound, on the East coast of New Holland, pronounced ship, *yip*; and of King George they made *Ken Jag-ger*. Yet they succeeded better in pronouncing English words, than the English did in imitating theirs. *Voyage to Terra Australis*, 1, 67.

The Jesuit Hernando de Villafañe was the first person who formed a grammar of the Guaçave tongue, which is spoken all along the coast of Cinaloa. " I have heard him say," says P. Andres Perez de Ribas, (*L.* 5, *c.* 23, *p.* 352,) " that some particular modes and properties of speech which he required to know accurately, in order to explain the mysteries of our holy Faith, in a language which is so strange to it, had cost him disciplines as well as prayers, intreating light from heaven to acquire them." For a master to flog grammar into his boys at one end, when it does not enter so readily as he could wish at the other, is an old custom which is still too much honoured in the observance; but this is the only instance I ever heard of, of a master flogging himself.

28. *He forgot them as readily as a last night's tale*, *p.* 378.] " You," says Vieyra, " who travel about the world, and enter the palaces of princes, have seen in the plats and avenues of their gardens two kinds of statues very different from each other; some of marble, others of yew. The

marble statue costs much in making, because of the hardness and resistance of the material; but having been once made, it is not necessary to apply the hand to it again; it always preserves and supports the same figure. The yew* statue is more easily made, because of the facility with which its boughs give way; but it is necessary always to be re-forming it, and working upon it, that it may be preserved. If the gardener neglects it, in three or four days a branch shoots out which crosses the eyes, out pushes another and discomposes the ears; forth spring two which make the five fingers into seven, and that which a little while ago was a man, is now only a green confusion of yew branches. Such is the difference between some nations and others in points of religious instruction. There are some nations naturally obdurate, tenacious, and constant, who difficultly receive the faith, and are hardly persuaded to leave the errors of their forefathers: they resist it with their arms, they doubt with their understanding, they strive against it with their will, they bar themselves against it, they persist, they argue, they reply, they give great trouble before they yield; but when they have once yielded, when they have once received the faith, they remain in it firm and unchanged, like marble statues, and there is no necessity for labouring more with them. There are other nations on the contrary, (and these are the tribes of Brazil,) who receive all that is taught them with great docility and ease, without arguing, without replying, without doubting, without resisting: but they are statues of yew, .. which when the gardener takes away his hand and his shears, presently lose their new figure, and return to their old natural brutishness, and become a thicket as they were at first. The maker of these statues must continually be present to attend them, sometimes to prune away the impediments which shoot from the eyes, that they may believe what they do not see; sometimes to cut away the excrescences from the ears, that they may not listen to the fables of their forefathers; sometimes to lop off what springs from the hands and the feet, that they may abstain from the barbarous actions and customs of the Gentiles. And only in this manner, by always labouring against the nature of the trunk and the sap which is in the root, can the non-natural form, and the composition of the boughs, be preserved in these rude plants." *Sermoens, t.* 3, *p.* 403.

" Os que andastes pelo mundo, e entrastes em casas de prazer de Principes, verieis naquelles quadros e naquellas ruas dos jardins dous generos de Estatuas muito differentes, humas de marmore, outras de murta. A Estatua de marmore custa muito a fazer, pela dureza e resistencia da materia; mas depois de feita huma vez, nam he necessario que lhe ponham mais a mam, sempre conserva e sustenta a mesma figura. A Estatua de murta e mais facil de formar, pela facilidade com que se dobram os ramos; mas he necessario andar sempre reformando, e trabalhando nella, para que se conserve. Se deixa o jardineiro de assistir, em quatro dias sahe hum ramo que lhe atravessa os olhos; sahe outro que lhe descompoem as orelhas; sahem dous que de cinco dedos lhe fazem sete; e o que pouco antes era homem, ja he huma confusam verde de murtas. Eis aqui a differença que ha entre humas naçoens e outras na doutrina da Fé. Ha humas naçoens naturalmente duras, tenazes e constantes, as quaes difficultosamente recebem a Fé, e deixam os erros de seus antepassados; resistem com as armas, duvidam com o entendimento, repugnam com a vontade, serram-se, teimam, argumentam, replicam, dam grande trabalho até se renderem; mas huma vez rendidos, huma vez que receberam a Fé, ficam nella firmes e constantes como Estatuas de marmore, nam he necessario trabalhar mais com elles. Ha outras naçoens pelo contrario (e estas sam as do Brazil) que recebem tudo o que ensinam com grande docilidade e facilidade, sem argumentar, sem replicar, sem duvidar, sem resistir, mas sam Estatuas de murta, que em levantando a mam e a tesoura o jardineiro, logo perdem a nova figura, e tornam a bruteza antiga e natural, e a ser mato como dantes eram. He necessario que assista sempre a estas Estatuas o mestre dellas, huma vez que lhe corte o que vecejam os olhos, paraque cream o que nam vem; outra vez que lhe cercea o que vecejam as orelhas, para que nam dem ouvidos ás fabulas de seus antepassados; outra vez que lhe decepe o que vecejam as maos e os pes, para que se abstenham das acçoens e costumes barbaros da gentilidade. E so desta maneira trabalhando sempre contra a natureza

* *Murta* (myrtle) is the original word: I have exchanged it for yew, that being the tree which in our climates has been preferred for these fantastic purposes.

do tronco, e humor das raizes, se pode conservar nestas plantas rudes a forma nam natural e compostura dos ramos."

29. *Difficulty respecting marriage, p.* 379.] Of all missionaries, the Moravians seem to have considered the question of polygamy the most reasonably. St. Paul having said, "if any brother have a wife that believeth not, that is yet an heathen, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away;" they have resolved that they could not upon any Christian principles compel a man who had before his conversion taken more than one wife, to put away one, or more of them, without her, or their consent; but yet that they could not appoint such a man to be a Helper, or servant in the Church.

Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions, vol. 1, *p.* 14.

30. *Papel en Verso, p.* 435.] *Papel en verso sobre el recibimiento del venerable Obispo D. Fr. Bernardino de Cardenas, y persecuciones que le suscitaron los Regulares de la Compania.* This is a *Romance* consisting of about nine hundred lines, first printed in the *Coleccion General de Documentos* upon this subject. The original manuscript was in the Convent of S. Hermenegildo at Seville. It was written at Asumpcion, shortly after Osorio's death and during the Bishop's reign; and it has all the pomp and pedantry of Spanish poetry in its worst age. These faults only render it the more amusing; and it preserves some very curious facts which are not noticed elsewhere. The author begins by invoking Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Court of Heaven, Powers, Princedoms, Thrones, and Dominations, with all the Saints to boot, to inspire him; .. and doubtless he needed some such assistance to accomplish his modest desire, which was that his voice might serve as a trumpet whose sound should ring through the whole world! He then calls upon all the world to listen, and particularizes great part of it.

Two curious charges are made against the Jesuits in this singular poem. The one, that they had intercepted the Bulls, which at Lima, the author says, they did not scruple to acknowledge. This is palpably false. The other may possibly be better founded; .. that they instigated the Bishop to demolish the Dominican Convent. The Bishop at that time certainly favoured the Company, .. but it is more likely that he wished to throw the opprobrium of that action upon them after their quarrel, than that they were really his advisers. The writer indeed hates the Jesuits so cordially, that he says they are worse than all other heretics.

Atended, y lo vereis,
que Lutero es un enano:
no hablen los Anabaptistas,
y callen Calvino y Arrio,
y el Alcoran de Mahoma
es Pigmeo, comparado
á lo que quiero decir.
De Ingalaterra no hablo,
porque ya se queda atras
despues que hay bonetes anchos.

He concludes by calling upon all states and princes to expel this abominable order, as a sure way of enjoying joy, peace, and glory in this world, and obtaining a place at the right hand of God in the next!

31. *Tobayaras, p.* 513.] Jaboatam gives rather a wild etymology of this name, from *toba*, the face, and *yara*, a Lord, .. interpreting it to mean that they were Lords of the coast, which was, as it were, the frontispiece, or face, of Brazil. *Sem duvida*, he says, they were reverenced by all the other Indians, *por primeiros*.

Preambulo, § 27.

32. *Good Friday, p.* 528.] I had the consolation, says F. Stanislaus Arlet, to see in the church more than five hundred Indians, who scourged their bodies severely on Good Friday, in honour of the scourging of Jesus Christ. But that which drew from me tears of tenderness and devotion, was a troop of little Indian boys and girls, who with their eyes humbly bent toward the ground, their heads crowned with thorns, and their arms applied to stakes in the form of a cross, for more than a whole hour, imitated in that posture the suffering state of the Crucified Saviour whom they had before their eyes.

This was among the Moxos.

Lett. Edif. t. 8, *p.* 50, *ed.* 1781.

33. *The small pox of* 1665, *p.* 554.] Rocha Pitta introduces this pestilence with a fine strain of philosophy. "An horrendous comet," he says, "preceded it, which during many tenebrous nights, being kindled in thick vapours, burnt with inauspicious light over our America, and announced to her the evil which she was about to feel; for although meteors are formed of casual conflagrations in which the atoms are burnt,

which ascending from the earth reach the sphere in a condensed state, the ashes into which they are resolved are powerful enough to infect the airs and make them diffuse disease, as well as to dispose human spirits for the perpetration of fatalities: and thus it has been observed that the greatest destruction of states and of individuals has always been forerun by such signs!"

America Portugueza, 6, § 20.

He notices also, as another equally inauspicious omen, that an extraordinary high tide recurring three days in succession, covered the shores of Bahia with innumerable small fish, which the people gladly collected, "being more attentive to their appetites than to the prodigy, not reflecting that when the elementary bodies go out of their natural order, human bodies suffer, alterations ensue in health, and ruin not only in material fabrics, but in empires." *Do.* § 21.

"The small pox," he says, "is a disease more natural to man than any other, for the physicians deduce its cause from the womb, and will have it that from thence all men derive their tribute to that malady. ..*Pois os medicos lhe deduzem a causa dos ventres maternos, de donde querem, que tragam todos este tributo àquelle mal.* *Do.* § 22.

34. *Miracle at Cayru, p.* 561, *note.*] It is thus related in a manuscript which Jaboatam quotes, § 81.

"Aquella celeste harmonia, ou Divino descante se deixou ouvir em o decurso de mais de vinte annos dos mais daquelle povo; que naquellas horas queriam velar, homens, mulheres, ecclesiasticos e seculares, dos quaes sam ainda muitos vivos; e aquelle regalado e mimoso povo nam deixava de fazer-se pregoeiro de tam estupendo milagre, e de mercé muy singular, e pela qual faziam como podiam, todos a huma voz, e cada hum por si, mil actos de submissoens e mortificaçam, compondose o estylo de vida muy ajustado com os dictames da razam; e tudo era naquelles principios huma sãa e santa doutrina, huma exhortaçam continua aos filhos, com grande frequencia dos sacramentos, e igual fervor na celebridade das festas do Senhor, de sua Mãi santissima, e de seus Santos; e assim hiam sahindo os filhos criados com aquella docil e boa inclinaçam; que he muy certo o nascerem os cordeirinhos com as malhas das varas, que se deitam em os tanques, de que bebem os pays e mays."

35. *Pestilence of* 1686, *p.* 586.] Rocha Pitta says that the symptoms of this disease were very various, ..acute pains of the head, or none; moist heat, or violent fever; a calm state of mind, or restlessness and delirium. The patients are said to have died on the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, or ninth day; a few only on the first or second. The last symptom was usually a vomiting of blood. The Brazilians called the disease the *Bicha.* A French ship of war, l'Oriflamme, coming from Siam with the wreck of the establishments which had been formed at Merguy and Bancok, touched at Brazil, got the disease there, and imported it into Martinique; for which reason the French called it the *Mal de Siam.* Labat, (*Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique, t.* 1, *p.* 72—4,) describes it as beginning with great pain in the head and loins; the fever was very high, or it was not externally perceptible; .. in this he agrees with Rocha Pitta: blood, he says, issued by every channel, sometimes even through the pores of the skin, and there were swellings in the armpits and the groins; these swellings were sometimes full of black, coagulated, putrid blood, and sometimes full of worms. *Quelquefois on rendoit des paquets de vers de differentes grandeurs et couleurs, par haut et par bas.* Labat saw the disease, and indeed had it severely himself; the Portugueze author writes only what he had heard half a century afterwards. *Ce que cette maladie avoit de commode,* says P. Labat, *c'est qu'elle emportoit les gens en fort peu de tems; six ou sept jours tout au plus terminoient l'affaire.* He knew two persons who struggled with it till the fifteenth day, and then died; one recovered after thirty-two. Some subjects in whom no other symptom had appeared than a slight pain in the head, fell down and died as they were walking out for air; and in almost every case the body became black and putrid immediately after death. There was at this time (1694) war between France and England: the English prisoners, whom the Flebustiers, he says, were capturing every day, carried it to their islands, and it was communicated in like manner to the Dutch and Spanish colonies.

This pestilence had been presaged by what Rocha Pitta calls a most tremendous eclipse of the moon, which had been beheld with horror in Pernambuco and Bahia. He describes this eclipse as a red and burning appearance, "as if the whole region of fire were concentrated in the orb of the moon." There had also been a solar eclipse some months before, "when the Prince of Planets displayed a cloud, or spot, which F. Valentine Extancel, a celebrated astrologer of the

Company of Jesus, called a Spider of the Sun! And upon these two eclipses this Religioner delivered a mathematical opinion, in a prognostic which hinted at great sickness in Brazil." Rocha Pitta then explains, according to his philosophy, in what manner such effects may be produced by eclipses. The causes of this pestilence, he says, ought properly to be ascribed to the sins of the people, who were corrupted by the liberty and wealth of Brazil; but other causes were looked for, and the one which was most generally acceded to was this: some barrels of meat had been returned from the island of St. Thomas to Recife, in such a state that the cooper who opened them died presently; several persons in the same house died also, and the contagion spread through the town. *America Portugueza, l. 7, §. 32, 33.*

If the historian had perused Vieyra's letters he would probably have allowed some share in the mischief to two comets seen in 1684, one of which appeared by day and divided the sun in half; and the other appeared by night, and had three stars in its tail: *Só falta que vejamos algum sinal na Lua, para que se verifique o Texto, Erunt signa in Sole et Luna et Stellis. T. 2, p. 320.*

36. *Not a word, not a syllable, not a letter, which does not contain a lie, p. 590.*] Vieyra had given the people of Maranham the same character to their faces, from the pulpit, in a right Vieyran manner. *Os vicios da lingua sam tantos, que fez Drexelio hum Abecedario inteiro, e muito copioso delles. E se as letras deste Abecedario se repartissem pelos Estados de Portugal, que letra tocaria ao nosso Maranham? Nam ha duvida, que a M. M. Maranham; M. murmurar; M. motejar; M. maldizer; M. malsinar; M. mixericar; e sobre tudo, M. mentir; mentir com as palavras, mentir com as obras, mentir com os pensamentos, que de todos, e por todos os modos aqui se mente. Sermoens, t. 4, p. 295.*

37. *The stores were bad in quality, p. 620.*] This, according to the anonymous author of the *Arte de Furtar*, was a common mode of roguery. "We see it," he says, "every day, in the stores of the Indiamen, and of the galleons and ships which our Lord the King sends to Brazil, Angola, and other parts. They are provided with rotten meat, stinking salt fish, biscuit of the worst quality, sour wine, and the lees of oil, because all this is laid in cheaper at first; but it turns out dearer in the end, for all the crew and passengers fall sick, half of them die, the voyage is frustrated, and all is lost; *Porque foram providos com unhas de fome; e por pouparem o que se furta, fizeram com que o barato custasse caro a todos." C. 41, p. 330.*

In the time of this author, whose work is said to have been written in 1652, no medicines were allowed to the ships. "What is the reason," he asks, "why no ship or galleon of ours, whether it goes alone, or belongs to the fleet, carries any drugs or medicines of any kind, for the fevers of the line, nor for wounds received in battle, nor for the Loanda disease, nor for any thing else? It must be one of two reasons, either ignorance or parsimony. Ignorance I do not believe that it can be, because no person is ignorant that men are more liable to diseases at sea than on shore, and suffer more from them. It is parsimony then, to save two or three thousand cruzados in things needful for the health and life of the crew and the soldiers, without which all is lost; the people are lost, the most precious of all things, dying like mosquitos, and cast into the sea in heaps; and every thing is lost, because every thing is left without any one to preserve it against the dangers of the sea, and the violence of the enemy. Foreigners have much the advantage of us in these things; we often see medicines and instruments in their ships, for the sick and wounded, which are worth many thousand cruzados, and we hardly carry out a barber, nor an egg for a dressing." *Do. p. 333.*

This book is absurdly attributed to Vieyra, in the title-page. The author seems to have been a native of Alentejo, probably of Villa Viçosa.

Linschoten, however, who sailed from Lisbon to India in 1583, and describes minutely the economy of their ships, reckons the Barber, (meaning the Barber-Surgeon,) among those who had no fixed pay; and says that sugar, honey, raisins, prunes, flour, (not *rice*, as the English translation has it,) and such like delicacies, were taken out for the sick: but he adds, that they got little of it, for the officers consumed it for themselves. *P. 3.*

38. *God infused a soul when they were baptized, p. 638.*] This notion, which originated in wickedness, has been advanced in England by learned bigotry. Dodweil asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. This strange system, says Burnet, was in great credit among us, and several

little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of rebaptizing the dissenters, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done." *Vol. 4, p. 354.*

"Of the natives or inhabitants, what shall I say," says Fleckno; "but if, as John Baptista de Porta says, every nation has resemblance to some certain beast or animal, certainly these Brazilians are most like Asses, dull and phlegmatic *in servitutum nati*, and only fit for toil and druggery, which is the reason Nature perhaps provided that country with neither horse nor ass nor any beast of carriage or burthen besides themselves; yet are they rather squat than robust, with broad bodies and little legs, small eyes, of sallow sickly complexion, ill featured, with black and greezy hair, nor curled nor dangling, but flagging ill favouredly about their ears, going for the most part all naked both men and women, they being all Christians, but such as put me in mind of that sentence of Holy Scripture, *Homines et Jumenta salvabis Domine*, that the Lord will save both man and beast; for surely they are both, having not wit enough to commit ingenious vices, nor temperance enough to abstain from brutal ones." *Fleckno, p. 75.*

Slaves in Brazil were called *Pessas*, .. Pieces; upon which Vieyra has an indignant passage in one of his sermons.

"Neste vosso mesmo Brazil quando quereis dizer, que fulano tem muitos, ou poucos Escravos, porque dizeis, que tem tantas, ou tantas Pessas? Porque os primeiros, que lhe puzeram este nome, quizeram significar sabia e christanamente, que a sojeiçam que o Escravo tem ao Senhor, e o dominio que o Senhor tem sobre o Escravo, só consiste no corpo. Os homens nam sam feitos de huma só pessa, como os Anjos e os brutos. Os Anjos e os brutos (para que nos expliquemos assim) sam inteireços; o Anjo, porque todo he espirito; o bruto, porque todo he corpo. O homem nam. He feita de duas pessas, alma e corpo. E porque o Senhor do Escravo só he Senhor de huma destas pessas, e a capaz de dominio, que he o corpo; porisso chamais aos vossos Escravos, Pessas. E se esta dirivaçam vos nam contenta; digamos que chamais Pessas aos vossos Escravos, assim como dizemos, huma pessa de ouro, huma pessa de prata, huma pessa de seda, ou de qualquer outra cousa das que nam tem alma. E por este modo ainda fica mais claramente provado, que o nome de Pessa nam comprehende a Alma do Escravo, e somente se entende e se estende a significar o corpo. Este he o que só se cativa, este o que só se compra e vende, este o que só tem debaixo de sua jurdicam a fortuna." *T. 6, p. 397.*

"Here in Brazil, when you mean to say such a one has many or few slaves, why do you say that he has so many *Pieces*? Because the first persons who used the name meant wisely and christianly to signify that the subjection of the Slave to the Master, and the dominion of the Master over the Slave, consists only in the body. Men are not made of only one piece, like the Angels and the Brutes. Angels and Brutes (if we may thus express ourselves) are entire creatures; the Angel because wholly a spirit, the Brute because wholly a body. Man is not thus. He is made of two pieces, soul and body. And because the Master of the Slave is only Master of one of these pieces, which is capable of dominion, to wit, the body, therefore you call your Slaves Pieces. If this derivation does not content you, let me say that you call your Slaves Pieces, as we say a piece of gold, a piece of silver, a piece of silk, or of any other thing which has no soul. And by this means it remains more clearly proved, that the name Piece doth not include the soul of the slave, but only means and extends to signify the body. This alone it is which is enslaved, this alone it is which is bought and sold, this alone it is which Fortune has under its jurisdiction."

39. *No task-masters were ever more merciless than the Portugueze of the seventeenth century*, p. 639.] Vieyra exclaims, when preaching before these Portugueze, "*Que Theologia ha, ou pode haver, que justifique a deshumanidade e sevicia dos exorbitantes castigos com que os Escravos sam maltratados? Maltratados disse, mas he muito curta esta palavra para a significaçam do que encerra, ou encobre! Tyrannizados deverá dizer, ou martyrizados; porque serem os miseraveis*, pingados, lacrados, retalhados, salmourados, *e os outros* EXCESSOS MAIORES QUE CALEO; *mais merecem nome de martyrios, que de castigos.*"

The text upon which he was preaching was Exodus 3, 7, which is fuller in the vulgate than in our version. .. *Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Ægypto, et clamorem ejus audivi, propter duritiam eorum qui præsunt operibus.* In allusion to this he concluded his sermon: "They are cruelly flogging the miserable slave, and he at every lash cries out Jesu! Maria! Jesu! Maria! and yet the reverence which is due to these names cannot

move to compassion a man who calls himself Christian! How think you then that these names shall be heard in the hour of death when you yourself invoke them? But be assured that God hears the cries which you will not hear, and that though they produce no effect upon your own heart, without doubt and without remedy they will have effect on your punishment.

Sermoens, t. 6, p. 427—8.

In another Sermon he says, *Nas outras terras, do que aram os homens, e do que fiam e tecem as molheres, se fazem os commercios, naquella o que geram os pays, e o que criam a seus peitos as mays, he o que se vende e se compra. Oh trato deshumano, em que a mercancia sam homens! Oh mercancia diabolica, em que os interesses se tiram das Almas alheas, e os riscos sam das proprias.*

Vieyra Serm. t. 6, p. 392.

"In other countries trade is carried on in what the men sow and reap, and in what the women spin and weave; here, what the fathers have begotten, and the mothers have fed at their breasts, is what is bought and sold! O inhuman traffic, in which men are the merchandize! O diabolical merchandize, in which the merchant extracts his gain from the souls of others, and at the risk of his own!"

40. *They had penetrated more than* 2000 *miles, p.* 642.] In Vieyra's letter to the Conde de Ericeyra, in which he points out to that author how erroneously he had spoken of him in his history, the following curious passage occurs. "I will also give your Excellency a piece of information which no one has possessed; and it is that the affairs upon which the King (Joam IV.) often sent me, were very different from what might be supposed, even among the confidential ministers,.. the correspondence upon those affairs being carried on by a particular cypher, known only to the Secretary Pedro Fernandes Monteiro. And therefore my journies were subject to very erroneous opinions and conjectures, which are no matters for History, History being rather bound to correct them by stating the truth, if she knows it, and not by saying they had no foundation. For example, when I departed from Maranham, my intent being rather to risk my life for the King of Heaven than for an earthly Prince, many persons thought that this resolution was not mine, but the King's, and for a very different end. They said, *Este Maranham he Maranha;*.. (an untranslateable play upon the word, implying that there was some secret design in his voyage).. and the old Conde da Torre, talking with me upon it, his opinion was, *&c.*".. Here is an *&c.* which Coke himself, the great unraveller of *&c.s*, could not have expounded. What follows is very remarkable. "Would to God that this information had not reached your Excellency, and that Potosi had not been a most rich proof of my frustrated undertakings." *Quiz Deos que esta noticia nam chegasse a V. Exc. para que o Potosi nam fosse huma riquissima prova dos meos negocios desvanecidos. Cartas, t. 1, p. 398.*

I have seen nothing in any work either printed or manuscript, which throws the least light upon this hint. Does it imply that there had been an intention of making an attack upon Potosi by way of the Madeira and the Mamore? According to the Abbe Raynal (*T. 4, p. 279,*) Teixeira's voyage had given occasion to a scheme for collecting the treasures of Peru, the Nuevo Reyno, Popayan, and Quito, by the Orellana at Belem, and from thence conveying them to Europe with the Brazil fleet. I know not upon what authority this is asserted,.. (perhaps Gomberville's, whose work I have not been able to procure; but in that case farther authority would still be to be sought;).. but if such a plan had been entertained it must have been known to Joam IV. when he obtained the throne, and might have suggested the obvious thought, that the treasures of Potosi might be reached by the same route.

41. *The Dutch, p. 654.*] Du Tertre tells us what became of the Dutch settlers, when finally ejected from Brazil. The people from Recife, having leave to embark with their slaves and moveable property, sailed for the French Islands, all except one ship of fourteen hundred tons; and putting into Martinique, requested permission of M. Parquet to settle there upon the same terms as the French colonists. M. Parquet was very willing to receive such settlers, and had consented so to do, when the Jesuits interposed, and represented that nothing could be more contrary to the King's intentions, than that Heresy and Judaism should be received into his colonies. Their remonstrances were so strong that the Governor reluctantly retracted his promise, and dismissed them as civilly as he could. A cargo of Flemings, being of the Catholic faith, were admitted, and settled, to the number of two hundred, in the *Grand Cul de Sac Royal.* The situation was unwholesome; the savages plundered them, and sold the plunder to the French at Guadaloupe; burnt the houses, killed many of the people, and

forced the survivors to abandon the place. Some half a dozen Jews contrived to obtain a settlement; and M. Biet, in his *Relation du Voyage de Cayenne*, reviles M. Parquet for permitting this, and suffering them to hold their synagogues there. Du Tertre rebuts this accusation in the true spirit of a Dominican Friar: *C'est une imposture effroiable, et un mensonge enorme, de dire qu'on ait jamais donné la liberté aux Juifs de faire la moindre action de leur religion. M. Parquet ne se servoit des Juifs qui estoient venus du Bresil en son Isle que comme des esclaves pour le bien de son peuple, ainsi que l'on s'en sert à Rome, en Avignon, et à Metz.* *T.* 1, *p.* 528.

The ship with the exiles from Itamaraca, more fortunately made for Guadaloupe, where there were no Jesuits, and where M. Houel joyfully received them. They were followed in a few days by a ship of the States, bringing the garrisons of that Island and of Paraiba, in all four hundred men, with Klaas, the Lieutenant Colonel of Recife, whom the Portugueze had excepted from the capitulation (for some nefarious cruelty, no doubt,) but who had escaped on a *piperi*, or small raft, with two negroes, to Itamaraca. More than nine hundred persons settled in Guadaloupe, having, it is said, immense riches in plate, money, and jewels. A Jesuit came from Martinique to turn them out; but he was drily received and dismissed by M. Houel. Three hundred of these settlers were good Walloon and Flemish soldiers; the others were masters of families with three hundred slaves and two hundred women. There were some who understood the whole management of an Engenho, and undertook to make sugar as good as that of Brazil. Great preparations were made, and expectations formed; but the principal Dutchmen did not like their situation, and therefore left the island. They had been well fleeced on their arrival: they who remained, whether Dutch or Jews, had their full revenge, by setting up *gargoteries*, or drinking houses; as long as there was either money or bullion to be obtained, they refused to take tobacco in payment; by this means, in the course of only three years, they got into their hands all the wealth which the fugitives had brought, and having stript the French, retreated with their gains. *Du Tertre*, *t.* 1, *p.* 460—5.

This writer says that the Refugees, both in Martinique and Guadaloupe, (for some settled permanently in both islands,) followed the Brazilian custom, of not providing food, clothing, or any thing else for their slaves, but gave them land, and allowed them the Saturday to work for themselves. *T.* 2, *p.* 515.

Most of the Walloon soldiers entered the French service in the Islands. *T.* 1, *p.* 432.

42. *Whale fishery*, *p.* 661.] The number of whales had probably been much lessened within the preceding century. F. Gaspar Affonso, in his *Relaçam da Viagem e Successo que teve a Nao S. Francisco*, 1596, (*Hist. Tragico Maritima*, *t.* 2.) says that during four months of the year the Jesuits might have let the windows of their College at Bahia, as for a spectacle, such was the continual sport which the whales made, who during the spring and summer, for their own particular reasons (*por particulares respectos seus*), resorted at that season to the Reconcave, and spent the time in continual play, leaping and dancing, sometimes spouting up water, sometimes raising themselves straight up, as high in the air as nature would permit, then letting that great tower of flesh or fish fall splash upon the water. *P.* 328.

43. *Porto Seguro*, *p.* 664.] Porto Seguro was the scene of a curious story. "There dwelt an honourable and right Christian man there," says the original narrator, "named Manoel da Cunha, with a wife and a large family of children, whom he managed religiously; but they were in such poverty that they waited one upon another, and were supported miserably enough by his personal labour, and by Divine Providence, which in such cases never forsakes those who put their full confidence in it, and which sometimes ministers to them supernatural assistance. One night, when these poor creatures were thinking that they had nothing to eat, they saw that there was food in the house; that the cooking was going on, and that every other part of the business of the family was performed by some invisible agency; they saw the faggot come in at the door, the pitcher of water appear, the table lay itself, the beds make themselves, and the house swept without hands or brush; at which they were all astonished, and gave thanks to God for this great mercy, as that which could only come from his powerful hand, an opinion in which surely I think they were right. The old man, seeing that this sort of catering and attendance was continued, began however to enter into new doubts upon the matter, because he was too unworthy a sinner for this to be done for him by Heaven: so he resolved to conjure the unseen servant, and

ask who it was who did for him these good offices, which were as strange in the world as they were unexpected. The answer was, that it was the Devil. Upon this the poor man, like one who feared God, was greatly amazed, and he conjured him the more, and in the name of the Lord required him to depart from his house, for he would not receive such services from such hands. To this the Accursed One replied, Do not fatigue yourself nor trouble yourself; for I shall not go from hence, and I shall not cease to serve thee. Seeing this, the good man had recourse to the remedies of the Church, as the only ones in our difficulties whensoever they oppress us; and having confessed himself and all his family first, called in the Priest, that with holy exorcisms he might drive this infernal disturber of his spiritual peace out of the house. The good pastor performed his part with all diligence, but was undeceived, and answered to the same purport, that the Evil Spirit would not cease to wait upon this poor man and all his household, but that there needed no fear that any hurt should be done either to soul or body. And accordingly the Devil did thus for sixteen years, with all diligence, quickness, and attention, without molesting him in spirituals or temporals, whereby it may be well understood that he did not do these things by his own good will.

"The manner in which this servant served was this;.. he would bring him meal which he had never prepared, game which he had never hunted, fish which he had never fished for;.. for he stole every thing, the meal from the mealman, game from the hunter, fish from the fisherman, and thus with every thing which is necessary for the support of human life. But his Master, who could not help all this, and in course of time came to understand all his ways, never made use of any thing without showing it to the owners, and they immediately knew who had been the thief, and contented themselves perhaps with dividing it, taking one half; the other, which was left for this poor family, must have been made up from what had been withheld in tythes. In this manner this Servant past sixteen years, without doing any injury, and without asking for any wages at his departure; and he is called the Devil of Porto Seguro... *bem nomeado nestas partes, e esta historia bem sabida.*"

Jaboatam, § 70.

If this be not a mere old wife's tale, it is a matchless instance of impudent and ingenious roguery.

44. *Trade of Bahia, p.* 670.] "The chief commodities that the European ships bring hither, are linen cloaths, both coarse and fine, some woollens also, as bayzes, searges, perpetuanas, &c. hats, stockings both of silk and thread, bisket bread, wheat flour, wine (chiefly port), oil-olive, butter, cheese, &c. and salt beef and pork would there also be good commodities. They bring hither also iron, and all sorts of iron tools; pewter vessels of all sorts, as dishes, plates, spoons, &c. looking-glasses, beads, and other toys: and the ships that touch at St. Jago bring thence, as I said, cotton cloth, which is afterwards sent to Angola.

"The European ships carry from hence sugar, tobacco, either in roll or snuff, never in leaf that I know of. These are the staple commodities; besides which here are dye-woods, as fustick, &c. with wood for other uses, as speckled wood, brazil, &c. They also carry home raw hides, tallow, train-oil of whales, &c. Here are also kept tame monkeys, parrots, parakites, &c. which the seamen carry home."

Dampier, v. 3, *p.* 54.

"The ships that use the Guinea trade are small vessels in comparison of the former. They carry out from hence rum, sugar, the cotton cloths of St. Jago, beads, &c. and bring in return, gold, ivory, and slaves; making very good returns. *Do. vol.* 3, *p.* 59.

"Many passengers embark from Madeira for Brazil," says the author of the *Arte de Furtar*, who speaks here of what he had seen in that island. "They who have no capital to pay for their passage, and provide themselves for the voyage, ask the merchants to lend them money, which they are to return in sugar. One of them answers, I sell cloth, and do not lend money, which I want for my trade: if *V. Merced* wishes to have cloth upon credit, I will let you have it, and you may find a purchaser, and serve your purpose with the money which you want... As *V. M.* pleases; all is gold which is worth gold... As it is an affair of credit, the price is fixed accordingly, and the bargain being made for as much as will produce fifty milreis by selling it again, the merchant adds, Now that *V. M.* may not have the trouble of going farther, I will take these goods of you at the price which I pay for them in London, and pay you the money immediately;.. here is another advantage to be esteemed, and he abates upon every yard in buying more than he had added to its price in selling, and pays himself presently for the exchange,..

for he is to receive his debt the same year, good security being given for this. Thus these fifty milreis cost the passenger more than an hundred, and the merchant receives and resells the sugar from Brazil, with which he pays himself more than two hundred." *Ch. 26, p. 222.*

45. *By the operation of the sun it was gradually dried, hardened, and aurified, p. 669.*] This seems to have been the prevailing theory of the age. It is thus stated by John Burton, in his History of Eriander, the singular work of a learned, speculative, and able man. "In the production of minerals a concrete or coagulated juice, which is the seed of the metal, is wrapt up in the womb of the earth, is rarified and extended by a certain heat, (either inbred, or peradventure derived from the sun, and darted through the earth's pores into the mine;) and when it is augmented by superaddition of new matter, this heat concocts and converts it into the substance of such a mineral, whose form and essence it is apt to receive; and thus it is brought from its loose principles into a perfect consistency." *P. 58.*

46. *Fleckno, p. 670.*] "A Relation of ten Years' Travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique, and America, all by way of Letters occasionally written to divers noble Personages, from Place to Place; and continued to this present year, by Richard Fleckno. With divers other Historical, Moral, and Poetical Pieces, of the same Author.

"*Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*

"London, Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by ——"

Farther the title page sayeth not. The latest date in the book is 1655.

The Epistle Dedicatory is creditable to the author:

"*To all those Noble Personages mentioned in these following Letters.*

"To you with good reason I dedicate these Letters, to whom they were writ, and to whom I have dedicated myself: For whilst others were desirous of pleasures, ambitious of honours, or covetous of wealth, you were all in all to me, all my pleasure, all my honour, all my wealth; nor had I other desire nor ambition but of you: so became I more deserving, similitude of disposition best gaining and conserving friends, knowing you were not to be purchased but by worth, nor conserved but by merit. Never any man then gained more by his Friends than I,...not without some acknowledgement to mine Enemies, (of whom I should have fewer, if they would be content to stand neuters). Of which sort though I make no mention, yet had I ever some who added sharp spurs unto me of doing well, not to afford them the pleasure of my doing ill; as soldiers in battle are most commonly as much encouraged to fight, to deprive their enemies of the victory as to gain it for their friends. Accept then of this Dedication, and be still to me as you have ever been, so shall I study still to be always to you as I have been,

"Yours, &c."

To the Reader he says, "'Tis for no vaunt nor boast that I write my Travels, I esteeming myself (I can assure thee) a far less Traveller now (having failed of seeing the East Indies, and consequently all the Eastern Monarchies,) than I did when I past over seas to Zealand first." The publication seems to have been designed to gratify his noble friends, and draw upon their bounty, which appears to have been given and received more with a feeling of reciprocal friendship and esteem, than with any pride of patronage on the one hand, or sense of dependence on the other. "Since fortune," he says, "deceived me, and brought me to my crutches, whom should I rely upon but the best able to support me? which they the more willingly do, perhaps because I lean so lightly on them, and always strive to afford them some pleasure for the profit I receive of them."

Fleckno left England in the year 1640; for reasons which he expresses with some quaintness, and not without some felicity of language. "There are divers birds that fly away when storms and winter come;..one of those birds am I; for all prognosticks mariners observe of ensuing storms, I have observed in England: the billows beginning to swell high, and those porpoises which, were the times fair and serene, should be o' th' bottom, dancing on the top. Meantime let your vast and strong built carracks ride out the storm for me, I'm too weak and slight built a vessel for tempestuous seas. Besides, educated as I am in the arts of peace, (music and poetry) and your musick of *Base*, *Superious*, and *Rector Chori*, or King, Peers, and Commons, being all disconsorted, the Base neither admitting of Master of the Quire to moderate it, nor *Superious* to consort with 't, without which 'tis rather a loud tumultuous noise than musick and harmony,..England is no place for me. And for Poets, they are well feigned to delight in Hills and Mountains, where there are always some Eminences above *Lycurgus* vallies,

or fields of standing corn where all heads are equal; England begins to be a place too much overgrown with shrubs and underwoods for me."

The English Emigrants were not numerous enough to exhaust the bounty of those who pitied them, nor to incur any reproach for not having remained in their own country, and stood manfully forward in support of their own cause. Fleckno also had the recommendation of being a Catholic, .. he carried with him the best introductions from England, made friends wherever he went, and found his music, in which he seems to have been profoundly skilled, of no little advantage to him. After residing some years in Flanders and Italy, he embarked from Marseilles in an English vessel, for Spain: on the way he was saved from some Barbary Corsairs, by a Dutch squadron sent on purpose to cruise against these Pirates, and gladly accepting the Dutch Vice-Admiral's invitation, he shifted his sea quarters and went with him into the Tagus, where he was landed at Cascaes. There the Governor suspected him for a spy, "or else," he says, "come thither upon some great design, and so presently he sent me to Lisbon with a soldier along with me, with express orders not to leave me till he had delivered me to the Secretary of State; who being altogether as great a politician as my Governor, made great difficulty of my staying in the country, till spying my lute, the suspicion I was a Musician as *clavis clavem pellit*, soon drove out of his head the suspicion that I was a Spy: so lodging me by way of caution in an English gentleman's house (a great confident of the King) till he might inform his Majesty of me, who being an excellent Musician, was covetous of knowing all strangers of that profession. He no sooner understood of my arrival, but he sent for me to Court, and was so well satisfied with me, as (continuing my lodging in Mr. John Muley's, the same English gentleman's house, than which the whole town afforded not more noble accommodation,) the next day he sent for me again; where after some two or three hours' trial of my skill (especially in the composative part of music, in which his Majesty chiefly exceeded), I past *Court* Doctor, though Don Emanuel Sa, Grand Chamberlain to the King, swore 'twas rather a trial for a Doctor in an University than a Gentleman in a Court."

"Madam," says he in a letter where he merrily describes his life at Lisbon to the Countess of Berlamont, "I am not yet so heavenly minded to count all the world a prison, but I no longer admire those that do; since really I count myself as absolutely in prison here in not being able to go out of this kingdom for Flanders, as ever any did in a common gaol. To describe unto you my prison, and my company in't (that you may pity me), I am here in Lisbon, a city of but nine or ten miles about, all built upon hills and dales, rising just like the great billows of the ocean; .. when you are in the bottom, and wonder at the vastness of one, passing that, you find another as vast to wonder at. There I have a garden, no bigger than your park at Brussels, to walk in and take the air, where there's all sorts of fruits the East or West Indies can afford, or the Northern or Southern climate of the world produce, figs that make beccoficos of men, and melons both red and green, beyond their marmalades for meltingness; but alas! what are these to your pompions? Now for my company, I have none but such, one would be ashamed to keep company withall, .. the King here, .. a man of no estate, but only besides the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves in Europe, Lord of two or three Kingdoms in Affrique, of the Western Islands, the Madeiras, the Isles of Capo Verte, St. Thomas, the Empire of Goa in the East Indies, and of Brasilia in the West, alone bigger than all Europe together, .. poor things, God wot, that with good husbanding might only yield about nine or ten millions every year."

Having remained some months in great favour at the Court of this benevolent Monarch, Fleckno was preparing in 1648 to return to Flanders, when, "just upon the point of my embarkment, he says to Mademoiselle de Beauvais, understanding of the loss of the battle of Lens, I thought it no ways fit to render the joy I hoped to conceive at sight of my friends in Flanders, abortive by their general sadness there: Wherefore casting about for some diversion for a year or so, till your losses might be recovered or forgot, there opportunely offered itself unto me the voyage to Brazil; which having proposed unto the King (without whose permission no stranger can undertake that voyage) his Majesty not only gave me permission, but two hundred crowns *aiuta da costa* for my voyage: when a hundred other considerations began to encourage me to the undertaking it, besides the ardent thirst I had of voyaging, which nothing but the whole ocean could quench. First, having seen so many rarities of the Brazils in Portugal, I thought it worthy my voyage thither to fetch you some of them. Secondly, according to the ancient expiation of fire and water, I thought it

fit to pass whole Oceans and the Torrid Zone, before I approached your presence. Thirdly, having somewhat in me of the philosopher and astrologer, I imagined it richly worth my journey, to see the stars of the other pole, and nature of the other hemisphere. And lastly, my desire to see all the world is so insatiable (whether the more one sees of it the less he is satisfied; or that it satisfies so much, as one has still a desire of seeing more), as just like another Alexander, not thinking one world sufficient, I am seeking another forth. Meantime, Mademoiselle, your goddess will pardon this presumption of mine (who ought not to stir out of one room into another without your permission), that I dare presume to go out of one world into another without your licence, being as I am, Mademoiselle,

"Your, &c."

His voyage was prosperous, pleasant, and even luxurious. "For other commodities and delicacies you have on land," he says, "we wanted none: our great cabins being large as your chambers, our beds as commodious, our decks spacious as your galleries to walk in, our kitchen our cellar as well furnished, herds of swine, flocks of sheep, and pullen of all sorts aboard, perpetually feasting, nor wanted we music to our feast, (besides an excellent set of trumpets,) the mariners having some fiddles among them to which they often danced to delight the passengers. And thus sleeping, eating, drinking, and recreating ourselves, we made our voyage secure from storms, secure from pirates and enemies; till making land about Cape St. Augustins, we might descry some three or four sail, which knowing to be Hollanders of Pernambuco, and not willing to encounter them, we steered to seaward again, being that night overtaken by one of them, who allarummed us as if their whole fleet had made after us, appearing on every side of us with fires on his main-mast, and about the wast of his ship perpetually burning (as a call it seems for his companions, if any were in sight) sailing away in the morning to find them out, and returning toward evening, ever endeavouring like a kite to snatch away our *Caravel* and *Pattachio*, which lay like chickens under our wings; till at last about the height of Bahia it left us, despairing to meet any of their fleet higher up."

Thus prosperously they arrived at Rio de Janeiro, after a three months voyage, having lost only one man, of more than four hundred, in their four ships. "Going on shore," he continues, "I found a lodging prepared for me by the Fathers of the Company, with two mulattos or mongrel negroes to serve me, with my diet from their kitchen just against my lodging, whether by order from the King, the recommendations of the Governor, (who came along with us,) or the charity of the good Fathers, I know not; but certainly 'twas so extraordinary an accommodation as no money could have purchased the like, there being no inns nor Pensions to lodge or eat at, as with us; all who frequent these parts being either merchants who lodge with their correspondents, or sea-faring men who lodge aboard,.. never any man like me before making that voyage merely on curiosity."

Thus liberally was the first English visitor entertained in Brazil. I feel a pleasure in transcribing this passage, and preserving, as far as may be in my power, the memory of this princely liberality to a traveller. It is to be wished that Fleckno had profited more by the opportunities which were thus afforded him;.. but if he was a bad Poet he was certainly a worse Traveller. Still I have gleaned something from his scanty gatherings. He had sufficient curiosity to take a land journey from the Rio, being carried by some "tame Savages" in a hammock, and sleeping at night suspended between two trees: but he does not tell whither he went, nor speak of any thing which he saw upon the way, except apes and parrots, of which the trees were as full "as if they had borne no other fruit."

After remaining eight months, there being nothing in the country, he says, besides the satisfying his curiosity which could invite him to stay longer, he re-embarked for Lisbon. "And I can assure you I never fared better than I did on shipboard with the General Don Roderigo d'Alancastro, who lodged me in his own cabin, placed me at his table next himself, and not only made me companion alive with him, but would have done't in death too if there had been occasion, (as we imagined on sight of another fleet, which afterward proved friends,) when, putting a rapier in my hand, and arming me with a *Rondache* or shield, he bid me, if we chanced to fight, keep always close to him, that we might live or die together."

He remained something more than a year at Lisbon after his return from Brazil. "The Count d'Averos (newly made Viceroy of the East Indies) offered me," he says, "the like accommodation with him thither, as I had with Don Roderigo d'Alancastro, (who had married his daughter,) in returning from Brazil; that is, my diet

and lodging with himself; to which the King would have willingly assented, and munificently contributed; which with many humble thanks I refused then; and if I repent me now, 'tis because I weigh it without the same circumstances which then turned the scales, (the extreme lassitude of one voyage and danger of th' other,) not one Portugal ship of three returning safe from that voyage, whilst not one in ten of the Hollanders ever miscarries; the doubling of the Cape of *Bona Esperanza* being only dangerous at some seasons in the year, which season they never avoid, (by their own confession,) so unwise men, or so ill mariners they are, not better to know to *time* their voyage, or *trim* their ship. But enough of voyaging; and now 'tis time for me, like a ship safe returned to harbour, to careen and rest awhile, and tempt fortune no longer, since *Quem sæpe transit, Casus aliquando invenit:* not one in a hundred ever having been so fortunate as I, nor perhaps did I live a hundred years should I be so fortunate again; I never knowing what danger was by land, nor storms by sea, in eight years travelling by one, and two years voyage by t'other; (so rare a felicity as perhaps none could ever boast besides myself:) so are there certain conjunctions which never but at certain periods (like eclipses) encounter, as was this, to be defrayed and entertained wherever I went (in manner) at the public cost, like some public Ambassador; one chief reason of which I imagine to have been my indifferency of travelling to any place where I had not been before; (those who bind themselves to any one course in particular, renouncing to Fortune's concurrency to all the rest.) Yet let none ever hope the like advantages that are not signalized by some remarkable qualities, as I was by music, &c. there being something in art (whilst exercised in no mechanique way) above Fortune, that makes Princes more favour those that excel in t'one than t'other, they looking on t'one as their subjects, but on t'other as their companions; there being no superiority in Art as there is in Fortune, but the best, not the greatest, carries it."

These extracts will not be thought incurious from a book of extreme rarity which is not likely ever to be reprinted. To the English reader they will be interesting, Fleckno having (I know not for what provocation) obtained an unhappy celebrity from Dryden: to Portugueze and Brazilian readers they will be more so, for the honourable testimony they bear to the liberality of their countrymen, and of Joam IV., a name which must ever be dear both to Portugal and Brazil.

47. *Rapacity of people in office, p.* 681.] Let me here insert a fine specimen of the Portugueze language, and of Vieyra's command of it, as well as of his peculiar vein of satire. It is perfectly untranslateable, like many other parts of this incomparable writer. A great proportion of my readers will understand Portugueze, and I shall be glad if the occasional extracts in these volumes should induce others to become acquainted with a language which is inferior to no modern speech, and which contains some of the most original and admirable works that I have ever perused.

The picture which Vieyra draws was applicable to every part of the Portugueze dominions at that time; and though Brazil is not mentioned, it cannot be doubted but that he had Brazil, the country with which he was best acquainted, more particularly in his eye.

" Encomendou El Rey D. Joam o Terceiro a S. Francisco Xavier o informasse do Estado da India por via de seu companheiro que era Mestre do Principe; e o que o Santo escreveo de lá sem nomear officios nem pessoas, foy quo o Verbo *Rapio* na India se conjugava por todos os modos. A frase parece jocoza em negocio tam serio; mas fallou o servo de Deos, como falla Deos, que em huma palavra diz tudo. Nicolao de Lyra sobre aquellas palavras de Daniel, *Nabucodonosor Rex misit ad congregandos Satrapas, Magistratus et Judices*, declarando a etymologia de Satrapas, que eram os Governadores das Provincias, diz que este nome foy composta de *Sat*, e de * *Rapio*. . . *Dicuntur Satrapæ quasi satis rapientes, quia solent bona inferiorum rapere*: . . chamamse Satrapas, porque costumam roubar assaz. . . E este assaz he o que especificou melhor S. Francisco Xavier, dizendo que conjugam o verbo *Rapio* por todos os modos. O que eu posso accrescentar, pela experiencia que tenho, he que nam só do Cabo da Boa Esperança para lá, mas tambem das partes dáquem se usa igualmente a mesma conjugaçam. Conjugam por todos os modos o verbo *Rapio*;

* This may remind the reader of what was said of Rapinat, the Directory's agent in Switzerland, that it was uncertain whether Rapinat was derived from *Rapine*, or *Rapine* from Rapinat.

porque furtam por todos os modos da arte, nam fallando em outros novos e exquisitos, que nam conheceo Donato, nem Despauterio. Tanto que lá chegam, começam a furtar pelo modo Indicativo; porque a primeira informaçam que pedem aos praticos, he que lhe apontem e mostrem os eaminhos, por onde podem abarcar tudo. Furtam pelo modo Imperativo; porque como tem o mera e mixto imperio, todo elle applicam despoticamente às execuçoens da rapina. Furtam pelo modo Mandativo: porque aceitam quanto lhes mandam; e para que mandam todos, os que nam mandam nam sam aceitos. Furtam pelo modo Optativo; porque desejam quanto lhe parece bem; e gabando as cousas desejadas aos donos dellas, por cortezia sem vontade as fazem suas. Furtam pelo modo Conjuntivo; porque ajuntam o seu pouco cabedal com o daquelles que manejam muito, e basta só que ajuntem a sua graça, para serem quando menos meyeiros na ganancia. Furtam pelo modo Potencial, porque sem pretexto, nem ceremonia usam de potencia. Furtam pelo modo Permissivo; porque permittem que outros furtem, e estes compram as permissoens. Furtam pelo modo Infinitivo; porque nam tem fim o furtar com o fim do governo, e sempre lá deixam raizes em que se vam continuando os furtos. Estes mesmos modos conjugam por todos as pessoas; porque a primeira pessoa do verbo he a sua, as segundas os seus criados, e as terceiras, quantas para isso tem industria e consciencia. Furtam juntamente por todos os tempos; porque do Presente (que he o seu tempo) colhem quanto dá de si o triennio; e para incluirem no presente o Preterito e Futuro, do Preterito desenterram crimes, de que vendem os perdoens, e dividas esquecidas, de que se pagam inteiramente; e do Futuro empenham as rendas, e anticipam os contratos, com que tudo o cahido e nam cahido lhe vem a cahir nas mãos. Finalmente nos mesmos tempos nam lhe escapam os Imperfeitos, Perfeitos, Plusquam Perfeitos, e quaesquer outros, porque furtam, furtaram, furtavam, furtariam, e haveriam de furtar mais, se mais houvesse. Em summa que o resumo de toda esta rapante conjugaçam vem a ser o supino do mesmo verbo, a furtar para furtar. E quando elles tem conjugado assim toda a voz activa, e as miseraveis Provincias sopportado toda a passiva, elles como se tiveram feito grandes serviços, tornam carregados de despojos e ricos, e ellas ficam roubadas e consumidas."

Sermam do Bom Ladram, t. 3, *p.* 334.

This passage perhaps occasioned the *Arte de Furtar* to be imputed to Vieyra, though that work contains abundant internal proof that it is not, and could not possibly be his.

48. *Dissolute manners, p.* 681.] Fleckno, himself a Catholic, adduces in one of his Letters from Rome a curious proof of the truth of the Catholic Religion. Speaking of the Christian Babylon he says, "Every wall is a monument; and the stones of more than a thousand years standing, stand up in testimony of their Religion, of the truth of which, though there were no other argument, yet 'twere enough to convince any rational man, that it must needs be that Church and Religion our blessed Saviour promised perpetuity unto, since in so great corruption of manners it stands still, and falls not to the ground, while so many others who pretend to more virtue and morality of life, are wholly perished and decayed." *Relation of Ten Years Travels, p.* 35.

49. *F. Joam. d'Almeida's Covenant, p.* 684.] The Portugueze reader will perceive that I have faithfully given the substance of this extraordinary paper, which is here inserted as Vasconcellos has printed it from the original in Almeida's own writing.

"Tem por titolo o Aranzel, *Lembranças pera toda tua vida, que sempre has de ler muitas vezes;* e começa assi. Com a graça Divina, favor e ajuda de Deos Nosso Senhor, e da Virgem minha Senhora Mãi de Deos, Favorecedora, Mestra, Guia, Luz, Animo e Fortaleza dos fracos, e desconfiados peccadores, como eu sou, (E vai fazendo hum largo preambolo de todos os Santos do Ceo, e logo prosegue) que me queiram Todos acudir, favorecer, e ajudar, e rogar por mi a Deos N. S. pois eu nam tenho de mim outra couza, em que possa confiar, nem esperar; e tenho infinitas culpas, e pecados enormes, feios e espantozos, porque poder temer minha condenaçam, e perdiçam eterna; os quais eu sei, conheço, e confesso, e sei mui bem que Deos N. S. os sabe, e eu os sei, e nam os sabe outro senam eu. E nam os aponto aqui, porque pera o fazer era necessario muito papel; porque nunca pude, nem soube fazer cousa boa; e isto que vou pondo aqui em lembrança se a for e merecer nome de bem, nam he meu, senam de Deos meu Senhor.

Primeiramente, todas as Segundas Feiras do Anno, a Santissima Trindade, Nada; (quer dizer que nam comerá nada) pelas Almas do Fogo do Purgatorio, com hum dos tres cilicios, conforme a disposiçam, forças ou fraqueza do pobre Jumento (assi chamava o seu Corpo) com os custumados

Abanamoscas de meus quatro açoutes, em penitencia, por amor e reverencia, memoria e lembrança daquelles deshumanos, duros e cruelissimos cinco mil e sete centos e setenta e tantos açoutes, que meu Bom, Verdadeiro e Amorosissimo Senhor, Redentor, e Salvador Jesu Christo por meu amor foi servido sofrer.

" Todas as Terças feiras do anno a pam e agoa, com tudo o mais assima, ao Senhor Arcanjo S. Miguel, Anjo de minha guarda, e mais Anjos da Gloria; pedindolhes se compadecem de mim, e me nam desemparem na vida, nem na morte; e roguem a Deos me queira perdoar e salvar, Amen.

" Todas as quintas feiras, Nada, ao Espirito Santo, e Santissimo Sacramento, e a nosso S. Patriarca Inacio, e aos Apostolos, e todos os mais Santos e Santas da Gloria. Ao Espirito Santo, que me alumie, e abraze com seu Divino Amor, e que me ensine e disponha com hum aparelho devido pera poder celebrar e tratar tam altos e subidos Misterios, como se encerram no Santissimo Sacrificio da Missa, com a devida humilidade, temor, e amor.

" Todas as Sestas feiras do anno, me lembrarei da abstinencia, tantas vezes encomendada no principio de cada mez em nossas Regras, pera a executar, e por por obra, conforme o custume da Companhia, e assi como os demais da Comunidade, e quando eu puder, todas as vezes e dias do anno de toda minha vida a Pam e Agoa, e tambem Nada algumas vezes. E tambem me lembrarei de como tenho deixado o Vinho de todo, pera nunca mais o beber em todos os dias de minha vida salvo em alguma necessidade.

" Todos os Sabados do anno Nada, a Virgem Santissima Minha Senhora Mãi de Deos, com tudo o mais que Ella sabe, quer, e for mais servida que eu faça; e espero e confio nella nunca me faltará como Mãi de Misericordia e Piedade que he minha; e como tal espero nella me ha d'alcançar viver e morrer na Companhia, verdadeiramente arrependido de todos os meus pecados; confessado e comungado com o Viatico do Santisimo Corpo e Sangue de meu Senhor Jesu Christo, e com a Santa Unçam, Fe, e Esperança viva, e verdadeira de minha salvaçam.

" Os Dommgos do anno, e Quartas feiras de Quintas, ou Suètos de toda minha vida, como os outros; almoçando, jantando, e ceiando quando o ouver, pera todos da Santa Comunidade. Todos os jejuns d'obrigaçam da Igreja, da Santa Quaresma, quatro Temporas, Vigilias de Santos, pera mais me conformar com a vontade do Senhor, e com a Santa Obediencia dos Superiores, Provinciais, Reitores, Confessores, jejuarei como os outros da Santa Comunidade, indo ao Refeitorio duas vezes, jantar e consoar. E quando os jejuns da obrigaçam da Igreja, acertarem de cahir nos dias de meus jejuns particulares, os ei de jejuar tambem como os demais jejuns da Igreja; tirando quando me obrigar alguma outra rezam particular. Nos jejuns de pam e agoa, nunca comerei mais que huma vez ao dia; e quando me achar fraco, e com necessidade, pedirei mais pam, com licença que pera isso terei, e tenho do Padre Ministro: e tudo isto que fica escrito, com tudo o mais que eu fizer, e intentar fazer, nem he, nem sera mais, do que for vontade do Senhor, e a Santa Obediencia ordenar e mandar: e terei diante dos olhos com viva memoria, o muito e infinito que devo a Deos, meu verdadeiro Criador, Redemtor e Salvador. O Alma minha cega, feia sobre todas as feialdades do mundo! fugitiva adultera, traidora, ingrata e desconhecida, por todas as partes tam indina de tal e tam bom Senhor, Redemtor, Salvador, e Esposo amantissimo, que tanto me quiz, e me quer, e padeceo por mim, e me nam tem botado no Inferno, e castigado como eu mereci tantas vezes, mais que todas as Almas que la estam! E com isto procurarei ser outro daqui em diante em toda a perfeiçam e mortificaçam, em que todos os Santos da Companhia de Jesu, que estam no Ceo, e os que hoje vivam em toda a redondeza do Mundo, procuraram assinalarse; e assi torno a renovar o que muitas vezes propuz firmemente, de me mortificar em todos meus sentidos.

" E todas estas cousas, que ficam escritas, verei e lerei muitas vezes, pera dellas me lembrar, e as cumprir, e pòr por obra, cumprindo em tudo a vontade do Senhor; e d'estar a Obediencia de todos meus Superiores e Confessores em todos os dias de minha vida, em todos os lugares onde estiver, e por onde andar, e Deos me levar, que quererá elle que seja para si, com salvaçam certa de minha alma. Amen."

At the end of this were many renewals and confirmations of these resolutions, signed and dated with the day and hour when each was made.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM POPLE,
CHANCERY LANE.

The following important passage should be inserted p. 243, line 28, after the words "Affonso VI."

A paper was found in the King's secret cabinet, signed by his own hand with three crosses, in which he desired that, if Portugal should be unable to continue the arduous struggle, his widow would retreat with her children to Brazil. So likely was it that the royal family would be reduced to this measure, that by the advice of the Condes de Cantanhede and Soure, Brito Freyre was sent out ostensibly as Governor to Pernambuco, but in reality to provide for receiving them; and in conformity to the King's directions, Vieyra, who was then in Maranham, received orders to hold himself in readiness to join him there and assist him with his counsel. The reason for preferring Pernambuco to Bahia seems to have been because Recife was the stronger place, and capable of holding out against any force which Spain might send against the royal refugees. The danger was indeed imminent. The Spaniards, &c.

Cartas de Vieyra, 2, p. 416.

00085307

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016